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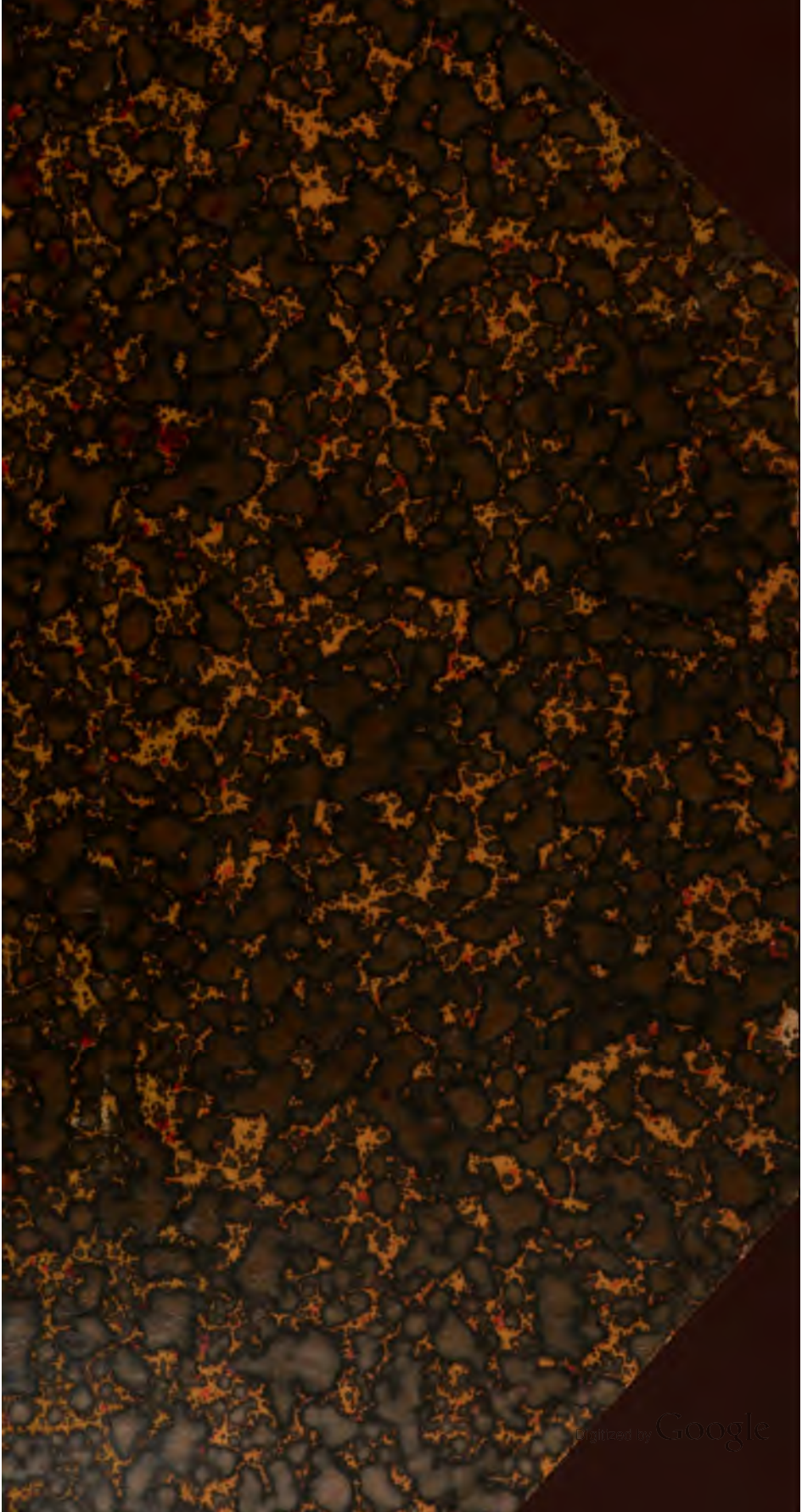
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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
INCORPORATED A. D. 1799

VOLUME 17, PAGES 1-139 MARCH, 1912

The Financial History of Connecticut

from 1789 to 1861

BY

HENRY F. WALRADT, PH.D.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
YALE UNIVERSITY

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
1912

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to trace the history and growth of the revenue and disbursements of the State of Connecticut from 1789 until the outbreak of the Civil War. Eventually it is intended to make the "Financial History of Connecticut" complete by bringing it down to date and by including also a study of the county and municipal systems, but the present volume is limited to the first three of the periods designated below and to the state government only.

The financial history of Connecticut falls naturally into four periods. In many respects—*e. g.*, taxation, income, and expenditures—these periods are clearly distinguished.

I. 1789–1818. Prolongation of Colonial Period.
II. 1818–1846. Period of Slow Development.
III. 1846–1861. Period of Expansion.
IV. 1861–1910. Modern Period.

These periods are not wholly independent of one another and often it will be necessary or convenient, in the treatment of a period, to introduce subjects that include dates from the immediately preceding or succeeding period.

Considerable difficulty has been experienced in collecting data for this monograph. The treasurers' reports were not printed until 1851 and with the exception of a manuscript folio of October, 1818, no trace of manuscript accounts of the treasurer can be found. The state comptroller's office, however, has an almost complete set of the manuscript records of the comptrollers from 1787 until 1851. Before 1817 these did not contain a detailed statement of the receipts but gave only an account of the expenditures. The author was obliged to secure his data for the receipts of the state previous to 1817 from manuscript reports of the auditors of the treasurers' accounts. Until 1798 these auditors' reports classify the receipts almost entirely according to whether payments were made in specie or in some form of the state debt. The accounts are both complicated and meager and with no other data available make it impossible to give any serviceable classification.

The principal sources of information have been documentary, consisting of the public and private acts of the state legislature and the reports of state officers. After 1837 the private or special acts,

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as well as the public acts, were printed annually, but previous to that date they were not so printed. In 1837 a codification of these laws from 1789 to 1836 was made, but this codification is not complete. In a few instances, therefore, it has been impossible to find the act referred to in an official report and accordingly it has been necessary in such instances to base statements upon the authority of the official report.

In copying statistical figures from original or other sources, cents have been disregarded and the amounts have been stated accurately to the nearest dollar. This will explain apparent small inaccuracies in the computations given in the following pages

The author is pleased to acknowledge the valuable encouragement and assistance that he has received. To Prof. Fred R. Fairchild of Yale University belongs the credit of suggesting this subject. Useful material and helpful suggestions have also come from him. This work is done under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and Prof. Henry B. Gardner of Brown University, who is directing for the Institution its investigations of the financial history of all the states of the Union, has contributed much bibliographical assistance. Courteous consideration has also been shown by the state librarians of Connecticut and Massachusetts and by Mr. Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society. Mr. Henry R. Gruener of the Yale University library has also been very helpful. The state officials in the capitol at Hartford have given ready access to all the old manuscripts and documents relating to Connecticut finance that are in the state vaults. Special acknowledgment is due to Mr. F. Clarence Bissell, the deputy comptroller of the state, for his very helpful aid and his great personal interest. Finally, the author is indebted to his parents for clerical assistance in copying and in reading proof sheets and for many stimulating suggestions in the preparation of the manuscript.

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I.—THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.

FIRST PERIOD. 1789–1818. PROLONGATION OF COLONIAL PERIOD.

A. Introduction.

Connecticut as a state had no constitution until 1818. The government was not interrupted by the overthrow of Great Britain's dominion. In 1662 King Charles II had granted the colony a charter which "confirmed to the colonists the right to govern themselves which they had assumed from the beginning" and which made Connecticut "independent except in name."[1] The colonists instituted a very democratic form of government and made their own laws. The Revolution naturally abrogated this charter but the general assembly, the legislative body of the state, voted to continue it as the supreme law of the state. In 1789, therefore, the same general governmental machinery and code of laws existed as had already been in force for many years.

B. Financial Organs of State Government.

The general assembly was the legislative body and was composed of "assistants" and "deputies." The assistants were twelve in number[2] and were elected at large by the people of the entire state. The deputies were elected by the people of the towns which they represented. Every town had at least one deputy and some towns had two.[3] The general assembly held two sessions annually, one in May and one in October. It made the laws of the state, voted appropriations and provided for meeting the expenditures of the state. Thus it had the right of taxation and the determination of the rate of taxation.

General Assembly

The chief executive of the state was the governor, who, however, did not have the veto power. The two most important officials in the actual handling of the money were the treasurer and the comptroller of the public accounts. The treasurer's duty was to receive all money belonging to the state and to pay it out as directed by law. The office of comptroller was created as a result of the Revolutionary War. During this war it was

Governor
Treasurer
Comptroller

[1] Bancroft, Hist. of the U. S., vol. i, part 2, chap. 3, p. 358.

[2] Conn. Laws (Revision of 1784), p. 27.

[3] Conn. Laws (Revision of 1784), p. 28.

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necessary to issue bills of credit and various other evidences of debt and the accounts were in great confusion. In order that these accounts might be unraveled and the debts properly liquidated,[1] the general assembly decided to appoint an officer whose duty would be to superintend the finances of the state, to recommend the best mode of keeping and liquidating the accounts, and to render to the general assembly in May and October annually (and more frequently if called upon) an account of all receipts and a complete statement of the expenditures.[2] He was to suggest means for lessening the public expenses, for using and "improving" public "monies" and for sustaining the state credit. The treasurer was directed not to pay any state money to meet demands against the state, unless such demands had been liquidated and allowed by the general assembly, or by the governor and council, or by the house of representatives, or by the supreme court of errors, or superior court, until the comptroller should have entered the same in his books and given orders on the treasurer for the amount to be paid.[3] The comptroller was first appointed in 1786, for two years only,[4] but the act creating the office was continued in force by special acts of the assembly until by an act passed at the May session in 1796[5] the office was made permanent. Provision was made for auditing the public accounts and the comptroller was made one of the auditors ex-officio. Thus we find that in 1789 the framework for carrying on the financial side of the state government was essentially the same as it is to-day.

C. Public Debt.

Mention has already been made of the debt with which the state was burdened as a result of the Revolutionary War. Inasmuch as the payment of this public debt is the foundation of the greater part of the financial history of the state during this first period, it will not be amiss to give the following statement showing the amount of the original indebtedness (A) and the amount of the debt as it stood on November 1, 1789. (B).[6]

[1] At that time "liquidated" signified definitely determined or ascertained (cf. Standard Dictionary).

[2] Conn. Laws, May 1788, p. 360.

[3] Conn. Laws, Jan. 1789, p. 375.

[4] Conn. Laws, May 1786, p. 338.

[5] Conn. Laws, May 1796, p. 443.

[6] Compt. Reports (Ms.), Sept. 1788 and May 1790.

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I. *Army notes*, issued in pursuance of:

(1) Act of May, 1780, for part of balance due to Connecticut Line January 1, 1780 (with interest from January 1, 1780), and for notes ordered issued by special acts for notes said to be lost,

	A			B		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
a Payable June 1, 1782,	63,778	1	9 1/2	2,334	13	11 1/2
b Payable June 1, 1783,	63,824	2	2	2,339	13	4
c Payable June 1, 1784,	63,805	8	1 1/4	3,252	12	1
d Payable June 1, 1785,	63,780	10	5 1/2	42,309	6	1 3/4
Total,	255,188	2	6 1/4	50,236	5	6 1/4

(2) Act of January, 1782, for part of balance due to Connecticut Line for services in the year 1780 (notes dated June 1, 1782) and for notes ordered issued by special acts for notes said to be lost,

a Payable June 1, 1786,	45,285	0	1 3/4	28,189	6	3 3/4
b Payable June 1, 1787,	45,296	6	2 1/4	28,448	5	6 3/4
Total,	90,581	6	4	56,637	11	10 1/2

(3) Act of May, 1782, for part of balance due to Connecticut Line for services in the year 1781 (notes dated June 1, 1782) and for notes ordered issued by special acts for notes said to be lost,

a Payable June 1, 1788,	33,012	6	11 1/4	21,593	0	4 1/4
b Payable June 1, 1789,	33,002	17	11 1/4	20,097	5	7 1/4
Total,	66,015	4	10 1/2	41,690	5	11 1/2

II. *State securities*, notes issued in pursuance of:

(1) Act of November 29, 1780, dated February 1, 1781, payable one year after late war,

234,357 13 9 1/2 153,229 8 6 3/4

(2) Act of May, 1781, for supplies furnished the army and monies loaned to the state on various dates, payable one year after late war,

58,265 0 11 3/4 33,947 11 8 1/2

(3) Act of May, 1783, for purchase of horses, payable to bearer of said securities June 1, 1783,

4,081 10 0 1,932 8 0

(4) Act of May, 1783, and sundry special acts of different dates, payable from three to ten years from their dates,

65,210 13 5 3/4 41,841 6 1 3/4

(5) Act of May, 1789, for old notes reloaned, 180,890 1 0

III. *Interest certificates* remaining unpaid November 1, 1789, issued on state debt up to February 1, 1789, 19,140 3 9 3/4

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IV. *Notes* issued by particular acts of the assembly payable out of civil list funds, 3,616 11 4 2,856 11 4

V. Balance of *orders* unpaid *drawn by Oliver Wolcott, Jr.*, payable out of the 1/ tax[1] granted in January, 1783, 692 8 10

VI. Balance of *state bills* emitted March, June and July, 1780, with interest at five per cent to March 1, 1785 (estimated), 24,948 9 1

Summary for November 1, 1789.

I. Army notes,	148,564	3	$4^1/_4$
II. State securities,	411,840	15	5
III. Interest certificates,	19,140	3	$9^3/_4$
IV. Notes (Civil list),	2,856	11	4
V. Oliver Wolcott orders on 1/ tax,	692	8	10
VI. State bills (estimated),	24,948	9	1
Total debt,	608,042	11	10

There was also outstanding at this time an unknown amount of old emissions of paper issued before the war and there were a number of orders, drawn by the Committee of the Pay Table,[2] on former taxes, for an amount supposed to be inconsiderable.[3]

This statement[4] of the Connecticut debt as it stood on November 1, 1789, was prepared by the comptroller for Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury of the United States, who was forming his plan for the assumption of the state debts by the federal government.

1. Provision for Redeeming State Debt.

Before treating the subject of the assumption of the state debt, however, let us see what funds the state had set aside to meet its debt. During the war the taxes had been numerous and heavy. Part of them were payable in specie, but by far the greater part were payable in some form of the state debt. These taxes had not all been collected and the state relied on the collections of its back taxes to help cancel its indebtedness. Thus in the comptroller's report of May, 1790, we find the following statement of the funds provided for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt as he estimated them to be on November 1, 1789. (The spelling and capitals are his.)

---

[1] This signifies a tax of one shilling on a pound.

[2] The Committee of the Pay Table managed the state finances during the Revolutionary War and was succeeded by the comptroller.

[3] Compt. Rep. (Ms.), May 1790.

[4] The form of the statement is here changed.

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	£	s.	d.
Ballances of Taxes laid for the payment of Interest in the State Debt and the first three classes of Army Notes as appears from the Treasury Booke Nov. 1st, 1789, being the Ballance of fifteen Taxes including abatements, Collecting fees, etc.,	40,489	14	10
Ballance of Excise and Impost Bonds in Interest Certificates and the 1st three classes of Army Notes including collecting fees, etc.,	9,070	15	2
A Tax fourpence on the pound laid on list of 1788 for the payment of interest on the State debt and the ballance of the three first classes of State Army Notes, the net avails *estimated* at	20,266	14	4
Tax of eight pence on the same list laid for the payment of the ballance of State Bills, orders on 2/6 & 1/ Taxes and part of the principal of the State Debt, the net avails *estimated* at	40,538	8	8
Excise for payment of Interest on State debt, etc., *estimated* at	5,000	0	0
Total,	115,365	13	0

The comptroller also stated that the collections on the old taxes mentioned in the first item of the above statement would probably fall far below the sum as given; that there would be a loss upon the excise and impost bonds; and that the amount of excise for the current year, which he had estimated at five thousand pounds, was very uncertain. This was the last excise levied by the state. In its May session of 1790, the assembly repealed all acts relating to the laying of an excise. This repeal was to take effect July 1, 1790, but was not to interfere with the collection of what was due at the time of the repeal.[1] Soon, however, an event occurred which made it unnecessary to use all of the funds originally intended for the payment of the state debt.

2. Assumption of State Debt.

This event was the passage of an act (approved August 4, 1790) by the United States Congress, at the suggestion of Alexander Hamilton, for the assumption of the state debts.[2] In this act, entitled "An Act making Provision for the Debt of the United States," provision

[1] Conn. Laws, 1784—95, p. 391.

[2] Acts of Congress, 1790, chap. 34.

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was made (section 13) for a loan of $21,500,000, which was to be subscribed for "in the principal and interest of the certificates or notes" which, prior to January 1, 1790, had been issued by the states as acknowledgments or evidences of debt, provided those certificates had been issued for "expenditures for services or supplies towards the prosecution of the late war." Each state was allowed to subscribe for a specified portion of this loan and the amount allotted to Connecticut was 480,000 pounds[1] or $1,600,000.[2] For each state a commissioner of loans was appointed to receive the state certificates presented in payment for subscriptions to the federal loan and to issue to the subscribers new certificates according to the following method: four-ninths of the sum received for a subscription was to be exchanged for a certificate bearing six per cent interest annually, the interest payable quarterly, and the entire amount payable in any one year for interest and redemption not to exceed eight per cent of the face value of the certificate; two-ninths of the sum received was to be exchanged for a certificate bearing six per cent interest annually after the year 1800, with the interest and the principal payable as above; and the remaining one-third to be exchanged for a certificate bearing three per cent interest annually, said interest payable quarterly, subject to redemption by payment of the sum specified therein at the will of congress (Section 15). To ascertain the interest due on the different evidences of state debt, the interest was to be computed to December 31, 1791, and interest upon the stock created by this act was to begin on January 1, 1792 (Section 16). The time for opening the loan was set at October 1, 1790, and the books were to be closed at the expiration of one year (Section 3). The act also provided that if the full amount allotted to any state were not subscribed within the prescribed time, the United States would pay to that state, upon the terms already described, interest upon the unsubscribed portion of the loan (Section 17).

At the end of the period for subscription to the United States debt in evidences of state debt £46,060 9s. 1d. of the £480,000 allotted to Connecticut remained unsubscribed.[3] The state received from the commissioner of loans, William Imlay, the first quarter's interest

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[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1790.

[2] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1790; Acts of Congress, chap. 34, sec. 13. Note. In all the reports of this period, whenever the old and the new systems of money notation are used together, the ratio of the pound to the dollar is always three and one-third to one.

[3] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1793, p. 3.

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on this balance, which amounted to £422 4s. 6d. Before the time for the second quarter's interest the £480,000 had been subscribed[1] and Hamilton notified Imlay to commence the interest on the stock of the subscribers under the continuation of the act of congress of August 4, 1790,[2] (cf. p. 13) on the first day of the second quarter. Not only was the allotted quota subscribed but it was oversubscribed by £28,431 14s. or $94,772.34.[3] To meet this oversubscription the loan commissioner issued certificates, bearing five per cent interest, which were called "Imlay's Certificates". The general assembly, in the October session of this year (1793), acknowledged these as evidences of state debt.[4]

This assumption of the state debts by the federal government thus extinguished by far the greater part of Connecticut's debt so that on April 30, 1793, the public debt stood as follows:

	£	s.	d.
State notes (principal),	63,353	16	7
Interest certificates,	4,739	0	2
Orders on the 1/ Tax of 1783, issued from comptroller's office,	76	9	11
Interest on above state notes,	4,000	0	0
Imlay's certificates,	28,431	14	0
Interest on Imlay's certificates,	1,848	1	2
Orders drawn by Committee of Pay Table on 2/6 and 1/ taxes, state bills emitted in 1780, certificates of interest issued by late treasurer (Lawrence) in excess of stated balance, and balances unclaimed by individuals of the late continental army (estimated),	7,350	0	0
	109,799	1	10

There were no special funds to meet this debt as the balance of all former funds set aside for this purpose had been granted to Yale College by an act of the general assembly passed in May, 1792.[5]

3. Payment of Balance due State from United States.

To show clearly the means by which the state proceeded to meet the debt still remaining, it will be necessary to digress and consider

[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1793, p. 3.
[2] Acts of Congress, 2 congress, 1 session, chap. 38.
[3] Compt. Rep. (Ms.), May 1793, Acct. No. 2.
[4] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1807.
[5] Conn. Statutes, Compilation of 1808, title 178, chap. 1, sec. 2, p. 695.

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the closing of the accounts between the United States and Connecticut. During the war the states incurred expenses for bounties and pensions, pay and depreciation of pay to the army and for various forms of supplies. On the other hand, the states received advances from congress. On February 20, 1782, the continental congress first made provision for the adjustment of the accounts between the states[1] and the central government. The machinery was changed by an act of congress on October 13, 1786,[2] and again on May 7, 1787.[3] By article six of the constitution of the United States it was enacted that "All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation." In accordance with this clause, congress at its first session empowered the president to fill, subject to the consent of the senate, vacancies in the board of commissioners established by the act of May 7, 1787, to settle the accounts between the states and the United States.[4] Finally, on August 5, 1790, congress passed the act under which these settlements were eventually made.[5] This act created a board of three commissioners to settle the accounts with the states (Section 1). These commissioners were to examine all claims exhibited to them before July 1, 1791, and to determine the amount of those incurred for the public defense during the war. All claims approved by former commissioners were exempt from this examination and no claim in the account of any state was to be allowed unless it had been sanctioned by that state before September 24, 1788 (Section 3). The commissioners were to reduce to specie value the credits and debits of the states already on the treasury books for bills of credit issued subsequent to March 18, 1780 (Section 4). Having accomplished this, the commissioners were to debit each state with all the advances made to it by the United States, plus the interest thereon up to December 31, 1789, inclusive; and were to credit each state for such disbursements and advances as had been allowed, plus the interest thereon up to the same date. For each state a balance was then to be struck and the total of all the balances found (Section 5). The total amount due to the states by the federal government was to be apportioned to the individual states in proportion to the popula-

[1] Journals of Congress, vol. iii, pp. 721, 722.

[2] Journals of Congress, vol. iv, pp. 711, 712.

[3] Journals of Congress, vol. iv, p. 742.

[4] Acts of Congress, 1 congress, 1 session, chap. 6.

[5] Acts of Congress, 1790, second session, chap. 38.

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tion (Section 6). The amount apportioned to each state was to be compared with its already ascertained balance and the difference carried to a new account on the debit or credit side as the case might be (Section 5). Oliver Wolcott, the first comptroller of public accounts in Connecticut and afterward secretary of the treasury of the United States, had advised Connecticut to urge such a measure as this. As he had been a member of the committee of the pay table and also one of the commissioners to settle the accounts between Connecticut and the United States, his judgment is of prime interest and importance. In a report to the general assembly at its May session, 1787, he said that from all the information he had been able to get, he had formed the opinion that a settlement of the public accounts would operate to the advantage of Connecticut. He also expressed his belief that it would be expedient for the state "to urge that the rule of apportioning the public expense be speedily settled."[1] The method of settling the balance due to any state to which the federal government was a debtor after deducting the apportioned quota was as follows: the state was entitled, within a year after being credited with a balance, to a certificate bearing six per cent interest annually, payable quarterly, and subject to redemption at the rate of two per cent of its face value annually, for two-thirds of the amount of the credited balance; for the other third of this balance, the state was entitled to a certificate which, after the year 1800, would bear six per cent interest annually, payable quarterly and subject to similar redemption (Section 7). These certificates received in payment of the balances were to be non-transferable.

The commissioners appointed by the above described act, having completed their appointed task, made a report in which Connecticut is credited with $619,121.[2] In an act approved May 31, 1794, congress provided that interest at four per cent from January 1, 1790, to January 1, 1795, should be paid on the balances found due to the states by the commissioners.[3] This interest was to be paid in certificates bearing three per cent interest annually and payable quarterly. In accordance with these conditions, the following amounts were placed to the credit of Connecticut in the books of the United States commissioner of loans: $412,747.34 of six per cent stock and $206,373.66 of deferred six per cent stock, making a total of $619,121, the balance reported by the commissioner to be due to the state;

[1] Comptroller's Report (Ms.), May 1787.

[2] Compt. Report, May 1794, p. 1.

[3] Acts of Third Congress, first session, chap. 37.

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and $123,824.20 of three per cent stock in payment of interest on this balance for five years beginning January 1, 1790.[1] This stock was not entirely redeemed until 1832 and it was the source of a large part of the revenue of the state throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

4. Transfer of U. S. Stock by State in Payment of Public Debt.

The reason for digressing from the payment of the state debt to the settling of the balance due to the state from the federal government can now be made clear. By an act approved Jannuary 2. 1795, congress authorized the states which were credited with United States stock in payment of balances due them from the federal government to transfer to those who had become their creditors before July 1, 1793, as much of said stock as should be necessary to meet their claims. The making of such transfers was left optional with each state and its creditors.[2] The original act limited the time within which these transfers could be made to two years from the time the act was passed; but in 1797, on motion of the Connecticut representatives,[3] congress extended the time to March 4, 1799.[4] This offer was immediately accepted by the holders of a large portion of the state debt. Within three months after congress had authorized the states to make such transfers, £37,990 12s. 11d., or $126,635.37, had been exchanged[5] and on March 4, 1799, the date set as the limit for making transfers, $374,519.53 of stock had been transferred by Connecticut, of which $164,926.90 was in six per cent stock, $83,841.79 in deferred six per cent stock, and $125,751.34 in three per cent stock.[6] In this manner by far the larger part of the debt remaining after the assumption of the state debt by the federal government, which was about one hundred nine thousand eight hundred pounds (cf. p. 15), was extinguished and the remaining debt was now approximately fourteen thousand four hundred pounds or forty-eight thousand dollars.

5. Registration of State Debt.

In the October session of the general assembly in 1798 an act was passed, known as the "Limitation Act," which provided that "all

[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), October 1794.

[2] Acts of Congress, 3 congress, 2 session, chap. 75.

[3] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1797.

[4] Acts of Congress, 5 congress, 1 session, chap. 14.

[5] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1795.

[6] Compt. Report (Ms.), 1801. Debit side of account of stock standing to credit of Connecticut in books of commissioner of loans.

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state notes, interest certificates, pay-table orders, and bills of credit of this state, which at the time of passing this act shall be outstanding, shall on or before March 4 next be presented at the office of the comptroller of this state for the purpose of being discharged in a transfer of stock of the United States standing to the credit of this state on the books of the treasurer of the United States, or of being lodged and registered in said office at the option of the holder." All of the aforesaid evidences of indebtedness which were not presented at the comptroller's office before March 4, 1799, as thus provided, were to be forever afterward barred from settlement.[1] The opportunity to transfer such forms of indebtedness for United States stock ceased on this date, but the general assembly, in the May session of 1799, voted to extend the opportunity to register the above mentioned claims against the state until April 1, 1800, before declaring any such claims void.[2] The full amount of the public debt as it stood on April 30, 1800, and the amount of the same registered in accordance with these two acts appear in the following statement:

Full Amount of Public Debt.[3]

State Notes (principal),	$27,032.72
Interest on State Notes,	13,380.87
Certificates for interest,	1,432.31
Orders on the 1/ Tax of 1783, issued from comptroller's office,	15.24
Imlay's certificates,	2,334.41
Interest on Imlay's certificates,	1,167.20
	$45,362.75

Amount Registered.[4]

	Liquidated	Unliquidated
In State Notes,	$6,508.50	$500.00
In interest certificates,	536.34	
In State bills emitted in 1780,	209.04	
In State bills emitted before 1780,		4,110.34
In Pay Table Orders,	109.50	
	$7,363.38	$4,610.34

The comptroller, in his May report of 1800, calls the attention of the general assembly to the fact that no mention of Imlay's certif-

[1] Conn. Laws, May 1799, p. 508.
[2] Conn. Acts and Laws, May 1799, p. 508.
[3] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1800.
[4] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1800, Account No. 1.

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icates had been made in the limitation acts of October, 1798, and May, 1799, and that consequently none had been presented for registration. He suggested that the legislature might pass an act exempting Imlay's certificates from the operation of the last precluding act, which suggestion was followed. As a result of these three acts, the amount of debt written off from the accounts was $21,461.70. There was no injustice in this action. In the first place, ample time had been given for the state creditors to register their debt; secondly, it is probable that nearly all of the above amount had been lost or destroyed[1]; and lastly, the general assembly, by special acts, afterward allowed certain claims to be added to the registered debt, even though by the limitation acts they had been precluded. The amounts so allowed were small and this fact strengthens the probability that most of the debt precluded was non-existent. Thus within a period of eleven years, without the levying of a tax or the payment of cash from the treasury, the state debt had been diminished from over two and a quarter million dollars to about sixteen thousand dollars. This was accomplished, as has been already shown, in three ways; (1) through collection of old taxes; (2) by assumption by federal government of $1,600,000; and (3) by the transfer of $374,519.53 of United States stock credited to the state on the books of the treasurer of the United States.

6. Specie Payment.

In the May session of 1800 the general assembly made provision for paying this debt in specie.[2] In conformity with this act $5,647 was thus paid in the first year; and during the next four years $6,453 more was paid, leaving only $5,326.93 unpaid April 30, 1805. During the next six years additional payments still further reduced the debt to $3,266.99. For all practical purposes this discharged the debt, as will be seen when the subject of the public debt in the second period is treated. From 1811 until 1818 the amount paid on the debt was only three hundred twenty-two dollars, a sum insufficient to cover the interest, and accordingly on April 10, 1818, the comptroller's account showed that the debt had increased to $3,312.90.

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[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1800.

[2] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1800, Account No. 1.

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D. Sources of Revenue.

1. Taxation, Forfeitures, etc.

The most important source of revenue during the first period of Connecticut's history as a state, as well as throughout her colonial period, was the State Tax. This tax was a direct tax upon polls, land, various specified forms of property, and on trades and professions. During this entire period, an average of more than fifty-five per cent of the entire revenue, exclusive of the school fund, which will be treated separately, was yielded by this tax. The colonial methods of laying, assessing and collecting this direct tax were continued. Every town in the state elected annually a convenient number of men called "listers" whose duty was to make a list of polls and rateable estates in the town. They were required to give public notice in July, annually, on the public sign post and in some public place in every "society" in the town, calling upon the inhabitants to make a true list of all of their polls and rateable estate belonging to them on August 20, and to place said lists in the hands of the listers before September 10. The listers were also instructed to add four-fold for all the rateable estate which the owners failed to list. One-half of the amount arising from the four-fold additions was to be given to the listers for their diligence and the remaining half was to be added to the rest of the taxes collected.[1] At first, after making out the lists for their respective towns, the listers were obliged to send them to the general assembly, but by an act of the legislature in the May session of 1796, they were directed to send the lists, on or before the first Tuesday after the opening of the general assembly in October, to the comptroller. These lists were then to be examined critically by the comptroller and the treasurer, and the comptroller was ordered to report to the general assembly any errors or omissions which they found. These were to be discovered by a comparison of the lists with former lists and by noting the relative magnitude of the towns or by any other feasible method. From the lists received, the comptroller was directed to make the county lists and the grand list of the state.[2]

State Tax

The method of assessment can be shown best by giving the form of the list which the listers had to fill out and send to the comptroller. A second column is added to show changes in the rates that appear in the revision of 1808.

Form of List[3]

[1] Conn. Laws, Revision of 1795, pp. 274, 275.

[2] Conn. Laws, May 1796, p. 441.

[3] Conn. Laws, 1796, p. 281.

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A True List of the Polls and Estate of the Town of rateable on the 20th day of August 17 . .

No.		(Revision of 1795) Dols.	cts.	(Revision of 1808) Dols.	cts.
Polls 21 to 70,		60	00		
,, 18 to 21 (before 1793 lower limit was 16),		30	00		
Oxen and bulls 4 years old,	at	10	00		
Cows, steers, heifers and bulls 3 years old,	,,	7	00		
Steers, heifers, or bulls of 2 years old,	,,	3	34		
Stallions or seed horses more than 3 years old,	,,	67	00		
Horse Kind (of) 3 years old or upward,	,,	10	00		
,, ,, 2 ,, ,,	,,	7	00		
,, ,, 1 ,, ,,	,,	3	34		
Covering Jacks,	,,	34	00		
Each mule (of) 3 years old or upward,	,,	10	00		
,, ,, 2 ,, ,, ,,	,,	7	00		
,, ,, 1 ,, ,, ,,	,,	3	34		
Acres of plow land,	,,	1	67		
,, Upland, mowing & clear pasture	,,	1	34		
,, Boggy meadow, mowed,	,,	0	84		
,, Boggy meadow, not mowed,	,,	0	34		
,, Meadow land in Hartford & Middlesex Cos.,	,,	2	50		
,, other meadow land,	,,	1	17	1	25
,, Bush pasture,	,,	0	34		
,, uninclosed land, 1st Rate,	,,	0	34		
,, ,, ,, 2nd ,,	,,	0	17		
,, ,, ,, 3rd ,,	,,	0	09		
Coaches,	,,	84	00	168	00
Chariots,	,,	67	00	134	00
Phaetons,	,,	50	00	100	00
Coachees	,,	17	00	75	00
Curricles,	,,	34	00	68	00
Chaises,	,,	17	00	6 Classes $15, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60. Other 4 wheeled carriages on springs	30 00
Riding chairs with open tops, and Sulkies,	,,	10	00		

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No.		(Revision of 1795) Dols. cts.	(Revision of 1808) Dols. cts.
Gold watches,	at	17 00	34 00
Silver and other watches,	,,	5 00	10 00
Steel and Brass wheeled Clocks,	,,	10 00	20 00
Wooden ,, ,,	,,	3 34	7 00
Ounces of Silver Plate at $1.11 per ounce,	,,	6%	
Money on Interest,	,,	6%	
Houses, fireplaces,	,,	2 50	cl. (1) 5 00
,, ,, depreciated 1/4,	,,	1 88	,, (2) 3 75
,, ,, ,, 1/2,	,,	1 25	,, (3) 2 50
,, ,, ,, 3/4,	,,	63	,, (4) 1 25
Assessments,			
Totals,			

The amount included under "Assessments" was the sum of the following:

		Laws of 1795	Revision of 1808
Each attorney at Law (the least practitioner) The rest higher in proportion.	at	$167	$75–300
Each Shopkeeper or Trader (the lowest class) All others in due proportion.	,,	84	40–300
Each Physician or Surgeon (the least practitioner) All others in due proportion.	,,	34	34–200
Each allowed and licensed Tavern keeper set and to be added to in proportion to their situation and profits according to the best judgment of the listers.	,,	50	20–200
Each Person that followeth any mechanical art or mystery, such as Blacksmiths, Shoemakers, Tanners, Goldsmiths or Silversmiths and every other Handy Craft shall be set in the List at least and to be added to at the best discretion of the listers.	,,	17	10–200

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	Laws of 1795	Revision of 1808
Each Corn-mill standing on a stream sufficient to carry the same through the various seasons of the year and so situated as to be constantly supplied with custom shall be set in the list annually and others of lesser advantages whether windmills or others at a less sum in proportion according to the listers' best judgment.	at 267	150[1]
Owners of slitting mills, oil mills, saw mills, and all other water works (except iron works) by which profits arise; and all other works and occupations followed or pursued by any persons, by which profits arise, and which have not been enumerated above (except business in any public office, husbandry, and common labor for hire) shall be assessed by the best judgment of the listers according to the principles laid down above.[2]		

This is a good illustration of the old method of laying specific taxes upon things which were sometimes roughly classified according to the income they were supposed to yield. Thus meadow lands in Hartford and Middlesex counties, which are in the valley of the Connecticut river, were rated higher than meadow lands situated elsewhere. Different kinds of land were specified, such as plow land, pasture, boggy-meadow land, bush pasture, and unenclosed land with different grades under some of their heads. The same is true with the rating of animals—the older being rated higher as they produced a larger income for the owner.

The same principle is seen in the method of taxing professions and occupations, a minimum sum being specified, in most cases, at which a person following a given pursuit was to be listed, with a provision that the listers should add to that minimum a sum proportioned, in their opinion, to the income of the individual. In 1804 a maximum sum was also established limiting somewhat the discretionary powers of the listers.[3]

[1] "For each run of stones."

[2] Conn. Laws, Revision of 1795, p. 280.

[3] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1804, p. 676, sec. 6—10.

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Connecticut was still principally an agricultural community. Corporations had not become important, railroads were unknown, no large cities existed, and there were no great differences in wealth among the inhabitants. Before the end of this period, however, inequalities in wealth began to appear and consequently the opinion grew that some changes should be made in the system of taxation.

These changes were finally effected in the next period when the first Republican party came into power. During the first period, however, some changes were made in the rate (cf. above lists) and the number of articles to be listed was slightly increased. To encourage the raising of sheep, the general assembly at the October session 1800[1] passed an act directing the listers to deduct from the list of every person raising sheep at the rate of seventy-five cents for every sheep ten months old and upwards from which a fleece of wool was shorn in the season next preceding the giving in of the list, and the act was not repealed until the May session in 1814.[2] At the October session of 1804[3] stores were added to the list under three classes: (1) stores one story high were to be listed at ten dollars; (2) stores two stories high at twenty dollars; and (3) stores three stories high at thirty dollars. The general assembly also voted at this session that bank stock should be listed at three per cent of its value. This was the earliest provision for taxing stock and the only stock taxed by the state during this period was bank stock.

Whenever the general assembly levied a state tax on the towns, it determined the amount of the tax and the rate of taxation by requiring every town to pay a stated amount on every dollar in its town list. The rates vary during this period, from five mills to two cents on the dollar. However, in the fiscal year ending in April, 1816, two taxes were collected making the actual rate that year about three and a half cents on the dollar. Calling, then, the rate of taxation for the fiscal year ending in 1816 three and a half cents, the average rate of state taxation on the grand lists of the towns from 1796 through 1816 (the list on which the last state tax of this first period was laid) was eleven mills.

Tax Rate

The towns were directed by law, as in the colonial days, to elect every year one constable whose duty should be to collect the state tax. The principle of utilizing the machinery of town government for state purposes has been continued to the present time.[4]

Collection of State Tax

[1] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1800, p. 533. [2] Conn. Laws, May 1814, chap. 21.

[3] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1804, p. 676, sec. 5. [4] Conn. Laws, 1796, p. 118.

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The survival of colonial policies in this period is seen again in the matter of exemptions from taxation. Among the early settlers magistrates, ministers, and teachers were honored and privileged persons. For example, in the code of 1650, magistrates and elders of churches were exempted from taxation and in the revision of 1672 the assistants,[1] commissioners, ministers and schoolmasters were made exempt. Persons disabled by sickness or other infirmity were added to the exemption list in the revision of 1702.[2] In October, 1737, the governor, deputy-governor, the rectors and tutors of Yale College and students, until the time for taking their second degree, were also made exempt. In October, 1794, the law exempting the governor, deputy or lieutenant-governor, and assistants was repealed[3] and the revision of 1795, which is the first revision made after Connecticut entered the Union, contained the following provision in regard to exemption from taxation: "All ministers of the Gospel that now are or hereafter shall be settled in this state during their continuance in the ministry, shall have all their estates lying in the same society or town wherein they dwell, and all polls belonging to their several families, exempted from being put into the List. And also the Estate of the President of Yale College, for the time being, shall be under the same regulations as ministers of the Gospel. As also in like manner shall all lands and buildings in this state, sequestered to and improved for schools or other public or pious uses."[4] In this revision authority was also given to abate from the town list the polls of persons disabled by sickness, lameness, or other infirmity, but these abatements were not to exceed one-tenth of such polls.[5] In its fall session of 1799 the general assembly passed an act exempting from the poll-tax members of the militia presenting satisfactory evidence of having provided themselves with the outfit required by law and of having performed the prescribed military duties. Sickness or other reasonable cause preventing the performance of the military duties was not to bar them from this exemption.[6] The legislature, at its October session in 1804, added to the law providing for the assessment of professions and occupations a proviso which exempted attorneys, physicians and mechanics from such assessment until after they had been two years in their chosen

Exemptions

[1] Cf. p. 9.

[2] Conn. Laws, Revision of 1808, p. 466, footnote.

[3] Revision of 1808, title 102, chap. 1, sec. 8, footnote.

[4] Conn. Laws, Revision of 1795, pp. 278, 279.

[5] Idem.

[6] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1799, p. 513, sec. 5.

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field. This proviso gave a man an opportunity to make a fair start in his work before taxing him in the line of that work.[1]

Under the system of assessment already outlined no serious problem of the equitable valuation of property arose. Nearly everything listed was of such a nature that everybody knew what amount of taxable property each of his fellow-townsmen possessed. During this entire period bank stock was the only kind of stock to be listed and this was not put into the list until 1805. Hence evasion by concealment on the part of the owner of property was difficult. In the second place there was little incentive for the town listers to undervalue property in order that the town might escape paying its just portion of the state tax. The list on which the state tax was levied was used also as the basis of distribution to the school societies of the money annually turned over from the state treasury for the support of schools and as a basis for the distribution of the income from the school fund. In some years the dividends received from the latter source alone were greater than the amount paid into the state treasury by the towns, and as these dividends were increased by the sum annually received from the state for schools, making a total rarely much smaller than the state tax paid by the towns, the temptation to minimize the town lists did not arise. Finally, the listers did not have much discretion in regard to the valuation, for in many cases the rate was definitely set and in most of the rest a lower limit and in 1804[2] an upper limit was made within which the listers could exercise their judgment. For these causes injustice arising from unequal valuation of property in various localities in the state did not exist to an appreciable extent.

Valuation

A study of the grand lists shows that there was little increase of taxable property during this period. In 1796 the total valuation, with no deduction for abatements, was $5,890,833. The total of the list of 1818, the last one made under this system, was $5,559,784. The highest mark was reached in 1804, when the figures were $6,293,235. The last two totals are the lowest and highest totals for the period. Inasmuch as all changes made during the period were upward, the fact that the valuation of taxable property in 1818 was lower than that of 1796 is the more noticeable. It does not necessarily prove that Connecticut was growing poorer. It probably indicates that as men accumulated wealth they invested it largely in property that was not subject to taxation.

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[1] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1804, p. 676, sec. 10.

[2] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1804, p. 676.

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Very little taxation except the tax upon the towns was imposed by the state. Throughout this entire period duties were laid on writs and continuances and these duties yielded from five to seven thousand dollars a year. No other sources of revenue, except the state tax and the stock held by the state, yielded greater returns to the state. There is evidence that the state failed to receive its dues from this source.[1] This loss was due to the extreme carelessness, if not graft, on the part of the justices who made out the writs and received the duties. At the May session of 1813 the general assembly levied on retailers of spirits a license fee of five dollars a year. This tax was collected by the town clerks and paid by them to the state treasurer.[2] For the four years ending in April, 1818, it returned to the state treasury an average of more than four thousand dollars a year. At a later time the yield from duties and licenses became relatively so small that it will not be considered; but throughout this period its importance was considerable.

Duties

The only other form of taxation used during this period was the taxing of stock held by persons not residing in Connecticut. In 1813, the state first availed itself of this source of revenue. Two banks, the Hartford Bank and the Union Bank at New London, were chartered as early as May 1792,[3] but the bank stock even of inhabitants of Connecticut was not listed until 1805, and for eight more years non-resident bank stock escaped taxation. The act passed by the legislature at the May session of 1812 reached that class of stock by declaring that it should be listed at three per cent of its face value and subjected to the same taxation as the same kind of stock owned by inhabitants of the state. However, the non-resident stock thus set in the list was not to be considered as part of the town list and did not increase the state tax due from the towns. The banks were directed to pay the taxes on such stock and were given a lien on the stock of the non-resident shareholders for the amount thus paid.[4] The principle of taxation at source, in later years to be more widely extended, is met with here for the first time in the history of Connecticut. It is interesting to note that the total amount of taxes received on non-

Non-resident Bank Stock

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[1] Letter to James Thomas, Esq., Comptroller. By Andrew T. Judson, Attorney at Law, Canterbury, Conn. Clapp & Francis, Printers, New London, 1819.

[2] Conn. Laws, May 1813, chap. 12, sec. 2.

[3] Conn. Laws, Revision of 1795, pp. 40, 50.

[4] Public Acts, May 1812, chap. 13.

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resident bank stock from the time this law went into operation until the close of this period was only two thousand five hundred ninety-six dollars, an average of less than five hundred twenty dollars a year. This tax on non-resident bank stock was the only tax, during the first period, on any kind of stock held by persons residing without the state.

Forfeited Bonds, Fines, etc.

The amount received by the state in this period from forfeited bonds, bills of cost, fines, avails of court, and escheats was both actually and relatively small. From April, 1797, to April, 1818, the annual average was only $1,529.95.

2. Extraordinary Receipts.

In extraordinary receipts the state received, during the summer of 1796, from the president and fellows of Yale College, $13,726.39 in deferred six per cent United States stock. The occasion for this transfer will be shown later under expenditures for education.[1] During the fiscal year ending April 30, 1815, the Phœnix Bank, pursuant to the act incorporating it (passed at the May session of the general assembly in 1814),[2] paid into the state treasury a bonus of fifty thousand dollars. In the fiscal years ending April 30, 1817, and April 9, 1818, respectively, two other large sums, fifty-five thousand four hundred dollars and eleven thousand five hundred dollars, were received from the United States government in payment for the services of the Connecticut troops and for supplies furnished by the state during the war of 1812 against Great Britain.

3. Permanent Fund.

Under the head of revenue there remains for discussion the income from the United States stock and from bank stock held by the state. Taking advantage of that part of an act of congress, approved, August 4, 1790,[3] which provided for the funding of the domestic debt, the state subscribed to the United States loan in evidences of United States indebtedness. Conforming to the terms of this act, the specie value of the amount subscribed by the state in the principal of the domestic debt, together with the interest due on it to December 31, 1790, inclusive, was determined and for two-thirds of the amount thus ascertained the state received from the United

[1] Cf. p. 41.

[2] Public Acts, May 1814, chap. 2, sec. 8.

[3] Acts of Congress, 1 congress, 1 session, chap. 34. Cf. p. 13.

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States $3,441.83 of six per cent stock and for the other third $1,720.94 of deferred six per cent stock to begin bearing interest in the year 1801. In exchange for the amount subscribed in the interest of the domestic debt, the state received $2,931.54 of three per cent stock.[1] In payment of the balance due to Connecticut for expenses incurred in the Revolutionary War, congress credited Connecticut, in 1795, with the following items: $412,747.34 of six per cent stock; $206,373.66 of deferred six per cent stock; and $123,824.20 of three per cent stock.[2] In 1796, the president and fellows of Yale College, as already stated,[3] transferred to the state $13,726.39 of the deferred six per cent stock. In payment of a debt due to the state, $682.20 of six per cent stock was transferred to the state.[4] In May, 1796, the general assembly voted to reinvest, in deferred six per cent and three per cent United States stock, the amounts received from the United States in part payment of the principal of the six per cent stock.[5] This policy was continued without change until the United States began to redeem the deferred six per cent stock. This caused the legislature to vote, in October, 1800, to reinvest in the United States debt all money received from the United States in payment of principal.[6] Meanwhile the state had transferred some of its stock in payment of its debt.[7] A brief summary showing the history of the stock held by the state and the amount actually owned by it on April 30, 1801,[8] will make the above paragraph clear.

	Amount of 6% stock (real capital)	Deferred 6% stock	3% stock
Originating from subscription to the U. S. Loan (made principally in 1791),	$3,441.83	$1,720.94	$2,931.54
Credited by U. S. in payment of balance due,	412,747.34	206,373.66	123,824.20

[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1801. Credit side of account of stock standing to the credit of the state in the books of the commissioner of loans.

[2] Cf. p. 17.

[3] Cf. p. 29.

[4] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1801. Credit side of account of stock standing to the credit of the state in the books of the commissioner of loans.

[5] Idem.

[6] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1801.

[7] Cf. p. 18.

[8] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1801. Account of stock standing to the credit of the state in the books of the commissioner of loans.

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	Amount of 6% stock (real capital)	Deferred 6% stock	3% stock
Transferred by President & Fellows of Yale College,		13,726.39	
Transferred for debt due from late Sheriff Fitch,	682.20		
Purchased up to April 30, 1801,	6,186.79	15,548.75	42,461.93
	$423,058.16	$237,369.74	$169,217.67
Transferred to State Creditors,	164,926.40	83,841.79	125,751.34
	$258,131.76	$153,527.95	$43,466.33
Redeemed by U. S. and money not yet reinvested on April 30, 1801,	38,160.56		
	$219,971.20		

When congress authorized the issue of its six per cent stock, it reserved to the federal government the right to make annual payments for interest and principal to the extent of eight per cent of the face value of the certificates.[1] Under this provision, as the yearly payments of interest decreased, the payments on the principal correspondingly increased. This may be shown graphically by the formula $\$8 - i = r$, in which $\$8$ is the maximum amount that the federal government could pay in one year on every hundred dollars of the face value of the stock, i represents the interest due on the unpaid portion of the principal, and r the amount applicable to the redemption of the debt. Consequently as i was a constantly diminishing quantity, r became a constantly increasing quantity. In his report for May, 1802, the comptroller informs the general assembly that the state will soon have considerable difficulty in reinvesting the payments made on the principal of the six per cent stocks by the United States. The full exercise of its right by the federal government was causing these payments to increase yearly at a rate of a little more than six per cent. This normal increase was enhanced by the fact that the state was reinvesting the amounts so received from the United States in the purchase of more six per cent stocks, thus augmenting the amount which the United States could pay annually on the principal.

[1] Cf. p. 14.

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A vicious circle was the inevitable result. Larger payments by the national government involved larger investments in six per cent stock and the process repeated itself. This fact and the additional fact that there would be an increasing scarcity of such stock in the market because of the steady purchase of the same by the United States government would make the continuation of such purchases difficult and expensive. The comptroller, therefore, recommended that the reinvestment of the funds received from the United States for reimbursement of the principal be extended to bank stocks as well as to the stock of the United States and that the state should avoid, if possible, further purchase of the six per cent stock. Whenever it became necessary to purchase both six per cent stock and three per cent stock in order to get the latter, he advised that the former be sold as soon as possible and the proceeds reinvested in the three per cent stock.[1] The comptroller made the further suggestion that inasmuch as all the United States stock held by the state, except that credited to it in payment of the balance due from the United States, was transferable, the state should sell the transferable portion of its six per cent stock and invest the proceeds in bank stock and three per cent United States stock.[2] The general assembly did not act on this advice until the following year. At the May session in 1803 it voted to accept the proposal of the stockholders of the Hartford, New Haven and Middletown banks that the state subscribe to the capital stock of each of these banks, in proportion to their capital, the money already accrued or that should accrue from the reimbursement of the six per cent United States stock belonging to the state. This act directed the treasurer to subscribe to the stock of the above mentioned banks, and also to the stock of the New London and Norwich banks, if their stockholders should accept, within a month after the rising of the assembly, the terms of the act. The act also included a condition that the state should receive the same dividends as other shareholders. The state reserved the right to withdraw, on six months' notice, the whole or any part of the money thus invested and also the privilege of subscribing other state money upon the same terms. All shares held by the state under this act were to be non-transferable.[3] This was the origin of the state's investment in bank stock. As a consequence of this change of policy, no United States stock was pur-

[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1802, pp. 3—5.

[2] Idem.

[3] Conn. Laws, May 1803 p. 635.

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chased until after October, 1815, and the vicious circle was broken. In October, 1815, the comptroller suggested that inasmuch as the state had already subscribed a considerable amount in bank stock and as the school fund would in the future be able to hold a considerable amount of bank stock, it might be prudent for the state not to invest in such stock the whole of its reimbursements from the United States. Therefore he proposed that the state treasurer be authorized to purchase some of the seven per cent loan of the United States or any of the public loans; to subscribe to the stock of any of the banks of the state; or to loan on such bonds and mortgages as he might approve.[1] The banks to the stock of which the state had already subscribed had temporarily refused to receive New York money or "facilities" in payment for stock. The United States was making its payments to the state on the principal of the debt in this form and consequently the funds were lying idle in the state treasury for want of a place to invest them.[2] This was another reason why the comptroller made this proposal. Accordingly the general assembly during its October session, 1815, passed an act empowering the treasurer to invest the reimbursement of the United States stock and the dividends of bank stock in the banks of this state, or in funds of the United States.[3] Under the authority of this act there were purchased before May 1, 1817, the following amounts of stock: thirteen thousand six hundred nineteen dollars of seven per cent stock; $707.78 of six per cent stock; $1,557.36 of deferred six per cent stock; and $5,264.55 of three per cent stock. This was the last purchase of United States stock by the state until after the Civil War.

Inasmuch as the stockholders of the Norwich and New London banks did not vote to accept the provisions of the act of May, 1803, authorizing the subscription to their stock from the money received from the United States for the redemption of its six per cent stock, the treasurer of the state subscribed to the shares of the Hartford, New Haven, and Middletown banks only.

During the first year of the operation of this act, the state subscribed for forty-two thousand five hundred twenty-five dollars of stock in these three banks. With the exception of the two fiscal years ending on April 30, 1809, and April 30, 1814, additional subscriptions were made every year until, on April 30, 1816, the state

[1] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1815.
[2] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1815.
[3] Treas. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1818.

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owned one hundred forty-six thousand eight hundred dollars of bank stock, all of which was non-transferable, issued by these three banks. The general assembly, by the same act (passed at the October session, 1815)[1] which again allowed the treasurer to invest in United States stock, also authorized him to invest in the bank stock of any banks in the state. Acting in accordance with this provision, the treasurer, during the year ending April 30, 1817, purchased forty-eight thousand three hundred dollars of stock issued by the Hartford, New Haven, Eagle, and Phœnix banks. This stock was purchased, not subscribed, and was, therefore, transferable. By the purchase of this stock, the portion of the principal of the permanent fund invested in bank stock for the first time exceeded the amount of United States stock held by the state. During the next year the state subscribed for fifty-five thousand four hundred dollars more of stock in the three banks to whose capital stock it had previously subscribed and purchased three hundred dollars more of the Eagle Bank stock. Thus on April 10, 1818, the "Permanent Fund," as the United States stock and the bank stock held by the state were called, stood as follows[2]:

Seven per cent United States Stock,	$13,619.00
Six ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	8,106.56
Deferred six ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	68,034.00
Three ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	55,302.66
Total of ,, ,, ,,	$145,062.22
Bank stock subscribed and not transferable,	$202,200.00
Bank stock purchased and transferable,	48,600.00
Total Bank Stock,	$250,800.00
Balance in the treasury, uninvested,	1,018.59
Grand Total,	$396,880.81

This fund was recorded in a separate account and the money received from the United States as reimbursements of the principal was not used as revenue, but was considered as capital to be reinvested. Until 1809 the money thus appropriated for reinvestment was always so used. The money received from the United States on account of the principal during the year ending April 30, 1809 ($16,932), was appropriated for the purchase of firearms. Further sums were expended from the fund for a similar purpose so that from 1811 to 1816 more than forty-eight thousand five hundred

[1] Cf. p. 33.

[2] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1818.

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dollars additional was drawn from this fund.[1] Until 1817 the dividends on the bank stock and the interest on the United States stock were included in the current receipts designed to defray the annual expenses of the state. In the years 1817 and 1818, however, the bank dividends were turned into the fund for the purchase of bank stock. The annual income from interest and dividends formed a considerable part of the annual income and no other source except the state tax on the towns made a larger return to the state.

Until 1817 the income from the United States stock exceeded the dividends from the bank stock. This was due to the fact that until this time the part of the fund invested in United States stock was greater than the amount invested in bank stock, and not to the fact that the former returned a higher rate of income. From 1801 until 1818 more than two-thirds of the United States stock held by the state was yielding an annual interest of six per cent and the remainder three per cent; but the rate of dividends on the bank stock, from April 30, 1804, to the close of this period, was between seven and eight per cent. For the year ending April 30, 1813, it rose to over nine and a half per cent, but after 1814, owing, no doubt, to the stagnation of business brought about by the war, it fell steadily below the average already mentioned.

These decreased returns from the bank stock in the last few years lower the average annual income from the permanent fund, after all of it became productive in 1801, by more than a thousand dollars. The average income of the fund from April 30, 1801, to April 30, 1814, was twenty-five thousand nine hundred ten dollars. In the last four years of the first period, however, the average income was only twenty-one thousand sixty-seven dollars.

4. School Fund.

Only one more important source of revenue during this period remains to be noticed—the school fund. To understand the origin of this fund, it is necessary to go back to the charter granted in 1662 to the colony of Connecticut by King Charles II of England. This charter defined the limits of Connecticut as follows: From the south line of Massachusetts on the north to Long Island sound on the south, and from the Narragansett river on the east to the Pacific ocean on the west, excepting such portions as were then occupied by prior settlers. In 1681, William Penn was granted a charter embracing a considerable portion of the above territory and which

[1] Ledger Folio D (Ms.), p. 14.

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is included in the present state of Pennsylvania. The dispute arising from this fact was not finally settled until November, 1782, when a commission appointed by the two states decided it in favor of Pennsylvania. Connecticut still claimed a strip of land about two and one-third miles wide and two hundred twenty miles long situated west of the Delaware river, south of the imaginary line made by projecting the southern boundary line of Massachusetts, and north of the northern boundary of Pennsylvania as claimed by that state.[1] It also claimed all lands west of Pennsylvania, as far as the Mississippi, which lay between the northern and southern lines set by the charter of 1662. In 1786, Connecticut, following the lead of New York and Virginia, ceded to the United States all of the lands it claimed west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania with the exception of a tract of about thirty-five hundred thousand acres comprising what are now the counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Portage, Geauga, Cuyahoga, Medina, Lorain, Huron, and Erie in the state of Ohio.[2] In 1792 the general assembly granted five hundred thousand acres from this reserved tract to citizens of Danbury, Fairfield, Norwalk, New London and Groton to indemnify them for losses arising from the burning of the towns by the British at the time of Arnold's raid into Connecticut. The general assembly, at its May session in 1795, appointed a committee to sell the remainder of this land known as the "Western Reserve." The committee was instructed not to sell unless it should obtain at least one million dollars, specie value, and if there were more than one contract, the contracts must be made together and the purchasers must hold their respective parts in common. The legislature also voted that the principal sum received from the sale of these lands should remain a perpetual fund, and that the interest of this fund should be appropriated to the support of schools in the different school societies. The distribution of this sum was to be based on the list of polls and rateable estate of the different school societies.[3]

Another example of the tendency, even at this period, of the state to maintain a paternal interest in the church is seen in this act relating to the sale of the Western Reserve. The act reserved to the general assembly the right to grant the request of any society which, by a two-thirds vote at a legal meeting called for that purpose only, should resolve to ask from the general assembly the privilege of using, for the support of public worship, the whole

[1] Annual Report of American Historical Association, 1898, p. 142.
[2] Niles' Register, vol. 56, p. 344.
[3] Conn. Laws, May 1798, p. 482, sec. 3.

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or any portion of its share of the income received from the school fund. If such a request were offered and granted, the money was to be distributed among all the different denominations in the society according to the taxable lists of the respective members. As no such request was ever made, the income of the fund was actually used for the support of schools.[1]

The committee appointed to negotiate for the disposal of these lands reported to the legislature at the October session of the same year (1795) that they had sold the Western Reserve for one million two hundred thousand dollars payable in five years and with interest to begin after two years. The land was bought by thirty-five persons, who took thirty-six shares of unequal value, and the holders at once organized into the "Connecticut Land Company."

The committee which made the sale of the land had charge of the fund until 1800. In that year a board of managers, consisting of three members appointed by the legislature and the state treasurer, was created to administer the fund. In May, 1800, the general assembly passed an act providing that the principal of the school fund, as it should from time to time be converted into money, should be invested in bank stock or United States stock.[2] A statement of the capital of the school fund as it stood on October 1, 1803,[3] shows a small increase in the original capital of the fund and also that in accordance with the above act United States stock was being purchased.

School bonds collaterally secured,	$1,021,744.75
Six per cent stock,	14,592.89
Deferred stock,	5,582.40
Three per cent stock,	4,571.95
New lands, value at which received by the state,	194,000.00
	$1,240,491.99

By 1810 the original thirty-six bonds resting on personal security had increased to nearly five hundred bonds, most of which were secured by mortgages on real estate. The accounts were in very bad confusion and from the report of the managers of the school fund made in October, 1809, it appeared that a large amount of interest was due, in some instances nearly equal to the principal, and that many of the collateral securities were unsafe. A committee

[1] New England States, vol. ii, chap. 63, pp. 701, 702.

[2] Reports of Commissioner of School Fund, 1826, p. 8, and 1835, p. 6.

[3] Green's Register, 1804, pp. 140, 141.

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appointed to investigate the problem recommended that the management of the fund should be intrusted to one person. Accordingly the legislature, at its May session in 1810, appointed James Hillhouse, then a member of the United States senate, to be "Commissioner of the School Fund." He immediately resigned his senatorship and entered upon his new duties. The nominal amount of the fund on October 1, 1811, was $1,332,756.15 but of this sum only $1,201,165.74 was considered actually reliable.[1] The work that James Hillhouse did cannot be better described than in the words of the great educator, Henry Barnard. "Without a single litigated suit or a dollar paid for counsel, he reduced the disordered management to an efficient system, disentangled its affairs from loose and embarrassed connections with personal securities and indebted estates, and converted its doubtful claims into well secured and solid capital."[2] The following is the statement of the capital as it stood in April, 1819.[3]

Money loaned on *bonds, contracts* and *mortgages* to inhabitants of	Connecticut,	$579,228	
	New York,	568,298	
	Massachusetts,	271,582	
	Ohio,	47,582	
	Vermont,	17,445	
			$1,483,831[4]
Cultivated Lands and *buildings* in	Connecticut,	$7,618	
	Massachusetts,	59,576	67,194
Wild Lands in	New York,	$38,000	
	Ohio,	2,560	40,560
Bank Stock (1 bank),			57,600
		Total,	$1,649,185

In accordance with the terms of the sale of the Western Reserve, interest did not begin to accrue until September 2, 1797, and it was allowed to accumulate until March, 1799, when the first apportionment of the fund was made. Until May, 1810, the expense of managing this fund was paid out of the state treasury, leaving the whole

[1] Niles' Register, vol. i (1811), pp. 128, 129.

[2] Report of Superintendent of Common Schools, 1853, p. 146.

[3] Report of Commisssioner of School Fund, 1819.

[4] A verification of this table shows an error of a little more than three hundred dollars in this total, but the percentage of error is too small to detract from the substantial accuracy of the table as given in the report from which it is taken.

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income to be distributed for school purposes.[1] During this period of thirteen years, in which the fund was administered first by the committee which made the sale and after 1800 by the board of managers, the interest divided and paid out to the school societies according to their respective lists of polls and rateable estates was $456,757.44, an average of $35,135.19 a year. In spite of the fact that the expenses of managing the fund were paid, after 1810, from the income of the fund, the total amount of dividends distributed by James Hillhouse during the first nine years of his administration was $370,225.63, an average of $41,136.18 per annum. The total amount of money arising from this fund and distributed among the school societies in the state from 1799 to 1819 inclusive, this being the period during which the dividends were apportioned according to the town lists, was over $826,983, or more than two-thirds of the original capital of the fund.

E. Expenditures.

1. Education.

Public Schools

In addition to the dividends arising from the school fund, the state paid annually from its treasury to each school society the sum of two dollars on every thousand dollars in the list of the given society. This amount was taken from the taxes paid into the state treasury by the towns and this method was used to insure for the schools an expenditure by local school units of an amount equal to at least two dollars on the thousand in their respective lists. Instead of leaving to the towns the collection of this tax, the state added it to the state tax imposed upon the towns and then returned it to the school societies.[2] The idea was by no means new. In the October session of the legislature in 1700, almost a century earlier, provision was made for a uniform school tax of forty shillings on every thousand pounds in the town lists. The method of collection was similar, as the act provided: "When and so often as the treasurer sends forth his warrants for levying the county rates, he shall also, together with the county rate, assess the inhabitants of the several towns in this colony, the said sum of forty shillings upon every thousand pounds, and proportionably for lesser sums in their county

[1] Report (p. 19) of committee to whom was referred that part of His Excellency's Speech which relates to the School Fund 1819. (Bound with Reports of Commissioner School Fund, etc., 1819).

[2] Conn. Laws (Revision of 1795), p. 372, sec. 5.

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lists, adding the same to their respective proportions of the county rate, and requiring the constables to levy the said assessments upon the inhabitants of each town within their several precincts."[1] In 1711 the general assembly resolved that "upon consideration of the great backwardness and neglect among the people of this colony in paying the forty shillings upon every thousand pounds in the lists of estates allowed by law for the supporting and keeping of schools," [it be ordered and enacted that] "the said sum of forty shillings (recovered and to be recovered as county pay) upon the thousand pounds, and at that rate upon the lists of estates of the several towns, villages, and places within this colony, shall be paid by the treasurer out of the public treasury of this colony, to the committee for the schools respectively, or their order, for the support of the schools in the said towns, villages, and places . . . "[2] In these two laws are seen the principles which are incorporated in the act of 1800—the state appropriating a designated sum which it is to receive back in the way of increased taxation. The rate of this tax was changed several times until in May, 1767, it was fixed again at "forty shillings on the thousand pounds." It thus continued until by the act of 1800 its equivalent of two dollars on the thousand dollars was substituted.

The total amount of these annual state appropriations for the support of schools during this entire period (1789–1818), exclusive of the year 1805–1806,[3] was $344,247.70. This is an average of $12,294.56 a year. By adding the dividends from the school fund (from 1799, when the first dividend was distributed, to 1818, inclusive), which were also appropriated for schools, the total sum, with the exception already noted, spent for educational purposes by the state in this first period is found to be $1,113,210.15. Taking into account only the part of this period during which both the dividends from the school fund and the annual appropriations were received by the school societies (1799–1818), the average annual sum of about fifty-one thousand three hundred sixty-four dollars was devoted by the state to the cause of education.[4]

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[1] Report Supt. of Common Schools, 1853, pp. 44, 45.

[2] Report Supt. of Common Schools, 1853, p. 46.

[3] The exact amount spent for schools by the state for the year ending April 30, 1806, could not be ascertained because the comptroller's semi-annual report of October 1805 is missing.

[4] In computing this average, the average annual appropriation of $12,294.56 has been substituted for the missing figures of 1806.

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In addition to this annual expenditure for the common schools, the state, at different times during this period, made provision for the aid of its one higher institute of learning, Yale College.

Yale College

Mention has been made of back taxes and excise and impost duties, due to the state on November 1, 1789, which constituted the fund set aside for payments on the state debt.[1] The amount of paper taxes exclusive of abatements and the amount of excise bonds still due the state on April 30, 1792, together equalled £19,306 9s. $0^1/_4$d.[2] The assumption of the state debts by the United States being assured, James Hillhouse, at that time the treasurer of Yale College, reminded the general assembly that these taxes were no longer needed to pay state creditors as originally intended, and suggested that they be appropriated for the benefit of the college.[3] Because such a grant necessitated no additional taxation, little opposition was made to this commendable proposition. At its May session, 1792, the general assembly appointed three commissioners to receive the unpaid balances of all the taxes which had been levied for the discharge of the principal and interest of the public debt and also all other balances due the state in any public paper of the state. These balances were appropriated to Yale College, the act stipulating that twenty-five hundred pounds of the amount received should be used for the erection of a building and that the remainder should constitute a fund whose income should be used for the support of professors. This appropriation was made on two conditions: first, that the governor, lieutenant governor, and the six senior assistants in the council of the state, for the time being, should ex-officio be fellows of the college; and second, that the president and fellows of the college should agree to transfer to the state in some form of United States stock an amount equal to fifty per cent of the sum received from these balances.[4] These conditions were accepted, but the college authorities, soon feeling the need of more money, petitioned the assembly at its May session, 1796, to release them from the payment of the fifty per cent of the receipts from the balances. The legislature in compliance with this request consented to relinquish the state's claim to this fifty per cent, if the college corporation, within thirty days of the rising of the assembly, would transfer to the state $13,726.39 in deferred stock of the United

[1] Cf. pp. 12, 13.

[2] Comptroller's Report (Ms.), May 1792, p. 1.

[3] Report Supt. of Com. Schools, 1853, p. 138.

[4] Conn. Laws (Revision of 1808), title 178, chap. 1, sec. 2, 3.

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States.[1] This condition was complied with and thus is explained the previously mentioned[2] transfer of this stock to the state by the president and fellows of Yale College referred to in the discussion of the stock owned by the state. The total amount received from these balances from the passage of the act in 1792 until April 30, 1796, was £17,451 15s. 4d.,[3] which was equivalent to $58,172.56. Subtracting from this amount the sum of $13,726.39, which the college transferred to the state in United States stock, the net amount realized by the college from these two acts is shown to be $44,446.27.

The state again aided the college in 1814. In that year the general assembly appointed a committee to provide a building for a medical college and land for a botanical garden, and appropriated for this purpose twenty thousand dollars, to be taken from the fifty thousand dollar bonus paid to the state by the Phœnix Bank.[4] The committee received from the state treasurer a part of this sum in cash and the remainder in the stock of the Phœnix Bank. The committee made for the college a profit of four hundred sixty-four dollars by selling part of the bank stock and received in dividends from the stock the sum of $591.60, thus raising the funds for the institution to $21,055.60. Of this amount $15,249.09 was expended in instituting the medical college, leaving a surplus of $5,806.51 in Phœnix Bank stock. This stock, the medical college, the botanical garden, and all the other property procured for Yale College, was turned over, in 1816, to its president and fellows.[5]

The last grant which the state made during this period to Yale was made at the October session in 1816, when the general assembly appropriated for the use of the college one-seventh of the balance due from the United States in payment for advances made by the state, in the war of 1812, for the public defense. During the fiscal years of 1817 and 1818, the college received $8,785.71 from this source. Thus in this period the college received at the hands of the state over seventy thousand dollars, although in every case the grant was made in such a way as not to directly burden the people nor lessen appropriations for general current expenditures.

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[1] Conn. Laws (Revision of 1808), title 178, chap. 2.

[2] Cf. pp. 29, 30.

[3] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1796.

[4] Cf. p. 29.

[5] Report (Ms.) of Trustees of Medical Institution, Oct. 1816.

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2. Public Buildings.

During the first period no separate account of expenditures on public buildings was kept, but expenses incurred for this purpose were either entered under the account of "Contingent Expenses" or recorded by making a special entry for each particular project. The building which absorbed nearly all the money spent by the state in the construction of buildings was the state house at Hartford. The history of the building of this state house is exceptionally interesting. Toward the erection of a state house in Hartford, fifteen hundred pounds (equivalent to five thousand dollars) was voted at the May, 1792, session of the legislature, on condition that the citizens of the city, town, and county of Hartford would contribute an equal sum, and for its construction a building committee was appointed by the general assembly. More than thirty-six hundred dollars was subscribed by citizens, the city gave thirty-five hundred dollars and the county fifteen hundred dollars; but the building committee, seeing that more funds were needed to complete the building, applied to the assembly of May, 1793, for the right to hold a lottery to raise more money. The request was granted and the committee organized the lottery, known as the "Hartford State House Lottery," under the following plan. Twenty-six thousand six hundred sixty-seven tickets at five dollars each were to be issued. The total selling value of these tickets was thus one hundred thirty-three thousand three hundred thirty-five dollars. Seven-eighths of this amount was to be awarded in eight thousand eight hundred ninety prizes varying in value from ten dollars to eight thousand dollars. The drawing was not to begin until three-quarters of the tickets had been sold and not until March 1795, did it finally begin. The lottery was not conspicuously successful. The money already raised for the erection of the state house had been exhausted. The building was at a standstill.[1] To determine what should be done was a difficult proposition.

State House

To understand how the problem was settled, reference must be made again to the western lands claimed by the state on the basis of the charter granted by King Charles II in 1662.[2] A part of the land included in the limits of the colony by this charter was a strip of land west of the Delaware river, south of the imaginary line formed by the extension of the southern boundary of Massachusetts,

[1] The Connecticut Gore Land Company by Albert C. Bates in Annual Report American Historical Association, 1898, pp. 141, 142.

[2] Cf. p. 35.

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and north of the northern boundary of Pennsylvania as claimed by that state. This land, known as "The Gore," was about two hundred twenty miles long and two and one-third miles wide and its ownership was in dispute. About forty miles of the eastern end was claimed by New York and another forty miles was claimed by Phelps and Gorham, to whom it had been sold by Massachusetts.[1] With an eye for speculation, two men, Colonel Jeremiah Halsey and General Andrew Ward, had made to the general assembly, in May, 1794, the proposition that if the state would deed to them its claim to this strip, they would sell it and return to the state one-half of the net proceeds.[2] This proposition being refused, they came forward at the October session with another proposition. In this they stated that if Connecticut would transfer to them its claim to this land, they would contend in the courts for the legal title and that upon the establishment of their claim they would return to the state either three thousand pounds in Connecticut state notes or one-half of the land.[3] This proposition was carried over to the May session of 1795, and then Halsey and Ward, who were persistent in their efforts to gain control of this territory, and who were fearing another refusal, came forward with the proposition that in return for Connecticut's claim to this land, they would finish the building of the state house, according to the original plans, within two years. Here was a solution of the state house dilemma. The offer proved to be too strong for the general assembly to resist. They granted to Halsey and Ward all claims to any land lying east of the projection of Pennsylvania which extends northward to Lake Erie. The general assembly also allowed them any materials which the building committee had already provided and also the net avails of the lottery held by the same committee.[4]

The story would be interesting if it ended here, but further events were to happen to make it of still greater interest. Attention has already been called to the sale of the "Western Reserve" in September, 1795, to the Connecticut Land Company. Although by this sale the state gave up her territorial rights, the jurisdiction

[1] The Connecticut Gore Land Company by Albert C. Bates in Annual Report American Historical Association, 1898, p. 143.

[2] The Rise, Progress and Effect of the Claim of the Proprietors of the Connecticut Gore, p. 8. Hudson & Goodwin, Hartford, 1802.

[3] Report (Ms.) made to the general assembly October, 1801, by a committee appointed to inquire into the claims of the Connecticut Gore Land Company, pp. 7, 8.

[4] Act (Ms.) of May 1795, warranting sale of the Gore to Ward and Halsey.

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of this land was still retained by Connecticut. This region was several hundred miles away from Connecticut and its great distance made it difficult for the state to maintain law and order there. For that reason, the settlers on this land desired that the jurisdiction be transferred from the state to the United States. Accordingly, at the October session of 1797, the general assembly authorized the Connecticut senators in congress to endeavor to effect a transfer of jurisdiction.[1] Congress, however, was slow in accepting such a transfer and Connecticut did not gain her point until April, 1800. Congress then voted that if within eight months Connecticut should "by a legislative act renounce forever, for the use and benefit of the United States and the several individual states who may be therein concerned respectively and all those deriving claims or titles from them or any of them," all jurisdictional and territorial right to all lands *west of the present east bounds of New York*, the United States would cede to Connecticut the *territorial* right to the Western Reserve.[2] Two things are to be noticed in this act. In the first place, the United States agreed to cede to Connecticut the "territorial" right to the Western Reserve instead of accepting from Connecticut the jurisdiction over this territory. Congress had never directly allowed Connecticut's claim to this land and Connecticut's territorial and jurisdictional rights were based on the same claim. By this act the United States agreed to cede the territorial right and indirectly implied that the nation retained the jurisdiction which, in the opinion of the federal government, Connecticut did not really have to transfer. The second important point to notice is that in order to receive the benefit of this act Connecticut must renounce all claims, both territorial and jurisdictional, to all lands west of the eastern boundary of New York. This covered the land which the state had ceded to Halsey and Ward in return for the erection of the state house. Again the Connecticut legislature had a difficult problem to solve. The state had sold the Western Reserve for one million two hundred thousand dollars, payable in the fall of 1800, and was already drawing interest on the principal. Its title to the land had been disputed and if, by any chance its claim should be overthrown, the above sum could not be collected as a permanent school fund and the state might be compelled to return the interest money already received. Congress now offered to give Connecticut an indisputable title to this land, but on condition

[1] Private Acts, vol. v, p. 783.

[2] Acts of Congress, 6 congress, 1 session, chap. 38.

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that the state give up her claim to "The Gore," for which she had already been paid. The opportunity to make sure of the one million two hundred thousand dollars was too good to be neglected, however, and the assembly, at the May session of 1800, accepted the condition imposed by congress[1] and thus renounced all claim to "The Gore" in favor of the United States and the individual states concerned. In this case, the only state concerned was New York.

This act on the part of the Connecticut legislature wrecked the Gore company which Halsey and Ward had organized. This company had completed the erection of the state house at a cost of between fifteen and twenty-five thousand dollars, had carried on suits, and made many other expenditures necessary to establish their claims. Consequently the shares of the company had cost their present holders about three hundred thousand dollars. This act, at one blow, made valueless the work and expense of this company. In the May session of 1801, the company asked relief from the general assembly and in vain continued to seek redress, until finally, in May, 1805, the legislature granted to the Gore company forty thousand dollars, payable in four annual instalments of ten thousand dollars.[2] Thus the ultimate amount paid by the state for the erection of the state house exceeded forty-five thousand dollars.

The only other expense incurred for the erection of buildings by the state during this period was a sum of four thousand one hundred fifty-five dollars for the erection of an arsenal during the fiscal years of 1814 and 1815. Repairs and alterations on the Hartford and New Haven state houses cost three thousand eight hundred forty-two dollars more, making a total expenditure by the state, on public buildings, of not quite fifty-four thousand five hundred dollars.

Arsenal

The figures just stated do not include any money spent on buildings connected with Newgate, the state prison. Appropriations for this purpose are included under the expenses of the prison. Newgate was the remains of an old mine and was first used as a prison on December 22, 1773. From 1782 until 1790 it was not in use, but in 1790 the general assembly established it

State Prison

[1] United States Laws, vol. i, 1789—1815, pp. 485, 486. Report (Ms.) made to the general assembly October 1801, by a committee appointed to inquire into the claims of the Connecticut Gore Land Company, p. 15.

An enquiry concerning the grant of the legislature of Connecticut to Andrew Ward and Jeremiah Halsey, p. 8. P. Canfield, Hartford, 1829.

[2] An enquiry concerning the grant of the legislature of Connecticut to Andrew Ward and Jeremiah Halsey, p. 23. P. Canfield, Hartford, 1829.

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as a permanent prison. Three overseers, a keeper and a guard of ten men, increased to seventeen in 1802, were appointed and two brick buildings were erected. A twelve-foot stone wall was built around the grounds in 1802, and in 1815 two more buildings were constructed.[1] The total expense of the prison to the state treasury from 1790 to 1818 (exclusive of year ending April 30, 1806[2]) was one hundred nineteen thousand eight hundred four dollars, which is an average annual expenditure of $4,437.18.

3. Judicial Expenses.

The expenses included under this heading are the costs of transporting convicts to the state prison, the payment of sums necessary to balance the accounts of the county courts and the amounts drawn from the treasury by the clerks of the superior and county courts. The entire amount expended during this period, exclusive of the year ending in 1806 (the comptroller's report for October, 1805, is missing), was one hundred eighty-seven thousand three hundred twenty-two dollars.

4. State Paupers.

The law under which the state incurred expense for paupers during this period was passed by the assembly at its autumn session in 1789.[3] Very few modifications of that law were made after its passage. It provided that every town should be responsible for the support of its inhabitants who needed relief and this responsibility applied even to inhabitants who lived in other towns within the state. The term "inhabitants" was not used in its ordinary sense, but was applied in a legal and technical sense to persons who had gained a settlement. This law stated the following conditions upon which persons could gain a settlement.

I. An alien could gain a settlement in any one of three ways: (1) by vote of the citizens of the town; (2) by consent of the selectmen; (3) by receiving an appointment to some public office.

II. An inhabitant of any state in the United States outside of Connecticut could gain a settlement in any one of these three ways or (4) by owning real estate worth three hundred thirty-four dollars.

III. An inhabitant of any town in Connecticut could gain a settlement in any one of the three ways first mentioned or (4) by owning real estate within the town worth one hundred dollars.

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[1] New England Mag., vol. v, pp. 432, 433.

[2] Compt. report for Oct. 1805 is missing.

[3] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1789, pp. 383–385.

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In 1792 an additional way was opened to the third of the above classes. If a person of this class lived in a town six years without becoming a pauper, he thereby gained a settlement; but a town was given the right to send such a person back to the town from which he came at any time before the six years were past, provided he seemed liable to become a pauper.[1]

The law of 1789 provided that in case a person not an inhabitant of any town in the state became a pauper, the state should under certain conditions provide for his maintenance for a limited time. If within two weeks of his arrival in a town, he became a charge and the person to whom he became an expense notified the selectmen, the state was to pay for his support for a period of three months from the day on which he came to the town, provided the town within the same three months warned him to leave. In case the person was unable to leave or to be removed within these three months, because of some sickness or infirmity which developed within this period, the state assumed the burden of supporting him until he could be removed. After that time the town became responsible for his support. Every town was authorized, however, to transport, at its own expense, to the states from which they came, the inhabitants of other states who became a charge on its hands. Under this law it was impossible for any of the third class to become state paupers. Persons of the first two classes could become state paupers, but as a rule would not be supported by the state for a longer period than three months. The towns could avoid the support of an inhabitant of another state by removing him to that state, but the only way to escape the burden of supporting an alien who became a pauper was to order him within three months to leave the town.

At first the state was not called upon to expend much for the support of paupers. From April 1, 1789, until April 30, 1803, the total expense to the state for paupers was thirty-one thousand five hundred fifty-nine dollars, an annual average of two thousand two hundred fifty-four dollars. From this time the expense steadily rose. The very next year it reached the five thousand dollar point; and for the year ending April 30, 1817, the cost had increased to over fifteen thousand dollars. The total amount spent from May 1, 1803, until April 9, 1818 (exclusive of the year ending April 30, 1806[2]) was one hundred fifty-one thousand five hundred dollars. This is an average of ten thousand eight hundred twenty-one dollars

[1] Conn. Laws, May 1792, p. 412.

[2] Compt. Report, Oct. 1805, is missing.

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per year for the fourteen years—more than four times as much as that for the preceding fourteen years. This increased expenditure finally caused the legislature to investigate and a committee appointed for this purpose made a report at the May session in 1812. This committee gave four causes for the increase: (1) increased immigration from Europe; (2) vigilance on the part of the neighboring states in removing the idle and worthless; (3) lack of this vigilance on the part of Connecticut; (4) defects in the laws. They pointed out that most of the states authorized their towns or counties to remove from the state foreigners who were likely to become paupers and that Connecticut had become a dumping ground for these states.[1] Nothing, however, was done which diminished the expense; and in 1816 the comptroller's report to the legislature at the fall session called its attention to the subject. The report contained the statement that the towns charged the state for the support of state paupers more than they expended for the support of their own poor. It also stated that frequently two dollars and a half to three dollars a week was charged for board, exclusive of any allowance for clothing or doctors' fees. The town authorities met the requirements of the law, the report said, by swearing that these charges were just and thus secured their payment by the state. According to the report, the expense for doctors to care for the state paupers constituted approximately an eighth of the total expense for paupers and many towns employed a physician, at a yearly salary, to attend to all of the town poor, but paid him the customary fee for each visit and for medicines whenever he attended a state pauper.[2] Thus we see that the expense to the state for the support of paupers was considerably greater than was necessary. It remained for the Republicans, as will be seen in the next chapter, to alter this condition of affairs.[3]

5. Humane Institutions.

At this period of the country's history there were very few institutions of any kind for the relief of suffering and the education of those who were physically handicapped. Connecticut has the honor of being the first state in this country to charter an asylum for the deaf and dumb. In 1816 the general assembly chartered "The Connecticut Asylum for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Persons"

[1] Report of Committee de Paupers (Ms.) to the General Assembly, May session, 1812, pp. 1—3.

[2] Compt. Report (Ms.), Oct. 1816.

[3] Cf. p. 84.

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and the institution was opened in Hartford on April 15, 1817.[1] The legislature made a grant of five thousand dollars to this asylum in its opening year. During this entire period no other state appropriation to a charitable institution was made.

6. Salaries.

Under the system of accounting used by the state financial officers at this time, an account was kept called "Salaries." Under this head, however, only the salaries of the executive officers and the judges of the superior court were included. In treating this subject we shall state the salaries of the most important state officials.

The governor's salary from 1790 until 1814, with the exception of the three years ending April 30, 1798, when it was about a third higher, was one thousand dollars a year. For the year ending April 30, 1815, it was twelve hundred fifty dollars and from this date to the close of this period it was twelve hundred dollars a year.

The salary of the lieutenant governor from 1790 until April 30, 1795, was three hundred dollars a year. It varied slightly for the next three years, being about four hundred dollars. For the years May 1, 1798, until April 30, 1810, it varied but a few cents from three hundred thirty-four dollars a year. It was then raised to six hundred dollars and remained at this figure until the year commencing May 1, 1814, when it was raised to eight hundred fifty dollars. The following year it was again raised and became nine hundred dollars. This continued to be the salary of the lieutenant governor for the remaining years of the period.

The treasurer and the comptroller received the same salary until the year ending April 30, 1815. At first they received six hundred sixty-six and two-thirds dollars a year. For the three years ending April 30, 1798, their salary was eight hundred eighty-eight dollars and eighty-nine cents. The next year it fell over two hundred dollars and was raised in each of the two following years, so that for the year ending April 30, 1801, it was slightly more than eight hundred thirty-three dollars. This continued to be the salary of the treasurer for the rest of the period. The comptroller also received this salary until it was raised to one thousand dollars in 1815.

The secretary of state received most of his compensation in fees, his salary varying from sixty-six and two-thirds dollars received for each of the first five years of the period to eighty-eight dollars and ninety cents a year during the three years ending April 30, 1798.

[1] Conn. Quarterly, vol. ix, pp. 596—601.

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Commencing with the year that closed April 30, 1806, it remained at eighty-four dollars throughout the period.

The commissioner of the school fund was not appointed until 1810. At first his salary was one thousand dollars, but in October, 1812, the assembly established an additional salary of five hundred dollars. This salary was paid out of the income of the school fund. After this increase was given to him, the commissioner of the school fund was the highest salaried state official of this p riod.

The salary of the chief judge of the superior court was seven hundred fifty dollars a year[1] until in May, 1798,[2] the legislature increased it to one thousand dollars. The associate judges, at first received six hundred sixty-seven dollars,[1] but their salaries were also raised by this act and thereafter they received nine hundred dollars.[2]

The chief judge of the supreme court of errors received two dollars and a half a day and the other judges of this court were allowed two dollars for each day of actual attendance.

The salaries of the general assembly will be treated under the next head.

7. The General Assembly.

The expenses of the general assembly, including the salaries of its members, increased from £2895 19s. (equivalent to $9,653.67) for the year ending March 31, 1790, to fifteen thousand four hundred fifty-eight dollars for the year ending April 30, 1800. A considerable part of this increase was due to the increase in the salaries of the members of the general assembly. The assembly at its October session in 1795 raised the pay of the assistants from one dollar and a half to two dollars a day and that of the representatives from one dollar a day to $1.34.[3] The allowance of mileage at the rate of nine cents a mile, which the members received under the first act, was not granted under the second. It was restored by the assembly in May, 1802.[4] From May 1, 1800, until April 30, 1814 (exclusive of year ending April 30, 1806[5]), the expenses of the assembly averaged seventeen thousand five hundred twenty-four dollars. In its session in May, 1814, the legislature voted that beginning with that session the salaries of the assistants should be raised to three dollars a day

[1] Conn. Laws, May 1787, p. 352.
[2] Conn. Laws, May 1798, p. 488.
[3] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1795, p. 181.
[4] Conn. Laws, May 1802, p. 590.
[5] The comptroller's Oct. 1805 report is missing

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and those of the representatives to two dollars a day.[1] This raise in the salaries and an extra session called in January, 1815, increased the expenses for the year ending April 30, 1815, and the average annual expenditure of the assembly for the last four years of this period (May 1, 1814, to April 10, 1818) was twenty-nine thousand twenty-two dollars.

8. Military Expenses.

After the close of the revolutionary period and before the war clouds of the second conflict with Great Britain began to lower, the military expenses of Connecticut were so small as to be negligible. The few that were incurred were entered under "Contingent Expenses." In the comptroller's report of May, 1808, the account of "Advances to Quartermaster General" appears for the first time. Only two hundred twenty-five dollars was advanced for the two years ending April 30, 1809, but in that year the general assembly began to vote to increase the fortifications of the state in order to be better prepared for war. As a consequence, the military expenditures for the two years ending April 30, 1811, amounted to seventy-five hundred dollars. During the next year the probability that the United States would declare war against Great Britain became stronger continually and the state expended ten thousand seven hundred nine dollars in strengthening her military equipment. War was actually declared in June, 1812. At the October session of the assembly in 1814 a bounty of twenty-five dollars was voted to every person who should enlist in the state forces during the war and every person who enlisted for a term of three years was to receive ten dollars additional bounty.[2] Two new accounts were opened because of the war, one with the paymaster general in 1813, and one with the commissary general in 1814. The total military expenses for the four years ending in 1816 were as follows:

For the year ending April 30,	1813,	$32,353.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	1814,	44,775.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	1815,	147,803.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	1816,	14,228.

During the next year the reduction was very great and the total military expense for the remaining two years of the period was only two thousand two hundred sixty-seven dollars.

In computing the cost of the war to the state, the amounts diverted or taken from the funds appropriated to the purchase of bank

[1] Public Statute Laws, May 1814, chap. 5, p. 154.

[2] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1814, chap. 4.

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stock and applied to the purchase of munitions of war should be included. The amount actually taken from this fund from July 1, 1811, to April 16, 1816, was forty-eight thousand five hundred three dollars.[1] To this sum may be added the reimbursements on the United States debt in the year ending April 30, 1809, amounting to sixteen thousand nine hundred thirty-two dollars, which were appropriated for the purchase of arms.[2] This action by the state reduced the permanent fund to this extent.

The extraordinary expenditures caused by the war were defrayed, for the greater part, by increasing the state tax on the towns. The rate of the tax payable in February, 1809, was eight mills on the dollar. This rate went up to a cent on the dollar for each of the next three years and was raised to twelve mills for the tax due in February, 1813. It became necessary to increase still further the burden of taxation and a rate of two cents on the dollar was laid for the taxes of February, 1814, and February, 1815. An extra tax, payable June 1, 1815, was also levied. A comparison of the total amount of the state tax for this four-year period (May 1, 1812—April 30, 1816) with the total for the two years immediately preceding and the two years immediately succeeding the given period will give the best estimate of how much the state tax was really increased during the war. The total amount of the tax for the former four-year period was four hundred ninety-six thousand one hundred thirty-nine dollars; the total amount of the tax for the latter four years was two hundred twenty-six thousand three hundred forty-five dollars. The difference between these two totals ($269,794) represents roughly the increased taxation. The total military expenditures during these same four years (1812–1816), exclusive of those paid from the permanent fund, were two hundred thirty-nine thousand one hundred fifty-nine dollars. This comparison of figures clearly shows that the increased expenditures brought about by the war were met chiefly by increasing the state tax on the towns.

9. Grants to Religious Societies, etc.

The state thus succeeded in financing this war without incurring a public debt. Hence when it received from the United States during the fiscal years ending April 30, 1817, and April 10, 1818, the sum of fifty-four hundred dollars in payment of war claims and six hundred fifteen dollars in return for the services of the Connecticut troops

[1] Cf. pp. 34, 35.
[2] Cf. p. 34.

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and for supplies which the state had furnished during the war, a question arose as to the disposition of the same. The act which authorized the state officials to receive the balance due the state from the United States also provided for its distribution.[1] This act is so interesting that it is worth giving in some detail.

In section three the state treasurer was authorized to transfer one-third for the use of the Congregational or Presbyterian societies. He was directed to distribute this sum in proportion to the several lists of these societies. (By an act of May, 1817, these societies were directed to make out their lists and send them to the state treasurer by October 1, 1817, if they wished to receive any of this money. The treasurer was ordered not to distribute any of the money appropriated to these societies until after the rising of the assembly at its October session, 1817).[2]

By the fourth section one-seventh of the total amount was appropriated for the use of the Episcopalians. The trustees who received contributions for the support of a bishop were authorized to receive the appropriation for the benefit of the fund.

Section five gave to the Baptists one-eighth of the total sum and a board of ten men was appointed to receive this amount and to distribute it to the several Baptist societies according to their respective lists or in any other way that the board approved.

In behalf of the Methodist societies section six appointed seven trustees to receive one-twelfth of the given sum under the same directions as were given the board for the Baptists. A sum equal to one-seventh of said balance was appropriated to Yale College.[3]

The remainder, not quite one-sixth, was left unappropriated in the treasury.

Under the operation of this act the Episcopalians received for their bishop's fund, $8,785.71. Yale received the same amount. The Methodists received five thousand one hundred twenty-five dollars, the Baptists $7,687.50[4] and the share of the Congrega-

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[1] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1816, chap. 13.

[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1817, chap. 2, p. 282.

[3] Cf. p. 42.

[4] The Baptists did not at once avail themselves of their grant and the assembly, at its May session in 1820, authorized the trustees appointed to distribute the Baptist grant to pay any sums refused by any of the Baptist societies to the Baptist Educational Society for a permanent fund.* As a result of this additional legislation the appropriation to the Baptists was finally paid during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1821.

* Public Statute Laws, May 1820, chap. 25, p. 407.

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tionalists and Presbyterians was twenty thousand five hundred dollars.[1]

Being the last of its kind in Connecticut, this act is of more than passing interest. That the Congregational denomination was still the state denomination is shown by the fact that the state treasurer held the appropriation and distributed it directly to the several societies, but its days as such were nearing a close. The voting of grants to religious societies by the state also ceased with this act and church and state have become entirely distinct.

This act is one of the last deeds accomplished by the Federalist party in Connecticut. The opposition, called the "Toleration Party," was rapidly overcoming the federalists and the charge made that this was a political move on the part of the federalists to stave off defeat seems quite probable.

10. Bounties and Other Encouragements.

At its May session in 1784 the general assembly voted that a bounty of three pounds—equivalent to ten dollars—should be given every inhabitant of the state who killed a full grown wolf within the limits of any town in the state. A similar bounty one-half as large was offered for every wolf's whelp thus killed.[2] Evidently Connecticut soon became too thickly settled for the acquirement of large personal gain from this bounty; for after the state had joined the Union this bounty was awarded in three years only—1790, 1792 and 1795—and the total amount of the bounties paid was only fifteen pounds, or fifty dollars.

Wolves

At the same session of the legislature an act to encourage the silk industry was passed. This act provided for the payment of two pence for every ounce of silk wound from the cocoons of silk worms raised on mulberry trees in the state and was to apply for ten years beginning July 1, 1784.[3] The law, therefore, was in operation at the time when this history begins. The amount paid by the state for silk bounties from April 1, 1789, unt l April 30, 1799, was only $950.37.

Silk

At the May session of 1803 the general assembly passed an act providing for the payment of a bounty of ten dollars a ton for the raising of hemp. This act also exempted from taxation, for the year in which the crop was harvested, all

Hemp and Flax

[1] The amount assigned to the Congregationalists and Presbyterians was not completely distributed until during the fiscal year ending April 10, 1819.

[2] Conn. Laws, 1784, p. 282.

[3] Idem.

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lands on which hemp or flax was grown. This act was to remain in force for three years, commencing May 1, 1804.[1] No payment was made under this act until during the fiscal year ending April 30, 1807. In this year thirty-two dollars was so expended. An act passed at the May session, 1807, renewed the previous act without setting a time limit.[2] This second act was not repealed until October, 1813. In the repeal it was specially provided that "nothing herein contained shall affect the right of any person to the bounty on hemp raised prior to the rising of this assembly."[3] Payments on this bounty did not wholly cease until 1817. The total amount paid was sixteen hundred fourteen dollars. Assuming that all persons who had claims under this legislation presented them and received the stipulated bounties, the quantity of hemp raised between May 1, 1804, and the rising of the assembly in 1813, a period of a little more than nine and a half years, was 161.4 tons. This is the small average annual yield of about seventeen tons and it proves that the bounty failed to build up a large and thriving hemp-growing industry.

No other encouragements of this positive form were given during this period, but a few inducements in the way of exemption from taxation were given. In 1789, the assembly voted to exempt from all taxation for a period of five years from February 1, 1789, the buildings used in the manufacture of woolen cloth by three specified firms. The polls of all persons regularly employed in these three manufactories were exempted for two years from the same date.[4] Previous reference has been made to the fact that from January 1, 1801, until after the drawing up of the lists in 1813, sheep were deducted, at the rate of seventy-five cents each (no more than twenty sheep to be deducted for any one man after 1810), from the lists of polls and rateable estate belonging to the owner.[5] Finally, at the May session of 1817, owing to the fact that the woolen and cotton manufactures were hard pressed, the war of 1812 and the Napoleonic wars having ended, the general assembly passed an act exempting from the poll tax and from military duty, for a period of four years, all workmen constantly employed in cotton and woolen manufactories. The act also provided that all buildings and machinery and all land, to the extent of five acres, connected with these establishments,

Other Encouragements

[1] Conn. Laws, May 1803, p. 629.
[2] Conn. Laws, 1807, p. 751.
[3] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1813, chap. 11.
[4] Conn. Laws, 1789, p. 375.
[5] Cf. p. 25.

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were to be exempted from all assessment for the same length of time.[1]

11. Abatement and Collection of Taxes.

The state treasurer, in accordance with a law passed by the assembly in May, 1785,[2] which continued in force throughout this entire period, allowed the towns an abatement of one-eighth of the amount of the state tax imposed upon them, provided the selectmen of the towns certified that this allowance was applied in the remitting of taxes to their own poor. In October of the same year the fees of the collectors of the state tax were set at two cents and a half for every dollar that they collected. Traveling expenses were also allowed.[3] The legislature in May, 1806, raised the fees to three cents and a half for every dollar.[4] From May 1, 1797, until April 9, 1818, the total abatements on the state taxes allowed by the treasurer were one hundred sixty-seven thousand one hundred forty dollars and the total allowed to the collectors for fees and travel was forty-three thousand eight hundred sixty-five dollars.

F. Summary.

The state started with a debt of over two million dollars, but on April 10, 1818, its debt was nominal and the state had a permanent fund of about four hundred thousand dollars. This change had been wrought chiefly through the assumption of the greater part of the state debt by the federal government and by the payment to the state of the balance due from the United States. The state had also amassed a permanent school fund of about one million seven hundred thousand dollars which came from the sale of its western lands. At the close of this period, the annual yield of this fund was about fifty thousand dollars, and together with the principal was increasing. In the order of importance, the three other principal sources of revenue were the state tax on the towns, the income from the permanent fund and the revenue from duties on writs and from licenses for the retailing of spirits. Outside of the expenses of running the government—legislative, judicial and executive—the three leading objects of ordinary expense, in the order of importance, were the support of schools, the care of paupers and the state prison. (This leaves

[1] Public Statute Laws, May 1817, chap. 9.
[2] Conn. Laws, May 1785, p. 324.
[3] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1785, p. 333.
[4] Conn. Laws, May 1806, p. 720.

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out of consideration the extraordinary military expenditures caused by the war of 1812). The machinery of government, the method of taxation and the objects of expense, are, in general, the same or similar to those which existed under the colonial government.

SECOND PERIOD. 1818–1846. PERIOD OF SLOW DEVELOPMENT.

A. Elements of Discontent.

This period is opened with the adoption of a written constitution. Until this time the only constitution which the state had was the old charter granted by King Charles II of England. The legislature. in its October session of 1776, after the states had declared themselves to be independent of English rule, declared that this charter should remain in force without the superior authority of any king.[1] This declaration by the assembly was subject to alteration or repeal by mere legislative action and did not give the state a constitution in the sense that is generally understood in this country. From the beginning of the century there was an agitation for a written constitution, but the dominant party, the federalists, were against such action.

Demand for Written Constitution

Another element of discontent consisted of those who wished entire separation of state and church. This feeling gave rise to the name "Toleration Party," generally used in the state for this party which was opposed to the federalists. Under the laws of the state, persons were liable to taxation, by the ecclesiastical societies, for the support of the Congregational ministry. Provision, however, was made that dissenters—those who belonged to any denomination other than the Congregational—should be exempted from this tax upon depositing with the town clerk a certificate of such membership, but they were subject to a similar tax for the support of their own ministry. Those who held no religious belief, or who were not church members, were not benefited by this act. Such persons were obliged to help support the ministry of the Congregational societies. The dissenters complained that on slight legal pretexts the authorities would refuse to accept the certificates of membership in dissenting denominations.[2] The toleration party held that the support of the ministry should

Demand for Religious Liberty

[1] Conn. Laws, Oct. 1776, p. 431.

[2] Johnston's Connecticut, p. 347.

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be optional and that if a person were not a church member he should not be compelled to contribute to the support of any church. The grants made to Yale College were criticised on the ground that it was a Congregational institution and that the state did not thus aid any other denominational institution.[1] That this feeling was strong is evidenced by the last great political effort on the part of the federalist party in the act (referred to in the last chapter) which they passed in the October session of the assembly in 1816 making grants to the various denominations.[2]

Demand for Change in Taxation

A still further cause for complaint was found in the system of taxation. This system, good as regards the equality of valuation of property, became unjust as soon as differences in wealth began to appear. It was based upon the utterly false proposition that all property of the same kind was of about the same value. Then, too, no provision was made for the taxation of the accumulating wealth, of which the evidences, such as government stock and the stock of various kinds of corporations, were at this time numerous. At the time this system of taxation was formulated, very little stock existed, commerce such as grew during the Napoleonic wars was yet to help create inequalities of wealth, and manufacturing was in its infancy. Hence no great injustice had been felt by the people, because the standard of living for all was about the same. By the time of the War of 1812, conditions had changed sufficiently to cause a feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing tax system.

B. Republican Administration.

1. New Constitution.

This overthrow of the federalists was finally accomplished by these elements of discontent. In 1817 the Toleration or "old" Republican party elected Oliver Wolcott governor and in the May session of 1818 had for the first time a majority in both houses of the legislature. Immediately, in pursuance of their program, they passed an act providing for a constitutional convention and the result was the adoption (September 15, 1818) of the constitution under which, as amended from time to time, Connecticut has been governed until the present day.

Constitutional Convention

[1] Johnston's Connecticut, p. 347.

[2] Cf. p. 54.

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The framers of this constitution thought it unnecessary to change the governmental machinery. The legislative body, the general assembly, was to consist of two houses as before. The lower house was to be called the House of Representatives and the upper house the Senate.[1] The number of representatives allowed each town was not changed, but provision was made that no new town which might be incorporated should send more than one representative. The upper house, as in the past, was to consist of twelve members elected by the people at large.[2] There was, however, to be but one regular session annually instead of two sessions as hitherto.[3] The treasurer and comptroller of public accounts remained the principal financial officers of the government with unchanged duties and powers. The governor was entrusted with the execution of the laws, but was still given no real power in legislation as his veto could be overruled by a majority vote of the same assembly that originally passed the bill.

System of Government

The constitution put all religious denominations on an equality and empowered each to tax its own members for the support of the ministry, but obliged no person to be a member of an ecclesiastical society. As societies could tax only their own members, persons who were not members of a society were not compelled to pay a tax for its support.[4]

Religious Freedom

Only one important financial measure in the constitution remains to be mentioned. The school fund was made a permanent fund, the income of which should be used solely for the support of the public schools.[5] It is true that when the fund was created the general assembly voted that it should be a permanent fund for this purpose,[6] but such a vote could be repealed at any time. By incorporating this provision in the constitution, the fund was made much more secure as no change could be made without overcoming all the difficulties attending an attempt to amend the constitution.

School Fund

2. Changes in Grand List.

After framing the constitution and entirely separating church and state, the republican party was free to grapple with the taxation system. Some idea of the policy of the republicans on this question may be gained from Governor

Objections to Old List

[1] Conn. Constitution, article iii, sec. 1.
[2] Conn. Constitution, article iii, sec. 3, 4.
[3] Conn. Constitution, article iii, sec. 2.
[4] Conn. Constitution, article vii, sec. 1, 2.
[5] Conn. Constitution, article viii, sec. 2.
[6] Cf. p. 36.

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Wolcott's message to the general assembly at its May session, 1817. In this message he said that the system of taxation was ancient and had ceased to be adapted to the circumstances of the people. He expressed his belief that the effects of the system were "far more injurious than generally supposed"[1] and to prove his point he gave several illustrations showing the operation of the system. He pointed out that the polls were listed at a sum—sixty dollars—equal to twenty-five acres of the best meadow land in Hartford or Middlesex counties or to forty-eight acres of the best meadow land elsewhere. A first-class new brick or stone house containing twelve fireplaces would be listed at no higher figure. Governor Wolcott attacked the tax on fireplaces severely, showing that the number of fireplaces in a house was no index of the wealth of its owner. Two or three fireplaces were necessary for every family because of the climate and as the condition of a house—whether new or in need of repair—was not taken into consideration "it must frequently happen that the cottage of a man in very moderate circumstances will be subject to a higher assessment than the ancient, but comfortable mansion of his opulent neighbor."[2]

Other examples of the injustice of the system are easily found. Under it a horse worth forty dollars, was assessed as much as a horse worth two hundred dollars, an acre of plow-land worth twenty dollars was assessed as much as an acre worth eighty dollars, a ten-dollar watch was assessed as much as a watch worth two hundred dollars, an eight-hundred-dollar country house was assessed for as much as a ten-thousand-dollar house in the largest town, if both had the same number of fireplaces. Other figures could be substituted and examples multiplied, but the injustice of the system is already clear. However, two attacks, which read very much like a modern socialistic circular, but which contain considerable truth, are so interesting as to be worth quoting. "Even the poor man's cow, which the law humanely considers so far an article necessary to uphold life as to exempt it from being taken for debt, was made to pay a higher tax than two hundred dollars in bank stock—more than six acres of plow-land worth forty dollars per acre—more than eighteen acres of (uninclosed) woodland worth eighty dollars per acre—more than forty-one acres of second rate (uninclosed) wood-

[1] Governor Wolcott's message to May session of general assembly, 1817 (Ms.), p. 4.

[2] Governor Wolcott's message to May session of general assembly, 1817 (Ms.), p. 7.

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land worth fifty dollars per acre—more than a table set of silver plate—more than three building lots located in one of our principal cities worth in all three thousand dollars. Indeed the poor man's cow, when the owner was not possessed of enough land for the animal to stand upon, was taxed for its protection, while the nabob who lived without labor upon the dividends of his insurance, bridge, turnpike, and United States stock, was not required to pay a dollar for his wealth."[1] The other attack is aimed at the poll tax upon minors. "The children of the rich, who were sent to college or educated for either of the learned professions, by law were exempt from the poll tax, while the farmer and mechanic were taxed for no other reason than that they were not rich enough to educate them at Yale College."[2]

In the light of such criticism the direction taken by the reforms is not difficult to forecast. In the fall session of 1818 the assembly modified the provision for the listing of polls so that after August 1, 1819, "all persons from 21 to 60, except ministers, the president, professors, and tutors of Yale College, constant school-masters, and students until the time for taking their second degree, and persons who are or may be exempted by act of the general assembly" were to be listed at forty dollars.[3] Thus the polls were reduced one-third and the tax on minors was abolished. Notice also that the polls of the members of ministers' families are no longer exempted, but simply those of the ministers themselves. In the May session of 1819 the republican (democratic) party prepared and enacted an entirely new system of taxation. The act is not too long to quote and in order that comparison may better be made with the system of taxation which existed up to this time (as given in chapter one)[4] it is here given together with the changes made by the supplementary act of the next year.

Revision

Dwelling houses, with the buildings and lots appurtenant thereto, not exceeding two acres in any case, shall be valued at the rate which each separate dwelling house, etc., is worth in money, and with due regard to the situation, use or income thereof, whether occupied by the

[1] Judd's Plain Truths addressed to the real friends of the state, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Judd's Plain Truths addressed to the real friends of the state, p. 20.

[3] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1818, chap. 13.

[4] Cf. pp. 21—24.

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	Act of 1819.[1]	Supplementary Act of 1820.[2]
owner or leased; and shall be set in the list at	2% on such value	
Lands and separate lots (excepting house lots as aforesaid) shall be valued by the acre at such average rate as each entire tract or lot is worth in money, with reference to any and all advantages of soil, situation, and income, and shall be set in the list at	3% on such value	
Mills, stores, distilleries, buildings, with their improvements, used for manufactories of all kinds, shall be valued with respect to situation and present income, and set in the list at	3% on such value	
Horses three years old or more, asses and mules two years old or more shall be valued and set in the list at	8% on such value	10% on such value[a]
Each stallion more than three years old shall be set in the list at	$67.	{ $25.[b] $50.[c]
Neat cattle, three years old or more, shall be valued and set in the list at	6% on such value	6% on such value[d]
All silver plate shall be valued and set in the list at	50% on such value	25% on such value[e]
Stock in any turnpike co. netting 6% shall be set in the list at	6% on such value	
Each coach, chariot, phaeton, coachee, curricle, chaise, chair, gig or sulky shall be valued and set in the list at	40% on such value	25% on such value
Every other carriage or wagon drawn by one or more horses, except such as are generally		

[1] Public Statute Laws, May 1819, chap. 2.

[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1820, chap. 57. The supplementary act contains the following changes in the Act of 1819: a. Age lowered to one year. b. Two years old. c. Three years old. d. One year old or more. e. Except spoons. f. Must be worth more than twenty dollars, if listed.

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	Act of 1819.	Supplementary Act of 1820.
used on farms or for transportation of goods, produce, wares and merchandise, shall be valued and set in the list at	30% on such value	15% on such value[f]
Clocks, watches, and timepieces shall be valued and set in the list at	50% on such value	
Bank and insurance stock to be valued and set in the list at	6% on such value	
United States Bank stock, all monies on interest secured by bonds on responsible persons, except monies loaned to this state, and all monies on interest secured, by mortgage, more than the owners thereof pay interest for, shall be set in the list at	6%	
United States stock or any other state stock belonging to residents in this state shall be assessed at its just value and set in the list at	6%	
All fisheries, whether appendages of any farm, or lot, or block, or wharf, made for the purpose of fishing (not included in Act of 1819) shall be valued and set in the list at		3% on such value
Attorneys, physicians, surgeons, traders of all kinds, mechanics, taverners, brokers, and distillers, to be assessed at the discretion of the assessors according to the value and income of their occupation. Provided that attorneys, physicians, and mechanics shall not be taxed until after two years from the time of commencing such occupation.		

By the act passed at the May session the provision for polls was the same as the provision of the act passed in the preceding session, but in the act of 1820 the age was raised from sixty years to seventy years and the sum at which the poll was listed lowered from forty dollars to thirty dollars. Both of these acts provided that the town assessors (formerly called listers) and the board of relief might abate the polls of the sick and infirm or disabled persons. Such abate-

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ments, however, were not to exceed one-tenth part of the number of taxable polls.

Provision was made that any real estate belonging to the federal or state government, or to any municipality, or to any incorporated academy or college, or to any religious or school society or district, or to any religious or charitable corporation in the state, should be exempted from taxation.[1] All property of ministers to the amount of twenty-five hundred dollars was exempted from taxation,[2] (repealed in 1822),[3] and woolen and cotton manufactories, as already provided by an act passed at the May session, 1817,[4] were to remain free from taxation until the rising of the legislature in 1821.[5]

The system of taxation thus worked out by these acts is a good illustration of the transitional stage between the old and the present method of taxation. The specific mention of the property to be assessed and the classification into groups with different ratings for the several groups still remain, although these groups have been combined into a fewer number. On the other hand, these acts require that all taxable property, except stallions, shall be entered in the lists at a stated per cent of their true value. Under the new system honest and correct lists would assess a watch or any other taxable object in proportion to its value. The groups were also more equitably assessed than before. For example, three thousand dollars invested in building lots, instead of being assessed for less than a cow, was listed for as much as seventy cows.[6] It is noticeable that for the first time insurance stock and also the stock issued by the United States and by the individual states was included in the list of taxable property. Turnpike stock netting six per cent was also added and in 1824 the limitation phrase "netting six per cent" was dropped. The rate at which bank stock was to be set in the list was doubled. These provisions are the first serious attempt to reach persons deriving an income from investments in different kinds of stock.

This system of taxation was made to conform still more closely to the present system by an act passed by the assembly at its May session of 1824. This act required that all real and personal estate taxable by law should be estimated at a fair value and listed at three

[1] Public Statute Laws, May 1819, chap. 2, sec. 14.
[2] Idem, sec. 15.
[3] Public Statute Laws, May 1822, chap. 24.
[4] Cf. p. 56.
[5] Public Statute Laws, May 1819, chap. 2. sec. 16.
[6] Judd's Plain Truths, p. 19.

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per cent and six per cent, respectively, of the estimated values.[1] Thus the classification of property was simplified by limitation to two groups, but still differed from the modern method in rating the property included under one group at double the rate of the property included under the other group.

This act of May, 1819, also called for the taxation of insurance stock held by persons residing outside of Connecticut. Before this time non-resident bank stock had been listed at three per cent of its value, but now bank, turnpike and insurance stock of companies in Connecticut, held by non-residents, was to be set in the list at six per cent of its value and all taxes collected thereon were to be turned into the state treasury.[2]

Few changes or additions were made during this second period, which ends in 1846, to the system outlined above. In 1826, the assembly again lowered the amount at which the polls were to be put in the list, fixing it at twenty dollars.[3] This was changed in 1843 to ten dollars.[4] Thus, at the close of this period, the poll tax was only one-sixth as large as it was at the beginning of the period. In 1833 the law exempting from the poll tax ministers and instructors in colleges and incorporated academies was repealed.[5] Quarries and ferries appear for the first time as taxable property in the grand list of 1831 and bridge stock was added in 1836.

This new system of assessment caused the grand list to diminish. Under the old method its total never fell below five and one-half million dollars. The total of the first list under the new system was only $4,113,139 and in 1820, after the lowering of the polls to thirty dollars and the making of a few other changes, the list fell below four million dollars and did not again reach that amount until 1835. The list of 1826, constructed just after the assessment on polls had been lowered to twenty dollars, was more than two hundred fifty thousand dollars smaller than the list for 1825, and the same effect is noticeable after the assessment on polls was lowered to ten dollars in 1843.

The list of 1843 was over three hundred fifty thousand dollars smaller than the list of the preceding year. The total of the list of 1845, the last list made in this period, was practically the same as that for the first years of the period and amounted to $4,143,699.

[1] Public Acts, May 1824, chap. 2, sec. 1.
[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1819, chap. 2, sec. 11.
[3] Public Acts, May 1846, chap. 5.
[4] Public Acts, May 1843, chap. 43.
[5] Public Statute Laws, May 1833, chap. 22.

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C. Sources of Revenue.

1. State Tax.

As the grand list was the basis of the state tax upon the towns, this large reduction of its amount meant that the state must either raise the tax rate or cut down the expenditures. The republican party, then in power, decided upon the latter alternative and the tax rate was kept at one cent on the dollar throughout the entire period. The total amount of the state tax laid for this period, exclusive of the years 1819 and 1820 (in which years the taxes were laid on the lists made, under the old system, in the years 1817 and 1818) was $1,037,938, an average of only thirty-nine thousand nine hundred twenty dollars a year. A fair comparison of the policy that prevailed in the first period, when the Federalists were in power, with the policy adopted by the Republicans, may be made by taking fifteen years of each period. This choice of fifteen years will make a further comparison easy when the entire fifteen years of the third period come under consideration.[1] The fifteen years chosen for the first period are the years from May 1, 1799, to April 9, 1818, exclusive of the four years—May 1, 1812 to April 30, 1816—when extraordinary taxation was caused by the war with Great Britain. Eliminating those years, the average annual rate for fifteen years was forty-eight thousand seven hundred eighteen dollars. The fifteen years for the second period will begin April 1, 1820 (when the system inaugurated by the Republicans became operative) and will end March 31, 1835. The average rate for these years was thirty-seven thousand nine hundred sixty-five dollars, a reduction of ten thousand seven hundred fifty-three dollars per year. The state tax on the towns, however, still remained the chief source of income upon which the state depended for the means with which to meet the ordinary expenses of the state government and the income from the permanent fund continued to be the next highest in amount.

Grand List

2. Permanent Fund.

The composition of this fund on April 10, 1818, when the first period was nearing its close, has been shown elsewhere.[2] For convenient reference, it is repeated here.

Composition of Fund, 1818

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[1] Cf. p. 113.

[2] Cf. p. 34.

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Seven per cent United States Stock,	$13,619.00	
Six per cent United States ,,	8,106.56	
Deferred six per cent U. S. ,,	68,034.00	
Three per cent United States ,,	55,302.66	$145,062.22
Bank stock, non-transferable,	202,200.00	
Bank stock, transferable,	48,600.00	250,800.00
Balance in treasury, uninvested,		1,018.59
		$396,880.81

Reinvestment of Fund

It experienced a considerable change during the second period The United States redeemed all of the six per cent stock, first mentioned above, before April 10, 1819. It also steadily reduced the amount of deferred six per cent stock and by March 31, 1825, this item likewise disappeared. During the fiscal year ending on the latter date, the entire amount of seven per cent stock was redeemed, leaving only the $55,302.66 of three per cent stock indebtedness unpaid. This debt was paid by the United States during the fiscal year ending March 31, 1833. Meanwhile the state had been reinvesting the principal in bank stock. It had also, in addition, appropriated, for the increase of its holdings of bank stock, part of the dividends received from its bank stock.[1]

During the first year of this period, two thousand seven hundred seventy-six dollars which, on October 1, 1818, had not yet been invested in bank stock was transferred to the funds available for current expenses, and the very next year, for the second time in the history of the state,[2] the reimbursements on the principal of the United States debt ($7,396) were diverted from the fund set aside for the purchase of bank stock and applied to the current expenses of the state.

Nearly all the bank stock acquired by the state was issued by banks chartered with a condition that the state should be allowed to subscribe to their stock. This stock thus acquired by the state was, however, to be non-transferable. During this period the state acquired, by subscription, stock of the Hartford, New Haven, Middletown, Phœnix, Farmers and Mechanics, and Eagle Banks. It held stock in the first three of these banks during the first period. In the present period no bank stock was obtained except forty-one hundred dollars of Phœnix bank stock which was bought in the

[1] Cf. p. 70, footnote 3.

[2] Cf. p. 34 for first diversion of reimbursement on principal.

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fiscal year ending March 31, 1820. This raised the total of transferable bank stock to fifty-two thousand seven hundred dollars. No more transferable stock was acquired until the year ending March 31, 1843.

During this process of change the principal of the fund gradually increased until on March 31, 1826, it was $444,798.37, the highest it had been since 1808. Of this amount, nearly ninety-seven hundred dollars cash ($9,695.71) was in the treasury uninvested. This was transferred during the next fiscal year to the civil list funds, which were used to defray the current expenses of the state. This reduced the fund to $435,102.66, at which figure it remained until March 31, 1832. During the next year the United States redeemed the remainder of its debt, consisting of the $55,302.66 three per cent stock, the state reinvesting the principal (with the exception of $2.66 which was transferred to the civil list funds) in non-transferable bank stock. We should now expect the fund to stand as follows:

Increase of Fund

Bank stock, non-transferable,	$382,400	
Bank stock, transferable,	52,700	$435,100

The comptroller in his May report (Ms.) of 1833, states that on March 31, 1833, the permanent fund consisted of three hundred fifty-one thousand five hundred dollars of non-transferable bank stock and forty-eight thousand two hundred dollars of transferable bank stock, making a total of only three hundred ninety-nine thousand seven hundred dollars.

Condition of Fund in 1833 and 1846

The difference between these figures—thirty-five thousand four hundred dollars—is traceable to the failure of the Eagle Bank. This bank suspended specie payments September 19, 1825, and never resumed. The state investigated the condition of the bank and found that it had loaned on inadequate security an amount which absorbed all its capital, deposits and circulation.[1] Having invested thirty thousand nine hundred dollars in the non-transferable stock and forty-five hundred dollars in the transferable stock of that bank, the state was the loser to the extent of the difference already noted. The state comptroller did not acknowledge this loss until this report of May, 1833. A few gains were made by disposing of some of the transferable stock and subscribing to the non-transferable. Consequently on March 31, 1846, which marks

[1] Atwater, "History of the City of New Haven," p. 335.

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the close of this period, the state held three hundred fifty-six thousand four hundred dollars of non-transferable and forty-four thousand dollars of transferable bank stock. This left the total amount of four hundred thousand four hundred dollars held by the state as a permanent fund.

Inasmuch as for a little more than one-half of this period the state held both United States stock and bank stock, we shall divide this period, in treating the income derived from the permanent fund, into two shorter periods, 1818–1833 and 1833–1846. In chapter one it was shown that the amount of interest received from United States stock was greater than the amount of the dividends received from bank stock and that the latter did not forge ahead until 1817.[1] The United States steadily redeemed all stock bearing six per cent interest and, as has been stated, left only the three per cent stock to the credit of the state after 1825.[2] As the state purchased no United States stock after 1817, the income from this source necessarily decreased from six thousand seven hundred three dollars (the amount received by the state in interest during the first year of this period) to sixteen hundred fifty-nine dollars, which was the annual interest on the three per cent stock until its redemption in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1833. The total amount of interest received from the United States stock from April 10, 1818, to the time when the stock was fully redeemed was forty-five thousand three hundred fourteen dollars. The total amount of dividends received during the same period from bank stock was two hundred seventy-nine thousand seventy-five dollars.[3] Adding the two amounts, the total revenue from the permanent fund during the period April 10, 1818, to March 31, 1833, is found to be three hundred twenty-four thousand three hundred eighty-nine dollars. This is a yearly average of twenty-one thousand six hundred twenty-eight dollars, but a better conception of the annual yield is gained if the years 1827–1830,[4] during which the bank dividends were diminished considerably, be excluded. With this exclusion, the average rises to twenty-three thousand forty-five dollars and the lowest and highest annual figures are less than seven thousand dollars apart. The drop in bank dividends

Income of Fund

[1] Cf. p. 35.

[2] Cf. p. 68.

[3] Of this amount $220,650 was appropriated to current expenses and $58,425 to purchase of bank stock.

[4] Unless otherwise noted, a year of a certain date means the fiscal yea ending March 31 of the year given.

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which began in 1827 is largely explained by the failure of the Eagle Bank. Although the stock of this bank held by the state was kept on the books until 1833, it was not yielding a cent of revenue and therefore in computing the rate of dividends paid by the banks on the stock in which the state had investments, no account has been taken of the Eagle Bank stock after March 31, 1826. The annual rate of dividends from April 1, 1818, until March 31, 1833, was a little above five and a half per cent. The lowest rate during these years was three and seven-tenths per cent—the rate for the year ending March 31, 1830—and in no year did the rate rise to seven per cent.

From March 31, 1833, to the close of this period, the capital of the permanent fund consisted entirely of bank stock. The total of the dividends received by the state for the thirteen years was three hundred eighty-three thousand two hundred fifty-five dollars, an average for each year of twenty-nine thousand four hundred eighty-one dollars. This average shows the approximate returns for every year; for with the exception of the year 1838, when the dividends were only twenty-one thousand four hundred eighty-nine dollars, the lowest amount received was twenty-six thousand eight-hundred eighteen dollars in the year 1844; and in only one year (1836), when they amounted to thirty-six thousand one hundred forty dollars, did the dividends exceed the 1846 dividend of thirty-two thousand seven hundred twenty-two dollars. Thus it is seen that with only two exceptions the greatest fluctuation, in either direction, from the average was but a little more than three thousand dollars. The highest rate of dividend received during these thirteen years was nine per cent for the year 1836 and the lowest rate was five and three-tenths per cent for the year 1838. During the intervening time occurred the panic of 1837, which explains this large fluctuation. Aside from these two years, however, the rate during the years now under consideration (1833–1846) varied within the narrow limits of six and seven-tenths per cent and eight and one-tenth per cent. The average rate for the thirteen years was seven and three-tenths per cent.

A comparison of the income from the permanent fund in the first period with its income during this period shows that from April 10, 1818, to March 31, 1833, the annual average income was more than thirty-one hundred dollars less than for the years 1801–1818 and nearly forty-three hundred dollars smaller than the average yield for 1801–1814. On the other hand, the average yearly income of the fund from March 31, 1833, to the end of the

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second period exceeds that of the best part of the first period by over thirty-five hundred dollars.[1]

3. Duties on Writs. Licenses.

The revenue received in duties and licenses maintained its rank of third in the amount received from the various sources until March 31, 1833. In relative importance it gained upon the state tax and upon the income from the permanent fund. At no time in its history has the state derived so large a portion of its revenue from duties and licenses as during these years. The duties on writs, continuances, petitions and appeals of various descriptions, which yielded, during the first period, the larger portion of the revenue from duties and licenses, held this supremacy for the first year only of the second period. They were then surpassed by the receipts from the five-dollar license fee for selling liquor. A duty of two per cent of the proceeds arising from the sale of foreign goods at auction was levied in 1820.[2] Several exceptions were made[3] and in 1821 a few more articles were added to the list of exceptions.[4] The returns from this duty were small, never exceeding one hundred seventy dollars in one year. A license fee of one hundred dollars was imposed in 1825 upon persons selling lottery tickets.[5] An act for the regulation of lotteries passed by the legislature in 1830 marked the beginning of the end of lotteries.[6] This act contains no provision for a license fee for the sale of lottery tickets and the state derived no revenue from this source after 1830. Acts of the assembly passed in 1828[7] and 1829[8] repealed nearly all the duties on writs, etc., and in 1832 the liquor license fees were given to the towns granting the licenses.[9] Consequently after March 31, 1833, the receipts from duties and licenses amounted to very little. Because of the relative importance of this source of revenue during the years April 10, 1818, and March 31, 1833, a table is here given showing the receipts from each. In this table duties on writs, continuances, petitions, etc., are included in column A; under B liquor license fees appear; C

[1] Cf. pp. 35, 70.
[2] Public Statute Laws, 1820, chap. 48, sec. 1.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Public Statute Laws (Revision 1821), title 4, sec. 1.
[5] Public Statute Laws, 1825, chap. 17, sec. 2.
[6] Public Statute Laws, 1830, chap. 19, sec. 11.
[7] Public Statute Laws, 1828, chap. 40.
[8] Public Statute Laws, 1829, chap. 14.
[9] Public Statute Laws, 1832, chap. 4, sec. 2.

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gives amounts received for lottery licenses; and duties on sales at auction are shown under D.

Years.	A	B	C	D	Totals
1819	$4,872	$4,471			9,344
1820	4,082	4,452			8,535
1821	5,508	4,612			10,120
1822	4,851	4,650		16	9,516
1823	2,597	5,242		47	7,886
1824	2,590	5,112		39	7,741
1825	2,732	5,122		22	7,876
1826	2,006	5,397		138	7,540
1827	2,175	5,582	2,522	70	10,349
1828	2,404	5,517	2,037	83	10,040
1829	2,322	5,469	2,134	166	10,091
1830	692	5,134	291	54	6,170
1831	287	4,383		110	4,780
1832	267	4,480		6	4,753
1833	123	4,142		35	4,299

The total receipts from duties and licenses for these fifteen years were one hundred nineteen thousand forty dollars. This is an average of seven thousand nine hundred thirty-six dollars per year.

From 1833 until March 31, 1842, owing to the transfer of the liquor license fees to the towns and the repeal of many of the duties on writs, etc., the receipts from duties and licenses became very meager. Seven hundred seventy-five dollars was the total amount received by the state from this source for these nine years. This is an annual average of only eighty-six dollars, a diminution of seven thousand eight hundred fifty dollars from the average for the preceding fifteen years. In 1841 the general assembly passed an act laying licenses on pedlers. A license for a year was to cost twenty dollars; for six months, twelve dollars; and for three months, seven dollars.[1] The receipts from these licenses for the first year were more than twenty-five hundred dollars. In 1842 the legislature amended the act by providing that no inhabitant of the state should be subject to this license[2] and as a result the revenue from this source was greatly lessened. The average revenue per annum from all the duties and licenses from April 1, 1842, until March 31, 1846, was $1,055.50, but if the first year be omitted, the average falls to $568.33.

[1] Public Acts, May 1841, chap. 37, sec. 3.

[2] Public Acts, May 1842, chap. 41.

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To show clearly the complete change of policy during this period in regard to the laying of duties and licenses, the average yield from these sources from 1818 to 1833 is compared with that from 1833 to 1846. The average annual revenue thus arising during the former interval has been shown to be seven thousand nine hundred thirty-six dollars[1]; but for the latter it was only three hundred eighty-four dollars.

4. Tax on Non-Resident Stock.

In the alteration of the tax system made by the legislature at its May session of 1819, non-resident stock of Connecticut insurance and turnpike companies, as well as non-resident bank stock, was subjected to state taxation. Such stock was to be listed at six per cent of its value and all taxes arising from it were to be paid into the state treasury.[2] This method of taxing non-resident stock was changed in 1830 in such a way as to increase greatly the revenue coming from this source. From April 10, 1818, until March 31, 1830, the total amount raised by this tax was eighty-seven hundred dollars, an annual average of seven hundred twenty-five dollars. In 1830 a law was passed directing banks and insurance companies to pay to the state treasurer a tax of one-third of one per cent on the value of all their stock held by non-residents of the state.[3] The next year this tax was raised to two-thirds of one per cent.[4] Under this law the tax on non-resident stock yielded from March 31, 1830, until March 31, 1846, the sum of forty-five thousand seven hundred sixteen dollars. This is an average of two thousand eight hundred fifty-seven dollars per year, which is almost four times as much as the average under the old law, and it shows the efficacy of the new method as a producer of revenue.

5. Forfeited Bonds and Avails of Court.

The receipts from forfeited bonds, fines and avails of court for this period were seventy-one thousand sixty-three dollars. This is an average of two thousand five hundred thirty-eight dollars a year, an increase of a little more than one thousand dollars over the average for the years 1798 to 1818 inclusive.

6. State Prison.

A new source of revenue appears during this period in the state prison. In 1827 the state built a new state prison at Wethersfield

[1] Cf. p. 73.

[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1819, chap. 2, sec. 11.

[3] Public Statute Laws, May 1830, chap. 28.

[4] Public Statute Laws, May 1831, chap. 27.

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and the old prison at Newgate was abandoned. The state took measures to sell the old property and during the four fiscal years ending on March 31, 1833, it received a total of seven thousand two hundred sixty-four dollars from such sales. Meanwhile, the state prison at Wethersfield had become self-supporting. It managed its own finances and its receipts were considerably higher than its expenditures. The net profits of the prison from October 1, 1827, to March 31, 1846, were one hundred eight thousand four hundred seventy-seven dollars. From this amount fourteen thousand six hundred twenty-seven dollars was spent for buildings and improvements.[1] One thousand dollars was given to the Prison Discipline Society in 1838 by order of the general assembly.[2] In accordance with an act passed by the assembly in 1840, granting to each of the counties one thousand dollars whenever they should erect suitable county prisons,[3] the warden paid this sum to four counties—Hartford, New London, New Haven and Middlesex. Its surplus earnings were so large that the state at times made use of them as revenue. The prison warden paid into the state treasury, from March 31, 1830, to March 31, 1833, the sum of eighteen thousand twenty-seven dollars. No further payments were made until the year commencing April 1, 1840. Annual payments from the prison were received by the state from this time, with the exception of the year ending March 31, 1843, until the close of this period. These payments amounted to forty-five thousand dollars, making a grand total of over sixty-three thousand dollars which the state received from the state prison.[4] Financially, at least, the state prison was a great success during the latter two-thirds of the second period.

7. Extraordinary Receipts.

In the discussion of the permanent fund, it was noted that in the year ending March 31, 1828, the fund was diminished by the transfer of $9,695.71 to the funds for current expenses and that another small transfer in 1833 made the total transfer about ninety-seven hundred dollars.[5] The rest of the extraordinary receipts during this period came from the United States government. In 1816, it will be remembered, the general

From Permanent Fund

[1] Computed from reports of the warden to the directors of the state prison. (Included in reports of the directors from 1842—1846.)

[2] Private Acts, 1838, p. 70.

[3] Private Acts, 1840, p. 54.

[4] Cf. p. 89.

[5] Cf. p. 69.

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assembly voted to divide among the different religious denominations and Yale College, in definitely specified proportions, the money which should be received from the United States in payment for advances made by the state during the war of 1812.[1]

Repayment of Advances

The United States made some payments the next year and the money was divided as authorized. In 1832, it became evident that the state was to receive more money from the United States in full payment of the aforesaid advances. No act had ever been passed repealing the act of 1816 in regard to the distribution of the money thus received and there was doubt whether the above act was still in force. Accordingly, the general assembly, in 1832, directed the treasurer to hold, until after the rising of the next assembly,[2] money which might be received from the United States in payment of the war advances. No money was received from the United States during the year; but it was still expected and the assembly of 1833 was ready to determine what should be done with the money. It repealed the act of 1816 and all acts relating to appropriation of money thus received from the United States.[3] It also voted that whenever the state should receive from the United States any money in payment for advances made by the state during the war of 1812, the state treasurer should distribute it, in proportion to the grand list of August 20, 1813, among the towns which had been incorporated previous to that date. Towns which had subsequently been formed from the older towns were to receive their share by a division of the amounts allotted to the older towns according to the "residence of the inhabitants and the location of estates on August 20, 1813."[4] The United States government did not make the expected payments until the fiscal year ending March 31, 1839, when it paid seventy-two thousand two hundred thirty-four dollars to the state treasurer. This entire amount, however, was not apportioned among the towns, for in the previous year, owing to the needs of the state treasury, the general assembly had voted to retain thirty-five thousand dollars of the money which the United States should pay the state in return for the war advances.[5] The amount actually distributed among the towns was about thirty thousand dollars. Thus the state treasury was strengthened by over forty-two thousand and the state was

[1] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1816, chap. 13. Cf. pp. 53, 54.
[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1832, chap. 30.
[3] Public Statute Laws, May 1833, chap. 6.
[4] Public Statute Laws, May 1833, chap. 7.
[5] Public Statute Laws, May 1838, chap. 55.

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enabled to pay off its temporary indebtedness of more than forty thousand dollars due to banks and to the school fund.

Land Sales

The state also received, during the two fiscal years ending March 31, 1844, the sum of twelve thousand two hundred sixty-nine dollars from the federal government as its share of the amount realized by the sale of the public lands.

Surplus Funds of the United States

One more large sum was received by the state from the United States during this period. By an act of congress, approved June 23, 1836, the surplus funds of the United States were distributed in trust among the states that comprised the Union. The sum of $763,661.83 was allotted to Connecticut[1] and it was accepted by the assembly at its annual session in 1836.[2] The act of acceptance also provided for the distribution and use of this large trust fund. The money was to be deposited with the towns of the state in proportion to their population, under the census of 1830, but with the following conditions:

1. The towns were to preserve the money as a deposit in trust for the state. The state reserved the right to call for the money on thirty days notice whenever the United States should demand payment of the same.

2. They were to keep the principal received from the state intact as a permanent fund and to appropriate annually at least one-half[3] of the income of the fund for the benefit of the public schools in the town.

3. They were to make good any deficiency in the amount received from the state should any loss occur. The act also provided that if any town failed to draw upon the state treasurer for its portion of this money, the treasurer was to loan the same at the expense of the town. The interest received by the state on such a loan was to be paid over annually to the town and the town was to appropriate it in the same manner as if it had accepted its quota of the principal. It was provided that the investment of this money should be limited to loans secured by mortgage upon real estate of at least double the value of the loan. In 1846 the towns were authorized to make loans from this fund, known as the Town Deposit Fund, upon such security as they wished and to invest it in any bank stock of the state or in the bonds of any city in the state.[4]

[1] Bradley's Register, 1853, p. 121.

[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1836, chap. 71.

[3] Changed to "the entire income" by chap. 84, Public Acts of 1855.

[4] Public Acts, May 1846, chap. 50.

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The history of this fund is connected entirely with town finances and for that reason is not within the scope of this chapter. The subject is of too great importance and interest, however, to be dismissed summarily and a brief digression, showing that the conditions of the act distributing this fund were not regarded, will not be wholly out of place.

Until 1847 this fund fulfilled its purpose and the principal increased a little, but the act of 1846 was the beginning of a relaxation in the restrictions put upon the investment of the fund and finally an act passed in 1872 permitted the investment of the fund in any loan or in any bank stock of the state, in the bonds of the United States or of the state, or in the bonds of any city, town, or borough in the state.[1] The result of these acts was that whenever the towns were hard pressed for funds, they borrowed from the town deposit fund. According to the report of the secretary of education for the year 1887 about five-sevenths of the fund was invested in this way. He also said that if the towns made any pretense of paying interest on this loan it generally consisted of book-keeping juggling. For example, from the tax receipts there might be turned over to the treasurer of the fund six per cent interest on the loan. He would enter this on his books as receipt of interest and turn it back to the town treasurer to be used for the support of schools.[2] This policy brought no additional money to the schools and the only effect of these cases was to diminish the town's indebtedness and lower its tax rate. Hence it is that although the town records gave the yield of the town deposit fund for 1908 as over twenty-seven thousand dollars the secretary of the board of education estimated that the actual income was at the most seven thousand dollars.[3] A thorough investigation of the town deposit fund would be a very interesting study.

8. School Fund.

From a financial point of view, the period from 1820–1846 was very advantageous to the school fund. The capital of the fund on September 2, 1820, was $1,858,074. This had increased to $2,070,055 by September 2, 1845. In the next two years, the principal increased a little over

Principal and Income

[1] Public Acts, 1872, chap. 28.

[2] Report of Secretary of Education, Jan. 1888, p. 146. (Leg. Doc. 1888, vol. i.)

[3] Report of Secretary of Education, 1908, p. 88. (Pub. Doc. 1908, vol. iv, part i.)

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seven thousand dollars and reached the highest point in its history During the same period the annual income from the fund doubled, increasing from about sixty thousand dollars for the year 1820 to one hundred twenty thousand dollars for 1846. The total amount of dividends distributed for the support of the schools during this period was $2,319,715. This is almost double the original capital of the fund and if the dividends of the next year are added, the total is more than double the amount received for the Western Reserve.

This record speaks well for the management of the fund. James Hillhouse, the first commissioner of the school fund, resigned in 1825, from the post which he had filled so well. He was succeeded by Seth P. Beers, who was still in office at the close of the period. The honor of establishing the fund on a sound basis belongs to Mr. Hillhouse and the honor of increasing the principal and the income so materially belongs to Mr. Beers. Some of the means which Mr. Beers used to collect bad debts or arrears in interest are worth noting. In July, 1827, he made a trip into western New York for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, a settlement of the back interest due from settlers residing there. He noticed that these persons, who were farmers, were holding a considerable amount of wheat waiting for a rise in the market price. At the same time an abundant new crop was expected and there was a possibility that the old wheat might be left on their hands. He very shrewdly offered to the state debtors to receive wheat in payment of arrears of interest, on condition that the wheat be delivered, at a given time and place, on the Erie Canal. This offer was eagerly accepted and Mr. Beers' collections in wheat and cash amounted to ten thousand dollars.[1] He also sometimes received payments in cattle[2] which he would sell and thus receive payments which otherwise the state would have lost.

Management of Fund

During this period much wild land came into the possession of the state through the failure of debtors to the fund to meet their obligations. These holdings yielded no income to the state and at the same time the state was paying taxes on them. It was Mr. Beers' policy to hold them no longer than necessary, provided he could dispose of them without loss to the state. In his report of 1828 he tells of the method by which he thus disposed of some of this land. He says that inasmuch as he was unable to

Land Exchanges

[1] Report of Commissioner of School Fund, 1827, pp. 8, 9.

[2] Report of Commissioner of School Fund, 1832, p. 5.

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dispose of large tracts of wild land in Ohio and New York at any reasonable price, he had decided to attempt to exchange land there for farms in Connecticut. Here again he showed his shrewdness by taking advantage of the western emigration movement. In negotiating for such an exchange, he offered, upon the request of the owner, to pay one-sixth of the value of his farm in cash, the rest in western lands. This would provide the farmer with a little ready cash with which to go west and make a start. The result was that during the fall and winter of 1827 he acquired for the fund Connecticut farms valued at twenty-five thousand six hundred dollars in exchange for wild land worth about twenty-two thousand dollars and cash for the balance.[1] This transfer brought to the fund lands which would yield a revenue and which were exempt from taxation in place of lands which were only a source of expense to the fund. These illustrations give an idea of the problems which were met and the methods pursued in solving them. Such failures on the part of debtors to make payments to the fund and similar exchanges of property characterize the changes in the composition of the fund from year to year.

Two acts of the assembly deserve mention in this connection. Until 1826, in accordance with a resolve passed in 1800, whenever the principal of the fund was converted into cash, it was invested exclusively in bank stock or stock of the United States. In 1826, at the suggestion of the commissioner of the fund, the general assembly authorized him to invest this money also in loans secured by a mortgage of real estate located in Connecticut and worth at least double the value of the loans. In 1828 the act was modified to permit loans when the security was situated in New York or Massachusetts.[2] Until 1824 only fifty-seven thousand six hundred dollars of the fund had been invested in bank stock and this had been invested in shares of the Hartford Bank before 1815. As the years passed, however, this amount was more than quadrupled and there were investments in seventeen banks at the close of this period.

Investment of Fund

To convey an idea of the composition of the principal of this fund the following table is given. It itemizes the capital at different dates in accordance with corresponding reports of the commissioner of the school fund.

Composition of Fund

[1] Report of Commissioner of School Fund, 1828, pp. 3, 4.
[2] Report of Commissioner of School Fund, 1835, pp. 1—7.

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	Sept. 2, 1820.	April 1, 1828.
Bonds, Contracts and Mortgages,	$1,663,780	$1,437,912
Cultivated-lands and Buildings,	77,639	166,498
Wild Lands,	59,055	149,852
Stock on farms and other personal property,		2,500
Bank Stock,	57,600	97,850
Cash,		23,003
Totals,	$1,858,074	$1,877,615

	April 1, 1837.	Sept. 2, 1845.
Bonds, Contracts and Mortgages,	$1,620,049	$1,642,083
Cultivated-lands and Buildings,	116,934	74,590
Wild Lands,	64,914	66,923
Stock on farms and other personal property,	710	180
Bank Stock,	216,700	254,700
Cash,	8,095	31,579
Totals,	$2,027,402	$2,070,055

Distribution of Income

The act which created the school fund required that the annual income should be distributed among the school societies of the state in proportion to their lists of polls and taxable property.[1] An equitable distribution was intended thereby, but it is difficult to see what relation the taxable property of a society bore to the expense of maintaining public schools for the children. After the system of taxation was changed in 1819, in an attempt to tax property according to its true valuation, the retention of this provision would have been positively unjust. Those societies which possessed the most valuable property and which were naturally most able to provide for the education of the children would have received, under the operation of the old law, the larger shares of the income from the school fund, even though the poorer societies might have the greater number of children to educate. This injustice was seen and the method of distribution was changed to allow each school society to receive the proportion of the entire dividends which the number of its children between four and sixteen years of age bore to the whole number of children of the same description in the state.

[1] Conn. Laws, May 1795, p. 487.

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In accordance with an act passed by the legislature at the May session in 1820,[1] the first enumeration of school children was made in August, 1820, and showed that the number of children in the state between the ages of four and sixteen was eighty-four thousand one hundred seventy-nine. A study of the school census for the years 1820 to 1845 furnishes another evidence of the slow development of the state during this period. The following table speaks for itself.

Number of Children between the Ages of Four and Sixteen.

Years.	Children.	Years.	Children.
1820	84,179	1835	83,799
1825	84,976	1840	82,676
1830	85,006	1845	84,093

Because the number of children during this entire period remained nearly stationary while the income from the fund was rising from sixty thousand dollars to one hundred twenty thousand dollars a year, the allotment for each child increased until it was doubled. In 1820 the amount per child was about seventy cents. It reached eighty-five cents by 1825 and remained at this figure until 1830, when it became ninety cents. A raise to ninety-five cents occurred after three years and in 1835 the dollar point was reached. From this it rose every year until it stood at one dollar and a quarter in 1839. In 1841 ten cents more per child was added and in 1842 the rate was made $1.40 per child, at which point it still stood at the close of this period.

This enlarged income of the school fund was of considerable aid to the Republicans of that day in their effort to decrease the state expenditures, as will be seen under the following heading.

Unless the portion of income from the town deposit fund devoted to schools be considered as state aid,[2] the towns received no other financial support for their schools from the state during this period except the dividends from the school fund.

D. State Expenditures.

1. Education.

Retrenchment

The reduction of the grand list under the new system of assessment and the decreased income from the permanent fund during the first part of this period necessitated a curtailment of expenditures or increased taxation. The Republicans desired to keep the taxes low and hence sought opportunities for

[1] Public Statute Laws, May 1820, chap. 50, sec. 2.

[2] Cf. p. 77 and foot note 3 on same page.

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retrenchment. It was noticed that the dividends from the school fund were increasing and in 1820 the comptroller suggested to the assembly that a considerable saving could be made by merely adding to the next dividend from the school fund an appropriation no larger than would be necessary to leave the payment to the societies undiminished.[1] The idea was seized upon by the assembly and it voted to suspend the school appropriation of two dollars on every thousand dollars in the grand list as soon as the income of the school fund should exceed sixty-two thousand dollars.[2] During this very year (April 1, 1820, to March 31, 1821) the income from the school fund was greater and consequently no payment for schools was made from the state treasury except a small amount due to the societies for the previous year. As no further appropriation was made by the state, until 1839, for public education, an annual saving of more than twelve thousand dollars a year was made by this action.

In 1838 the general assembly was sufficiently progressive to pass an act providing for a board of commissioners to supervise the public schools. This board consisted of the governor and the commissioner of the school fund, ex officio, and one other person from each of the eight counties. The board received no compensation for its services. It was allowed to appoint its own secretary and to pay for his services an amount not exceeding three dollars a day and his expenses.[3] In 1842, owing to the demands for economy and the complaints that the board was guilty of interference in the local management of the schools, the board was abolished.[4] The expense of the board, as a matter of fact, had not been large. It was only six thousand three hundred twenty-two dollars for the whole period of its existence, an average of $1,264.50 per year.

Educational Institutions

Although more money was actually paid from the state treasury, the state extended less aid to collegiate institutions during the period than it did in the first period. Its only aid to Yale College was a grant of seven thousand dollars, which the Connecticut Bank at Bridgeport gave as a bonus in compliance with its charter. By the terms of the act incorporating this bank in 1831, the bank was to pay at the end of the first year of its existence the sum of thirty-five hundred dollars to Yale College and fifteen hundred dollars to Washington College; one year later

[1] Comptroller's Report (Ms.), May 1820.

[2] Public Statute Laws, May 1820, chap. 50, sec. 1.

[3] Public Acts, 1838, chap. 52, sec. 1, 2, 6.

[4] Report of Secretary Board of Education, Jan. 1888. (Leg. Doc. 1888, vol. i.)

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it was to repeat these payments.[1] Thus Yale received seven thousand dollars and Washington College received three thousand dollars. Washington College, now known as Trinity College, was also granted nearly ten thousand dollars, payable in three instalments of three thousand dollars and the remainder in a fourth instalment. The first instalment was paid in July, 1832, and the remaining instalments were paid in the three following Aprils.

In 1834 the legislature chartered two banks, the Stamford Bank, at Stamford, and the Manufacturers' Bank at Farmington, on condition that they pay bonuses to Wesleyan University. The former was directed to pay five thousand dollars in two equal instalments, the first by the end of the first year and the second at the end of the second year of discounting by the bank. The latter was to pay double this amount in the same way; but as the bank did not go into operation, this sum was never paid to Wesleyan. However, in 1839, the legislature directed the comptroller to draw an order on the treasurer for ten thousand dollars in favor of Wesleyan University, one-half to be paid on October 1, 1839, and the remainder one year later.[2] The colleges received as a result of these acts about thirty-five thousand dollars. This is less than half the amount bestowed upon Yale in the first period; on the other hand, twenty thousand of the thirty-five thousand dollars came directly from the state treasury, while in the first period the state gave its aid indirectly.

In 1840 the assembly appropriated seven thousand dollars, payable in two equal instalments to the Connecticut Literary Institute at Suffield.[3]

2. Support of Paupers.

Measures of Economy

The Republican party also decided to reduce the cost of supporting state paupers. In the first period, as has been shown, this expense increased from less than twenty-five hundred dollars a year until in 1817 and 1818 the amount exceeded fifteen thousand dollars. In its October session of 1818 the assembly passed a measure which aimed to abolish imposition upon the state by the towns. This act gave the comptroller full power to demand from the selectmen satisfactory proof of their claims for the support of state paupers, directed him not to allow to any town a sum larger than the amount actually spent by the town,

[1] Public Statute Laws, 1831, chap. 51, sec. 12.

[2] Private Acts, 1839, p. 71.

[3] Private Acts, 1840, p. 56.

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and empowered him to deduct from sums actually expended by the towns whenever he thought unnecessary expense had been incurred.[1] Three more provisions, enacted in 1820, were the effective measures in reducing this item of expense. First, it was enacted that any person born in this state or in a neighboring state could not become a state pauper.[2] This tended to restrict the unloading of paupers from neighboring states into Connecticut and to do away with much of the pushing along of paupers from one town to another, thus preventing them from gaining a settlement and causing them to become state paupers. Secondly, a limitation was set on the amounts for which a town could be reimbursed. Hitherto, no limit had been set, and under a loose system of checking such expenditures, the towns could run up their claims considerably and have them allowed. Now not more than one dollar a week was to be allowed for any person over fourteen years of age, and for those under that age fifty cents was the limit.[3] Finally, the comptroller was authorized to contract for the support of state paupers for any length of time not exceeding five years. He was to obtain the best terms possible but could not make a contract on terms higher than have already been specified. The comptroller was also given the power to remove the state paupers from any town and to place them with the contracting party.[4]

The results of these limitations and the policy of contracting for the support of the state paupers were striking. From the beginning of the period, the expense incurred by the state for paupers decreased each year until for the year ending March 31, 1826, the sum was only twenty-six hundred dollars. The contracting for a number of years now becomes evident; for during the next two years this same sum was spent and for the next five years the state spent two thousand dollars annually for this purpose. This amount was cut to eighteen hundred dollars for the year ending March 31, 1834, and this was the sum annually spent for the three following years. The state continued to get progressively lower terms and from the year beginning April 1, 1837, paid but seventeen hundred dollars a year for the support of its paupers for the next five years. For the year ending March 31, 1843, the state spent fifteen hundred dollars, and this was the amount at which this expense stood at the close of this period.

Effects of Limitations

[1] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1818, chap. 3, p. 314.
[2] Public Statute Laws, 1820, chap. 34, sec. 2.
[3] Public Statute Laws, 1820, chap. 34, sec. 1.
[4] Ibidem, sec. 3.

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3. The General Assembly.

In framing the state constitution the Republicans provided that beginning with the year 1819 the assembly should have but one regular session annually to be held in May.[1] The salaries of the senators and representatives were at first the same as had been received by the assistants and deputies before the adoption of the constitution.[2] A comparison of the average annual expense of the assembly for the two years ending April 9, 1819, with the average for the two years ending March 31, 1821, shows the saving to the state effected by this change. The average expense for the last two years under the system of two sessions was $27,535.50; for the first two years of the one-session system the average annual expense was only $17,436.50, a decrease of ten thousand dollars a year. The Republicans did not stop at this point, but in 1820 they reduced the pay of the senators from three dollars a day to two dollars a day and the daily pay of the representatives from two dollars to one dollar and fifty cents. Both were allowed nine cents a mile for travel to and from the place of holding the session.[3] The economy of the party is shown by the following comparison. The average annual cost of holding two sessions from May 1, 1806, to April 9, 1819, was twenty-two thousand one hundred twenty-one dollars. Under the Republican administration the average cost per annum from April 10, 1819, to March 31, 1832, was reduced to fourteen thousand three hundred sixty-eight dollars. The salaries of the legislators established by the Republicans in 1820 remained unchanged throughout the period, but an amendment to the constitution in 1828 increased the membership of the senate (beginning in May, 1830) from twelve to not less than eighteen nor more than twenty-four.[4] Beginning with the May session of 1832, the senate consisted of twenty-one members.[5] This enlargement of the senate increased the expenses of the legislature, raising the annual average for the remaining fourteen years of the period (1832–1846) to eighteen thousand sixty-two dollars. Even this is a smaller average than the average incurred under the previous system of two sessions in every year.

The expenses of the convention that drew up the constitution in the autumn of 1818 were eleven thousand three hundred thirteen dollars.

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[1] Conn. Constitution, art. 3, sec. 2.

[2] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1818, chap. 12, p. 329.

[3] Public Statute Laws, 1820, chap. 58.

[4] Amendments to Conn. Constitution, art. i.

[5] Public Statute Laws, May 1831, chap. 2.

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4. Salaries.

The constitution provided that the compensation of the governor, lieutenant governor, senators and representatives should be established and that if changes should be made, the changes could not take effect until after an election, subsequent to the law making the changes, had occurred.[1] The salaries of the principal state officials as they stood at the time of the revision of 1821 were as follows:[2]

Governor,	$1,100	
Lieutenant Governor,	850	(changed in 1823 to $300)[3]
Secretary of State,	84	and fees[4]
Treasurer,	1,000	($300 of this amount to be paid from school fund)
Comptroller,	1,000	($1250, beginning May, 1826)[5]
Commissioner of School Fund,	1,000	(paid from school fund)
Chief Judge of Superior Court,	1,100	
Four Associates, each,[6]	1,050	
Senators,	$2	a day and mileage (9 cents per mile)
Representatives,	$1.50	a day and mileage (9 cents per mile)

The salary list established by the legislature in 1820 differed from this schedule in only one respect—it did not mention the commissioner of the school fund.

The Republicans effected a considerable saving by their revision of salaries. The salary of the governor was lowered one hundred dollars and that of the lieutenant governor fifty dollars from the salaries they had been receiving from May, 1815, until this change was made.[7] In 1823 the lieutenant governor's salary was reduced five hundred fifty dollars more.[8] The principal change, however,

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[1] Conn. Constitution, art. iv, sec. 4.

[2] Revision of 1821, title 83, sec. 1.

[3] Public Statute Laws, May 1823, chap. 18.

[4] Revision of 1821, title 83, sec. 11.

[5] Compt. Report (Ms.), 1827.

[6] The five judges of the superior court also constituted the supreme court of errors. Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1818, chap. 1, sec. 2.

[7] Cf. p. 50.

[8] Public Statute Laws, May 1823, chap. 18.

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was in lowering the compensation of the members of the general assembly.[1] A saving of forty-two hundred dollars a year was effected by reducing the number of superior court judges from nine to five.[2] By this action the court was restored to its original size before enlargement by the Federalists in 1806.[3] The salary of the commissioner of the school fund was considered too high and in 1818 the Republicans reduced it five hundred dollars.[4] Throughout this period no changes except those noted were made in the salaries here given.

5. Military Department.

From May 1, 1816, to April 9, 1819, when the military expenses were on a peace footing under the Federalist laws, the average annual expense for this object had been eleven hundred forty-five dollars. In 1819 the Republicans applied the policy of retrenchment to the military department by amending the act relating to the militia.[5] The result was that from April 10, 1819, to March 31, 1830, the total military expense was only seven thousand two hundred twenty-four dollars, a yearly average of only six hundred fifty-seven dollars. This shows a saving of nearly fifty per cent. In the year ending March 31, 1831, an arsenal was built at an expense of two thousand dollars and the expense of maintaining it increased the military expenditures. Including the expense of building the arsenal, the military expenditures from April 1, 1830, to March 31, 1846, were eighteen thousand three hundred eighty-seven dollars, an average of eleven hundred forty-nine dollars a year, which is about the same as under the Federalist regime. The total military expense for this entire period (April 10, 1818, to March 31, 1846) was twenty-six thousand seven hundred seventy-eight dollars.

6. State Prison.

The state prison became self-supporting before the close of this period. For the last year of the preceding period the expense of the prison to the state treasury was nearly thirteen thousand dollars. From that time the yearly expense to the state treasury was so diminished that in the eight years ending March 31, 1826, only fifty-nine thousand four hundred twenty-nine dollars was taken from the state

[1] Cf. pp. 51, 52.
[2] Public Statute Laws, Oct. 1818, chap. 1, sec. 1.
[3] Conn. Laws, May 1806, p. 713.
[4] Cf. p. 51.
[5] Public Statute Laws, 1819, chap. 4.

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treasury for the maintenance of the prison. Conditions at the old Newgate prison were far from satisfactory and the assembly finally decided to build a new state prison at Wethersfield. This was made and all the prisoners—one hundred twenty-six in number—were removed to it from Newgate in 1827.[1] After the year ending March 31, 1829, the prison was not only self-supporting but also a source of revenue to the state.[2] Even the cost of building the new prison was more than met by the surplus earnings of the prisoners.

The total expense of the state prison to the state treasury from March 31, 1826, to March 31, 1846, including the cost of building the new prison was as follows:

Expense of Newgate for the two fiscal years ending March 31, 1828,	$5,795
Original cost of building new prison,	33,000
Expense of new prison for first two years ending March 31, 1829,	3,502
Expense of building an addition for the two fiscal years ending March 31, 1832,	7,926
Expense for year ending March 31, 1834,	2,609
Salaries of the directors of the state prison from March 31, 1829, to March 31, 1846,	5,183
	$58,015

The total money received by the state treasurer from the state prison from the time it began to be self-supporting in 1829 until the close of this period was sixty-three thousand twenty-seven dollars. Thus the state prison ceased to be an expense to the state after the first third of this period.

7. Public Debt Discharged.

At the beginning of the second period the public debt was $3,312.90.[3] Reference has been made to the fact that in the latter part of the previous period not enough payments were made on the debt to cover even the interest and that for all practical purposes the debt was merely nominal. That statement can now be proved by tracing the history of the debt during this period. In the first place, it was decided that the interest on the debt ought not to go on accumulating. The state was now ready, as it had been for years, to pay the debt upon the presentation of proper evidences, but it no longer

[1] New England Magazine, vol. v, p. 433.

[2] Cf. p. 75.

[3] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1818.

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felt disposed to pay interest on claims which it had for years been willing to settle. Therefore, the interest on the debt still outstanding was reduced to the amount which was due on this given principal on April 30, 1805. This action reduced the debt to the extent of nearly five hundred dollars and on April 1, 1820, it stood at $2,835.60. Twenty-eight dollars had been paid during the year ending on that date and from 1820 until March 31, 1838, about seven hundred dollars more was paid. The debt as given in the Comptroller's Report (Ms.) of June, 1838, was $2,142.29 on April 1 of that year.

No further payments are recorded and finally, in his report to the assembly in May, 1843, the comptroller made the following statement in regard to the debt: "For many years the comptrollers have reported a few hundred dollars as the amount of outstanding evidences of debt due from this state, in the form of colony bills, issued before the Revolution, and state bills, state notes, interest certificates, etc., issued during and immediately after the Revolution. .... For several years the comptrollers have ceased to receive them; for the reasons that great numbers were known to have been counterfeited by the enemy in the Revolutionary War, and no one is now remaining to discriminate between the true and the false. That many must have been lost or destroyed—probably to as great amount as the sum now nominally due; and consequently, a like amount of counterfeits must have been received and paid. And from the fact that few or none of the persons or their relatives, for whose claims they were issued would be benefited by their payment, but, on the contrary, they are now in the hands of those who received them without giving value, or came into possession from accidental circumstances. The present comptroller has not, therefore, deemed it necessary to state what he considers but a nominal debt, but merely to remark that it remains in amount the same as for many years past." This ends the public record of the old Revolutionary debt, although since 1810 the greater part of it had been merely nominal.

8. Bounties and Encouragements.

As in the former period, the direct payments made from the state treasury for bounties were insignificant.[1] In 1832, the general assembly once more tried to encourage the silk industry by providing for the payment of a bounty of one dollar to every person transplanting on his land one hundred

Silk and Hemp

[1] Cf. pp. 55, 56.

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white mulberry trees of at least three years growth. This bounty was not to be paid until two years after the transplanting of the trees.[1] In 1834 the act was made to include the Chinese mulberry as well as the white mulberry.[2] The act of 1832 also ordered a payment of fifty cents for every pound of silk reeled by a specified method and in 1834 this was extended to silk reeled by any method. The history of the first period was repeated. The industry was not stimulated to an appreciable extent by the bounties offered. This is evident from the small amount—nineteen hundred eighty-nine dollars—which the state paid under the operation of these laws. They were both repealed in 1839.[3] Another act similar to the one which was in operation in the first period was an act passed by the legislature in 1829, to be operative until May 1, 1832, exempting from taxation, in that year in which the crop should be harvested, all lands used in the cultivation of hemp.[4]

Crows

In 1833 the influence of the farmers was strong enough to cause the legislature to pass an act allowing a bounty of ten cents for every crow killed in the state. The town clerks paid the bounties upon proper evidence, and the state treasurer reimbursed the towns.[5] Many crows were killed as a result of this bounty and in 1837 it was withdrawn.[6] During the four years in which the bounty was offered two thousand five hundred twenty-eight dollars was paid by the state. This indicates that twenty-five thousand two hundred eighty crows were killed under the stimulus of the bounty.

Agricultural Societies

To encourage agriculture, the assembly in 1840 passed an act providing for paying, on conditions prescribed by the act, a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars in a single year to each incorporated county agricultural society. If such a society should raise a hundred dollars or more in any year, the state, to the extent of two hundred dollars, would duplicate the amount thus raised, provided the society used the entire amount for the encouragement and improvement of agriculture or manufactures.[7] The societies generally fulfilled these conditions by the payment of premiums. Under the operation of

[1] Public Statute Laws, 1832, chap. 29.
[2] Public Statute Laws, 1834, chap. 7.
[3] Public Acts, 1839, chap. 45.
[4] Public Statute Laws, 1829, chap. 22.
[5] Public Statute Laws, 1833, chap. 31.
[6] Public Statute Laws, 1837, chap. 44.
[7] Public Acts, 1840, chap. 1, sec. 1, 4.

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this act the state paid seven hundred dollars during the year ending in 1841. After that the payments averaged a little more than one thousand dollars a year, the total amount, including the payment in 1841, being five thousand seven hundred sixty dollars.

The other bounties granted by the state were those which the banks were required to pay as a condition of receiving their charters. Many of the charters granted at this time are very interesting. In 1834 a charter was granted to the Exchange Bank at Hartford. By the terms of this charter the bank had to pay a bonus of twenty-five thousand dollars. Of this amount fifteen thousand dollars was to go to the Connecticut Silk Manufacturing Company, which, in turn, was directed to pay two thousand dollars to Gamaliel Gay and James Bottom. This last payment was to be made as a remuneration for the invention of machinery for the manufacture of silk and was to be given on condition that the inventors would allow this machinery to be used by any person in Connecticut without receiving in return a royalty. The company was also directed to pay fifteen hundred dollars of the fifteen thousand dollars to the Mansfield Manufacturing Company. This left eleven thousand five hundred dollars to be used by the Connecticut Company. The bank was also directed to spend eight thousand dollars in constructing an iron railing, walks and gutters around the state house in Hartford. The remaining two thousand dollars the bank was to pay into the state treasury.[1]

Silk Manufacturing Company

The "internal improvement" movement spread over the country in this period and Connecticut did not escape. The particular object of its solicitude was the Farmington Canal. The projectors of this canal had large visions of what it would become and of the prosperity it would bring to Connecticut. At first it was intended to be but a link of a series of canals leading to Canada. The city of New Haven was especially interested in it because the terminus was to be at New Haven, and it was expected that much of the trade Hartford had enjoyed would be brought to New Haven. The Farmington Canal Company was incorporated in 1822 and its charter exempted the stock of this corporation from all taxation until after twenty-one years from the time of the completion of the canal.[2] The state never made a grant from the treasury to this

The Farmington Canal

[1] Public Statute Laws, 1834, chap. 40.

[2] Private Laws, 1789—1836, title 8, sec. 22.

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enterprise, but it did aid it materially in making banks subscribe to the stock of the corporation. In 1824, the Mechanics' Bank in New Haven was incorporated. One of the conditions of its charter was that it must subscribe one hundred thousand dollars to the capital stock of the Farmington Canal Corporation and an additional one hundred thousand dollars if the directors of the canal should call for it. The directors did demand it and the bank subscribed the entire two hundred thousand dollars. In return for the subscription, the capital stock of the bank was forever exempted from all taxation.[1] In 1826 the Farmington Canal Company and the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company united their stock.

The work of constructing a canal from New Haven to Northampton, Massachusetts, was now under way, but in 1827 the funds from the stock subscription were exhausted and only the courage of the managers kept the enterprise alive at this time.[2] The city of New Haven came to their relief in 1829 with a subscription of one hundred thousand dollars to the stock of the canal and in 1831 the City Bank of New Haven was chartered on condition that it subscribe the same amount to the stock of the Hampshire and Hampden canal corporation. The capital stock of the bank was to be free from taxation until the tolls of the canal were yielding a dividend of six per cent on the capital stock of the canal corporation.[3] Still another bank was directed by its charter, granted in 1834, to further the construction of the canal. This was the New Haven County Bank. Within a year from the time of its organization this bank was to pay to the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company the sum of two thousand dollars and was also to pay one thousand dollars annually during the three following years.[4] In 1836 the condition of the two companies was so bad that they were wound up at a loss of over one million dollars and a new company, called the New Haven and Northampton Company, was formed in their place.[5] The canal continued to be run at a loss and in 1839 the city of New Haven issued to the company as a loan, twenty thousand dollars worth of bonds, secured by mortgage of the canal. The city offered one hundred thousand dollars; but in 1840, when the company asked for the remaining eighty thousand dollars, the city refused to make the loan. It agreed,

[1] Private Laws, 1789—1836, pp. 104—107, sec. 10.

[2] Atwater's History of City of New Haven, chap. 22, p. 359.

[3] Public Acts, 1831, chap. 50, sec. 10.

[4] Public Acts, 1834, chap. 39.

[5] Account of Farmington, Hampshire and Hampden, and New Haven and Northampton Canal Companies, 1850, T. J. Stafford, Printer.

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however, to relinquish the mortgage,[1] thus making a gift of the twenty thousand dollars, and it appropriated three thousand dollars a year for the use of the water of the canal for as many years (not exceeding thirty) as it should be kept in operation.[2] No further public grants were made and so the story of this canal will be dropped with the mere statement that the entire amount of money sunk in this enterprise until it was finally superseded by the railroad in 1848 was one million five hundred thousand dollars.[3]

Railroads

The first railroad corporations chartered in Connecticut were the Boston, Norwich and New London Railroad Company and the New York and Stonington Railroad Company. These companies were incorporated in 1832. The legislature provided that the capital stock of these railroad companies should be exempted from taxation until the tolls were sufficient to yield a six per cent dividend on the capital stock.[4] In the same year a charter was granted to the Quinebaug Bank in Norwich. Its charter required the bank to subscribe at least one hundred thousand dollars (and another hundred thousand, if demanded) to the stock of the first named railroad company. The capital stock of the bank was exempted from taxation until the bank and the railroad company should be able to make dividends, which, when taken together, should equal six per cent of their combined capital stock.[5] A year later charters were granted to the Hartford and New Haven Railroad Company and to the Manchester Railroad Company. By the terms of their charters the capital stock of these companies was exempted from taxation until their profits should be large enough to afford a dividend of five per cent on their capital stock.[6] The first train to run in Connecticut was on the Stonington road. This event did not occur until 1839,[7] and the state received no revenue from the railroads during this period.

The Thames River

Another form of internal improvement was fostered by the state in 1833. The Merchants' Bank at Norwich was incorporated on condition that it spend in clearing and deepening the channel of the Thames whatever sum,

[1] Atwater's History City of New Haven, chap. 22, p. 360.

[2] Niles' Register (1840), vol. lviii, p. 244.

[3] Account of Farmington, Hampshire and Hampden, and New Haven and Northampton Canal Companies, 1850, T. J. Stafford, Printer.

[4] Private Laws, 1789—1837, title 33, sec. 17.

[5] Public Statute Laws, May 1833, chap. 50, sec. 11.

[6] Private Laws, 1789—1837, title 33, p. 1005, sec. 14 and p. 1019, sec. 18.

[7] Second Annual Report of Railroad Commissioners, 1854, p. 4.

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not exceeding thirty thousand dollars, might be necessary for that purpose. It is an interesting sequel to know that in 1841 the assembly authorized the directors of this bank to reduce the value of each share from fifty dollars to forty dollars. This action of reducing the capital stock by one-fifth was based on the ground that the bonus required of the bank had put too severe a strain upon its resources.[1]

9. Humane Institutions and Public Buildings.

During the first period the state established no charitable institution and with an exception of an appropriation in 1817 to the Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb it gave no aid to humane institutions of any kind.[2] From the year beginning April 1, 1830, this institution annually received money from the state for the education of deaf and dumb persons who were unable to provide it for themselves and whose friends could not bear the expense. In 1837 the assembly authorized the governor to choose some of the deaf and dumb inhabitants of the state who were unable to provide an education, using his discretion regarding the number to be chosen, and to send them to the asylum for the deaf and dumb at Hartford to be educated at the expense of the state. These beneficiaries were to be between the ages of twelve and twenty-five. The governor was empowered to contract for their education, for a period of not more than five years, on terms at least as favorable as other states were granted. He was limited to twenty-five hundred dollars for any one year.[3] This appropriation was continued in 1843 and the act was amended to permit the governor to contract for the education of deaf and dumb children between eight and twelve years of age. For these he could contract for a term of eight years, but he was restricted to a term of six years for all others.[4] As a matter of fact, the amount allowed by the acts of 1837 and 1843 was not entirely used, the actual expense for this purpose in a single subsequent year being less than fifteen hundred dollars until 1841 and not rising above two thousand dollars until 1844. In this year the assembly voted that if in any year the full appropriation of twenty-five hundred dollars should not be used, the unexpended portion might be added to the appropriation for the next year.[5] The total

Asylum for Deaf and Dumb

[1] Public Acts, May 1841, chap. 4.
[2] Cf. pp. 49, 50.
[3] Private Acts, 1837, p. 26.
[4] Private Acts, 1843, p. 27.
[5] Private Acts, 1844, p. 8.

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amount expended from April 1, 1830, until March 31, 1847, was twenty-nine thousand eight hundred nine dollars, an average per year of one thousand eight hundred sixty-three dollars.

Another institution to receive aid at the hands of the state during this period was the General Hospital Society of the State of Connecticut. Using its favorite method of financial assistance, the legislature required the New Haven County Bank, as one of the conditions on which its charter was granted in 1834, to pay five thousand dollars to this society.[1]

General Hospital Society

The next institution for the physically infirm to which the state gave annual financial support was the New England Institution for the Blind. One hundred forty-three dollars was paid to it by the state in 1835, six hundred fifty in 1837 and three hundred thirty-eight in 1838. In this year the legislature followed the policy already adopted in the case of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. It appointed the governor a commissioner to contract with the New England Institution for the Blind for the education of blind persons of the state who were unable personally or by the assistance of friends to provide the necessary means. The age limit of persons who could receive the benefit of this act was set at twenty-five. The governor could contract for as many persons as he deemed expedient, provided the expense did not exceed one thousand dollars a year, and he could not make a contract for more than five years.[2] Two years later the age limit was extended to forty years, preference still being given to persons under twenty-five, if, in the opinion of the governor, there was a sufficient number of persons within the lower age limit entitled to the benefits of the appropriation, but no other change was made.[3] In 1843 the resolution of 1838 was re-enacted for another period of five years, thus restoring the age limit to twenty-five years.[4] As in the case of the deaf and dumb, the appropriation allowed was not entirely used. From April 1, 1838, to March 31, 1844, only two thousand seven hundred sixteen dollars was thus expended. This is an average per year of four hundred fifty-three dollars, which is less than half of the appropriation. No outlay was made for this purpose for the next two years. The reason for these small expenditures is that the number of persons who applied was too small to exhaust the appropriations.

Institution for the Blind

[1] Public Statute Laws, 1834, chap. 39, sec. 14.

[2] Private Acts, 1838, pp. 8, 9.

[3] Private Acts, 1840, p. 4.

[4] Private Acts, 1843, p. 26.

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There arose at this time a demand that the state should make provision for its insane poor. An institution known as the Retreat for the Insane and situated in Hartford had been incorporated by the legislature in May, 1822.[1] The legislature at that time made a grant of five thousand dollars to this institution.[2] This grant was paid in the year which ended March 31, 1824.[3] In 1837 the legislature appointed a committee to inquire into the best means of relieving the insane poor of the state[4] and in 1839 a committee was appointed to select a location for an insane hospital and to ascertain the expense of building the hospital.[5] Such a hospital was not built, however, as the legislature, in May, 1842, decided to support its insane poor at the above mentioned Retreat for the Insane. The governor was made a commissioner to select the beneficiaries and to contract for their support at this retreat. He was limited to an annual expense of two thousand dollars.[6] The next year the assembly voted to advance to the retreat the appropriation for the next five years—ten thousand dollars—on condition that the retreat should contract to support the insane poor of the state on terms to be agreed upon by the governor and the officers of the institution.[7] Finally, in 1844, further aid was granted by an act authorizing the governor to contract still further with the institution for the support of the insane poor of the state. In the execution of this contract he was authorized to allow the retreat, in addition to the previous annual grant of two thousand dollars, a sum not to exceed three thousand dollars a year. This act also provided that if any part of this three thousand dollar appropriation was not expended in any year, the balance could be carried on to succeeding years.[8] In 1845 five thousand dollars was appropriated for completing and furnishing the new buildings of the retreat. This was to be paid in two equal instalments, one-half in 1845 and the other in 1846.[9] Under the operation of these acts, the state, in the four years ending March 31, 1846, spent the sum of eighteen thousand six hundred eighty-four dollars.

Insane Retreat

[1] Private Laws, 1789—1836, p. 342.
[2] Gov. Buckingham's Message, 1859, p. 10.
[3] Compt. Report (Ms.), May 1824.
[4] Private Acts, 1837, pp. 26, 27.
[5] Private Acts, 1839, pp. 59, 60.
[6] Private Acts, May 1842, pp. 52, 53.
[7] Private Acts, 1843, p. 28.
[8] Private Acts, 1844, p. 23.
[9] Private Acts, 1845, pp. 117, 118.

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During the second period the entire amount spent for humane institutions was fifty-seven thousand three hundred forty dollars. As only five thousand dollars of this sum was expended before March 31, 1830, the average annual expenditure after the state began the policy of annually appropriating money for such an object was thirty-two hundred seventy-one dollars. This is not a large amount to spend for such purposes, but it was at least a beginning of an expenditure which increased considerably in the next period.

During this period the state expenditures for buildings were as follows:

Public Buildings

Building new state prison,	$33,000
Addition to state prison,	7,926
Building state house at New Haven,	32,359
Alterations, etc., to Hartford State House,	9,460
Repairs of New Haven State House,	4,750
Building and repairs of arsenal	2,000
	$89,495

Of this amount the expenditures incurred for the buildings of the state prison and of the arsenal have already been included in the treatment of the state prison[1] and military expenses.[2] Exclusive of these, the entire amount spent for public buildings and institutions from April 1, 1823 (the year in which an expense of this nature first appeared in this period) to March 31, 1846, was one hundred five thousand one hundred thirty-eight dollars, an average of nearly forty-six hundred dollars a year. Even if the exceptions for arsenal and state prison are not made, the total will fall below one hundred fifty thousand dollars ($148,064) and the average will be only sixty-four hundred thirty-eight dollars a year.

10. Abatement and Collection of Taxes.

When they revised the system of taxation at the beginning of this period, the Republicans did not alter the existing provision for abating one-eighth of one per cent of the state tax on the towns nor did it change the fees paid to the collectors of the state tax.[3] During the entire period no change in these respects was made. The abatements to the towns from April 10, 1818, to March 31, 1846, amounted to one hundred forty-one thousand fifty-nine dollars

[1] Cf. pp. 88, 89. [2] Cf. p. 88. [3] Cf. p. 57.

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and the total expense for the collection of taxes was forty-four thousand three dollars.

E. Summary.

1. Lower Expenses.

This period was marked by the adoption of a constitution and a change in the system of taxation which resulted in a lower grand list. The tax on the towns was kept low, however, and a reduction made in the expenditures of the state. This was brought about principally by limiting the regular sessions of the legislature to one every year, by the withdrawal of the annual appropriation for the support of schools, by putting the state prison upon a self-supporting basis and by limiting the amount to be spent for individual state paupers and contracting for their support. Expenditures were kept so low that for the year ending March 31, 1826, they fell below fifty thousand dollars, the only time in the history of the state since 1795 that this has occurred. At no time during this period, after 1819, did the expenditures for any one year exceed ninety-five thousand dollars. After this period the annual expenditures never fell below one hundred thousand dollars. In summing up the first period, it was stated that exclusive of the expenses of running the government—legislative, judicial and executive—the principal items of ordinary expense were for schools, for the support of paupers, and for the state prison. During this period the first of these disappears, the second dwindles to a small amount, and the state prison becomes a source of revenue. The only avenue of expense to take the place of these three was that of public buildings and institutions. The average annual amount spent on these did not equal the average annual amount spent on either schools or paupers during the last ten years of the first period.

2. Larger Income.

The capital of the school fund was enlarged from $1,858,074 in 1820 to $2,070,055 in 1845 and the income distributed increased from fifty-eight thousand four hundred thirty-nine dollars in 1820 to one hundred nineteen thousand three hundred eighty-five dollars in 1846. The distribution was changed from a method based on the grand list to a new method based on the number of children between four and sixteen. After 1820 the yearly income from this fund was larger than the entire amount annually spent by the state for current expenses. Exclusive of the school fund the state tax on the towns

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was the largest source of revenue. The income from the permanent fund (which after 1833 consisted entirely of bank stock) remained the third in importance. Until March 31, 1830, the revenue from duties and licenses continued to be the fourth in amount, but it was surpassed the next year by the amount paid into the state treasury from the surplus earnings of the state prison. After this date the revenue received by the state from duties and licenses never regained its original importance. In 1837, the state received its quota of the United States surplus funds and distributed it among the towns to be held as a permanent fund. This was called the "Town Deposit Fund" and one-half of the income (later the entire income) was to be appropriated to the support of schools.[1] A new form of taxation (used before in the case of the Phœnix Bank in 1814) appears during this period in the bank bonus. This was in the nature of a franchise tax, as it was a payment which the banking corporation had to make in order to receive its charter. Although during this period very little money came into the state treasury from this source, the legislature availed itself of this means to make grants to various undertakings which it wished to encourage.

3. Financial Prosperity.

From one point of view this period was an exceedingly prosperous one for the state. It was not burdened with a public debt. It had a permanent fund of about four hundred thousand dollars which for the last half of the period yielded a large annual return. The principal and interest of its school fund greatly increased. Financially, the state was in a sound and prosperous condition. When a man prospers, one of two thing soccurs; he either raises his standard of living or he becomes miserly. The same is true of political bodies. If they are financially strong, they should make many improvements and extend their activities. Otherwise, they will tend to be satisfied with what they have, will refuse to tax themselves, and thus progress and development will be slow. A study of this period shows that the latter statement well describes the condition of Connecticut at this time. Instead of devoting the income of the accumulated funds to the betterment of the schools and to desirable public improvements, the state used the income of these funds merely to reduce the taxes. It is questionable, therefore, whether these permanent funds really benefited, or injured the state at this time.

[1] Cf. p. 77.

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THIRD PERIOD. 1846–1861. PERIOD OF EXPANSION. INCREASED EXPENDITURES AND TAXATION.

A. Growth of Population.

A study of the population of Connecticut from 1790 to 1860 as shown by the United States census reports[1] will help to explain the changed conditions of the state finances which appear in this period.

Year.	Population.	Per cent of Increase.	Per cent increase of Population in U.S.
1790	237,946		
1800	251,002	5.4	35.1
1810	261,942	4.3	36.4
1820	275,148	5.0	33.1
1830	297,675	8.1	33.5
1840	309,978	4.1	32.7
1850	370,792	19.6	35.9
1860	460,147	24.0	35.6

These figures show that while the normal increase for the entire United States for every decade except one was more than one for every three persons, the average rate of increase for Connecticut up to 1840 was only about one in twenty for each decade. This is a proof that emigration from Connecticut was then taking place to a degree that prevented even the normal rate of increase. This fact is further verified by the figures given in the last chapter where it was shown that the number of children between the ages of four and sixteen actually decreased from 1820 to 1845.[2] Notice, however, the great change that occurred during the decade ending in 1850. In this decade the population of Connecticut increased by nearly sixty-one thousand. The increase for this decade was 1838 more than the increase for the four decades that immediately preceded it. In the succeeding decade the increase was still more rapid, the gain being eighty-nine thousand three hundred fifty-five. From 1846 to 1860 the population of the state increased more than it did from 1790 to 1846, and this is the most important factor in the increased expenditures of this period. There is little need for considering the state expenditures for the third period except to note the general increase in most of the items and to point out a few changes in the laws which caused increased expenditures.

[1] Cf. United States Census Reports.

[2] Cf. p. 82.

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B. Expenditures.

1. The General Assembly.

The salaries of the members of the general assembly remained the same as in the last period, the senators receiving two dollars a day and the members of the House of Representatives one dollar and a half a day. Both continued to receive for mileage an allowance of nine cents per mile.[1] The expenses of the assembly increased during this period from about twenty-four thousand dollars a year to approximately thirty-five thousand dollars a year. This increase is explained in part by the increased amount of legislation and consequently longer sessions.

2. Salaries.

In general, the salaries of the principal officials of the state remained the same as they were at the close of the last period.[2] In 1847 an important change was made in the compensation of the secretary of state. Until this time he had received eighty-four dollars a year and was allowed certain stipulated fees for official services. The assembly, in 1847, fixed his salary at one thousand dollars a year and at the same time directed the secretary to turn all fees received by him into the state treasury.[3]

In 1855 the assembly increased the number of judges of the supreme and superior courts, from five to nine.[4] Each one of these judges was allowed a salary of two thousand dollars a year.[5] The salaries of all the five judges constituting these courts before this change aggregated fifty-three hundred dollars a year. The new law, therefore, increased the expense for salaries of the judges of these courts by twelve thousand seven hundred dollars. However, as the county courts were superseded by the superior court under the provisions of this same act,[6] this increased expense was reduced to ninety-eight hundred dollars. No other changes in the salaries of the principal officials occurred in this period. Their salaries at the close of this period were as follows[7]:

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[1] Revised Statutes, 1849, title 16, sec. 1; Conn. Statutes (Compilation of 1854) title 46, sec. 1.

[2] Cf. p. 87.

[3] Public Acts, 1847, chap. 45.

[4] Public Acts, 1855, chap. 26, sec. 1, 11.

[5] Idem, sec. 15.

[6] Public Acts, 1855, chap. 26, sec. 17.

[7] Conn. Statutes (Compilation of 1854), title 46, sec. 1.

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Governor,	$1100
Lieutenant Governor,	300
Secretary of State,	1000
Treasurer,	1000
Comptroller,	1000
Commissioner of School Fund,	1250
Judges of the Supreme Court,[1]	2000
Judges of the Superior Court,[1]	2000

The entire salary of the commissioner of the school fund and three hundred dollars of the treasurer's salary were payable from the school fund.

3. Judicial Expenditures.

The judicial expenditures, which first became the chief item of state expense in 1823 and which had risen from the insignificant sum of about twenty-five hundred dollars in 1801 to thirty-three thousand nine hundred eleven dollars for the closing year of the second period, increased rapidly during the third period and for the year ending in 1858 reached the hitherto unequaled amount of eighty-six thousand two hundred dollars. Notice that in the early part of the state's history it took forty-six years (1801-1846) for the annual cost to increase thirty thousand dollars. In these later years the much shorter interval of twelve years (1847–1858) was signalized by an increase of more than fifty-two thousand dollars.

There are several causes for this increase. An act passed by the legislature in 1845 allowed the towns to shift upon the state the costs of certain cases brought before justices of the peace which the towns had formerly been obliged to pay.[2] This, however, was only a minor cause. The principal causes are three. First, the rapidly growing population and its concentration in the cities naturally tended to increase crime. Second, the state was admitting many foreigners who were in a measure unaccustomed to the freedom of this country and who therefore sometimes mistook liberty for license. Most important of all, the growth of corporations—manufacturing, banking, and railroad—during this period was the occasion for many new legal questions involving litigation to arise. The total judicial expenditures (exclusive of the salaries of the judges of the supreme, superior, and county courts) for the fifteen years of this period were eight hundred twenty-nine thousand three hundred fifty-four dollars.

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[1] As changed by sec. 15, chap. 26, Public Acts of 1855.

[2] Public Acts, 1845, chap. 22.

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4. Military Expenses.

In 1847 the legislature passed an act relating to the militia,[1] aiming to make it a more effective body. The operation of the act caused a considerable increase of military expense when viewed from the ratio point of view, but measured in dollars and cents the increase was not large. The average annual expense for the three years ending March 31, 1847, was ten hundred ninety-one dollars and for the three following years it was nineteen hundred thirty-four dollars. In 1850 further legislation was enacted in which provision was made for the payment to the town clerks of three cents for every name enrolled by them in the militia.[2] The act of 1847 had provided for the enrolment of the militia, but it was to be done by the collectors of the state tax and no extra compensation was given. The expenses were somewhat increased by the act of 1850, and the annual average for the five years ending in 1855 was four thousand eight hundred sixty-eight dollars; but the act of 1854 revolutionized the system and caused a greatly increased expenditure. Governor Dutton, in his message to the assembly in 1854, called its attention to the increasing number of foreigners and the need for better military protection. Lawlessness was liable to occur at the hands of these foreigners and the possibility of riots necessitated an efficient militia. He therefore advised a revision of the militia laws for the purpose of organizing a better military force.[3] The legislature responded to his appeal by passing an act which provided for a stated compensation to members of the active militia.[4] Until this time the inducements offered to join the active militia had been exemption from the poll tax and an allowance which was paid from the military commutation money and fines and was therefore an uncertain quantity.[5] This act required three days regimental or brigade camp duty in the fall of each year[6] and in 1855 an additional drill of three days in August for the officers was ordered.[7] These acts added greatly to the military expenditures of the state. From 1855 to 1861 the total expenses amounted to one hundred fifty-two thousand fifty-three dollars, an average of twenty-five thousand three hundred forty-two dollars per year.

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[1] Public Acts, 1847, chap. 43. [2] Public Acts, 1850, chap. 57, sec. 2.
[3] Governor Dutton's Message to the General Assembly, May 1854, p. 7.
[4] Public Acts, 1854, chap. 68, sec. 49.
[5] Public Acts, 1847, chap. 43, sec. 62.
[6] Public Acts, 1854, chap. 68, sec. 45.
[7] Public Acts, 1855, chap. 89, sec. 3.

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5. Education.

In this period the state began to awake to the fact that it was no longer maintaining its premier position in the realm of public education. The chief reason why Connecticut was losing its prestige was its possession of a large and productive school fund. It will be remembered that at the beginning of the second period, the state appropriation for schools was withdrawn because of this fact.[1] By 1821 all legal obligations for the people to support the public schools by taxation were withdrawn and the school districts were allowed to assess the parents of the scholars for school expenses in excess of the income from the school fund.[2] The result was that in the majority of school districts, the schools were kept open just long enough to consume the money derived from the school fund or some town fund and taxation for ordinary school purposes was almost entirely an unknown event.[3]

A beginning of state supervision was made near the end of the second period,[4] but this had ceased in 1842, when the board of commissioners of the common schools was abolished.[5] A new start was made in 1845, when the commissioner of the school fund was made superintendent of the common schools by virtue of his office.[6] From that time there has always been some form of state supervision. In 1849, when the first state normal school in Connecticut was established, the principal of the school was made superintendent of the public schools in place of the school fund commissioner.[7] In 1854 the legislature passed an act again requiring the towns to lay a tax of one cent on the dollar of its list of taxable property and polls. As the list was made at this time, this was equivalent to a tax of three cents on a hundred dollars of the true valuation of property and ten cents for each poll. In the year ending in 1857 the state began to make appropriations for school libraries. During the five years ending March 31, 1861, this amounted to sixty-nine hundred ninety dollars. The expense incurred for the superintendence of the schools increased from five hundred twenty-eight dollars for the first year of the period to thirty-three hundred sixty-

[1] Cf. p. 83.

[2] Report of Superintendent of Common Schools, 1852, pp. 23, 24 (Leg. Doc. 1852).

[3] Idem, p. 37.

[4] Public Acts, chap. 52, sec. 1.

[5] Public Acts, 1842, chap. 50, sec. 6.

[6] Public Acts, 1845, chap. 46, sec. 1.

[7] Public Acts, 1849, chap. 24, sec. 1, 3.

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five dollars for the year ending in 1854. For the remainder of the period the average annual expense for supervision was thirty-six hundred sixty-seven dollars with very little fluctuation from this amount. The total expense of the public schools, including the expense incurred in the aid of school libraries, for the entire period was forty-six thousand seven hundred seven dollars. This does not include the school fund, which is treated separately.

Normal School

In 1849 the assembly passed an act establishing a state normal school.[1] As a condition of incorporation,[2] the state imposed upon the State Bank at Hartford a bonus of ten thousand dollars, which was appropriated for the support of the normal school. This bonus of ten thousand dollars was to constitute a fund from which the trustees of the school were to be paid annually twenty-five hundred dollars, plus accrued interest, for four years.[3] The Deep River Bank at Saybrook, also chartered in 1849, was directed to pay a bonus of one thousand dollars to this fund.[4] In 1851 the Farmers' Bank at Bridgeport was allowed to increase its capital on condition that it pay a bonus of fifteen hundred dollars, of which five hundred was to be paid to the normal school.[5] In 1853 the legislature voted an annual appropriation of four thousand dollars a year for a term of five years[6]; in 1858 a grant of forty-four hundred dollars was made[7] and five thousand dollars was appropriated for each of the next two years. All of these grants were for running expenses. In addition to these sums, the state appropriated a thousand dollars in the year 1855 and again in 1856 and twenty-seven hundred fifty dollars in 1858. These amounts were expended on the building, apparatus, heating plant, and repairs. The entire amount appropriated from the state treasury for the school from the time of its establishment in 1849 until the close of the period was thirty-five thousand one hundred fifty dollars plus eleven thousand five hundred dollars bank bonuses and nine hundred fifty-eight dollars interest, making a total of forty-seven thousand six hundred eight dollars. In this connection it is fitting to mention a bonus of four thousand dollars which the City Bank of Hartford was directed to pay to the New Britain

[1] Public Acts, 1849, chap. 23, sec. 1.
[2] Private Acts, 1849, p. 4.
[3] Public Acts, 1849, chap. 23, sec. 7.
[4] Private Laws, vol. iii, p. 66.
[5] Private Acts, 1851, p. 58.
[6] Private Acts, 1853, p. 197.
[7] Private Acts, 1858, p. 107.

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Educational Fund Company as a condition of incorporation.[1] The state also paid four thousand dollars to this company in 1855.[2] This company was formed to secure a building for the Normal School at New Britain and therefore these grants are closely allied to those to the normal school.

Colleges

Wesleyan University was the only college to receive aid from the state during this period. In 1851 the legislature authorized the Middlesex County Bank to increase its capital on the condition that it pay a bonus of two thousand dollars to this institution.[3] In the year 1854 a grant of ten thousand dollars was made by the legislature which was paid in two equal instalments during the fiscal years 1855 and 1856.[4]

The Connecticut Literary Institution

The state again gave aid to the Connecticut Literary Institution in this period. The City Bank of Hartford, in the act incorporating it in 1851, was directed to pay a bonus of five thousand dollars to this institution.[5] In 1857 two thousand dollars was given to the institution by the state.[6]

6. State Prison.

The only expense to the state treasury for the prison during this period was the salaries of the directors, which remained, as formerly at one hundred dollars a year for each one of a board of three, and twelve thousand two hundred dollars for repairs and the construction of a new building. The total expense to the treasury was thus sixteen thousand seven hundred dollars. The warden of the prison paid into the state treasury during this period, from the surplus earnings of the prison, the sum of sixteen thousand dollars. The net expense of the prison to the state treasury was very small.

7. State Paupers.

The cost of supporting the state paupers for the first year of this period was fifteen hundred dollars. This was the last year of the contract previously made by the comptroller and the new contract called for only eleven hundred dollars a year. This remained in

[1] Private Acts, 1851, p. 15.
[2] Compt. Report, 1855, under Contingent Expenses.
[3] Private Acts, 1851, p. 60.
[4] Private Acts, 1854, p. 231.
[5] Private Acts, 1851, p. 15.
[6] Private Acts, 1856, p. 145.

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force for two years, but for the year ending March 31, 1850, this expense was doubled. The comptroller gave as the cause of this increase, the increasing immigration and the influx of laborers to aid in the construction of public works,[1] who, after their immediate job was done, frequently became public charges and not being inhabitants of this state their support fell upon the state. The contractors, for their own protection, were forced to demand more compensation. With the exception of the year 1853, when the expense was only seventeen hundred eighty-five dollars, the annual expense from 1850 until 1856 was twenty-two hundred dollars. For the remaining five years of the period, the annual expense was reduced to eighteen hundred dollars.

8. Humane Institutions and Public Buildings.

No change was made in the annual appropriation of three thousand a year allowed at the close of the last period, until 1856. The legislature in this year raised the amount to four thousand dollars and made it cumulative, thereby allowing an unexpended balance of one year to be added to the annual appropriation for the next year. No further change was made in the appropriation. From April 1, 1846, until March 31, 1861, the actual amount granted to the asylum by the state was fifty thousand two hundred fifty-two dollars, an average of thirty-three hundred fifty dollars a year. In 1851 the legislature incorporated the Bank of North America in Seymour, stipulating that it pay to the state a bonus equal to one per cent of its paid-in capital stock. This sum was to be appropriated to the education of the deaf and dumb of the state.[2] The amount given to the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb as a result of this act was one thousand dollars.

Asylum for Deaf and Dumb

There was not always a demand for aid to the blind and consequently in the years 1850, 1852 and 1857 no expense was incurred by the state in connection with this institution. The annual appropriation of a sum not to exceed one thousand dollars was renewed for another period of five years[3] and in 1853 the appropriation was raised to fifteen hundred dollars a year for another five-year period. This act also removed any restriction as to the age of the bene-

Perkins Institute for the Blind

[1] Compt. Report, 1850, p. 5.
[2] Private Acts, 1851, p. 37.
[3] Private Acts, 1848, p. 29.

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ficiary, merely stipulating that he be of "suitable age and capacity."[1] This act was renewed in 1858.[2]

The amount expended by the state for the education of the blind during this period, which began April 1, 1846, was fourteen thousand two hundred forty-five dollars. This is an average of eleven hundred eighty-seven dollars for the twelve years in which aid was given.

Retreat for the Insane

The annual grant of five thousand dollars for the support of the insane poor was raised by the legislature in 1851 to seven thousand dollars a year.[3] An additional sum of twenty-five hundred dollars was granted in 1859.[4] Under the operation of these acts ninety-three thousand six hundred ninety-three dollars was expended from April 1, 1846, until March 31, 1861, an annual average of six thousand two hundred forty-six dollars. In addition to these annual appropriations, the state in 1854 and 1856 paid to the retreat six thousand and eight thousand dollars, respectively, for building purposes. In 1851 the state also directed three banks—the Central Bank at Middletown,[5] the Pequonnuc at Bridgeport,[6] and the Hatters' at Bethel[7]—to pay bonuses which aggregated three thousand two hundred fifty dollars to be used for the benefit of the insane poor. Thus this institution received during this period over one hundred and five thousand dollars from the state.

General Hospital Society

In 1854 the assembly for the first time voted an annual appropriation of two thousand dollars to be made to the General Hospital Society.[8] This appropriation was continued without change for the rest of the period and the full amount was expended. The legislature did not overlook this society in 1851, when it was chartering so many banks and causing them to pay bonuses for various institutions. The Merchants' Bank of New Haven was directed to pay two thousand dollars to the society.[9]

State Reform School

The state reform school was established by the legislature in 1851. The act provided that as soon as ten thousand dollars was raised by private subscription and paid into the state treasury, the state should add another ten thousand dollars. The sum thus held by the treasurer was to be expended on the reform school at such times as the trustees

[1] Private Acts, 1853, p. 5.
[2] Private Acts, 1858, p. 6.
[3] Private Acts, 1851, p. 81.
[4] Private Acts, 1859, p. 139.
[5] Private Acts, 1851, p. 6.
[6] Private Acts, 1851, p. 50.
[7] Private Acts, 1851, p. 21.
[8] Private Acts, vol. iii, p. 309.
[9] Private Acts, 1851, p. 30.

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of the school requested.[1] Four banks—the Central Bank at Middletown,[2] the Farmers' Bank at Bridgeport,[3] the Pequonnuc Bank at Bridgeport,[4] and the Merchants' Bank at New Haven[5]—were directed in 1851 to pay bonuses aggregating forty-five hundred dollars to the school. The state continued to appropriate money for the reform school and a considerable portion of the appropriations was expended in the purchase of land and the erection of buildings. In addition to these appropriations, the state paid the institution one dollar a week for the care of every boy committed to the school.[6] From April 1, 1855, which marks the beginning of the payments for board, until March 31, 1861, the state paid to the school thirty-nine thousand seven hundred ninety-five dollars for that purpose. The appropriations from April 1, 1852, to the close of the period amounted to eighty-two thousand seven hundred forty-six dollars in addition to the payments for board. Adding to this the slight expenses of the trustees of the institution (eleven hundred forty-eight dollars), the total expense to the state in establishing and supporting the school was one hundred twenty-three thousand six hundred eighty-nine dollars.

Other Institutions

The state gave appropriations to the Hartford Hospital in the years 1856, 1858 and 1861 amounting to twenty-six thousand five hundred dollars. In 1857 one thousand dollars was given to the New Haven Orphan Asylum and five hundred dollars each to the Hartford and Middletown Orphan Asylums. At four different times during the last eight years of the period, small sums were given to the American Colonization Society to aid them in transporting colored people to Africa. Only eleven hundred dollars was thus expended. Finally, in 1860, provision was made for the education of indigent idiotic children and the expense incurred for this purpose was fifteen hundred dollars.[7]

Recapitulation

To clearly show the activity of the state in this direction, the following summary of the amounts expended by the state for humane and charitable institutions from April 1, 1846, to March, 31, 1861, is here given:

[1] Public Acts, 1851, chap. 46, sec. 12.
[2] Private Acts, 1851, p. 6.
[3] Private Acts, 1851, p. 58.
[4] Private Acts, 1851, p. 50.
[5] Private Acts, 1851, p. 30.
[6] Public Acts, 1851, chap. 46, sec. 13.
[7] Private Acts, 1860, p. 88.

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Asylum for Deaf and Dumb,	$50,252	and $1,000	bank bonus.
Perkins Institute for the Blind,	14,245		
Retreat for the Insane,	107,693	and $3,250	bank bonuses
General Hospital Society,	14,000	and $2,000	bank bonus.
State Reform School,	123,689	and $4,500	bank bonuses.
Hartford Hospital,	26,500		
Other institutions,	4,600		
	$340,979	and $10,750	bank bonuses.

During this period the repairs on the New Haven state house cost the state twelve hundred ninety dollars and those on the Hartford state house thirty-five hundred eighty-four dollars. Provision was also made for two county jails, one receiving a thousand dollars in 1847 and the other being paid an equal amount in 1853.

Other buildings

9. Encouragements.

No bounties were offered by the legislature in this period. The encouragement of agriculture by means of stimulating county agricultural societies to offer premiums was, however, continued.[1] Payments were made in every year of the period, amounting in all to twenty-five thousand one hundred six dollars. The state began in the year ending March 31, 1855, to make an annual grant to the State Agricultural Society on similar terms. If the society by means of voluntary contributions, or by taxing its members, raised twenty-five hundred dollars, the state agreed to double it, on condition that the whole sum be offered as premiums at the annual cattle show. In 1856 the legislature voted to make this an annual appropriation,[2] but this resolution was repealed in 1857.[3] One more grant—one thousand dollars—was made to the state society in the year ending in 1860, making the total of the state's contribution eighty-five hundred dollars. Adding this amount to the sum received by the county societies, the expenditure incurred by the state in this period in the effort to encourage agriculture is found to be thirty-three thousand six hundred six dollars.

10. Abatement and Collection of Taxes.

In the revision of the system of taxation in 1851, the abatement allowed to the towns on the state tax was withdrawn.[4] This course

[1] Cf. p. 91.

[2] Private Acts, 1856, p. 139.

[3] Private Acts, 1857, p. 207.

[4] Public Acts, 1851, chap. 47, sec. 48. Cf. pp. 57, 98.

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was necessitated by the cause of justice. The abatement of one-eighth of the tax was not necessary in a large number of the towns which accepted it. Not only did this lessen the revenue which the state should have received from these towns, but it was unjust to those towns which had the most paupers to support.[1] In the case of the latter, the abatements were only a partial relief while with the former more was granted than was needed. The state needed a certain amount of revenue every year and the rate of the state tax was regulated by this need. If the state was unjustly deprived of revenue from some towns, the loss was made up by imposing a higher rate than would otherwise be necessary. In this way the towns which had justly received the abatement would really be helping the other towns to lower their expenses. By an act passed in 1850,[2] the legislature provided that the state tax should be paid directly by the towns to the state treasurer. This abolished the system of state collectors, and eliminated an unnecessary expense.[3] Thereafter the state tax was considered as an expense by the towns, was provided for when the town taxes were assessed, and was collected by the proper town official. From April 1, 1846, to March 31, 1850, before the new system was instituted, the total expense of abatements and collection of taxes was thirty-eight thousand eight hundred seventy-one dollars.

C. Revenue.

1. Revised System of Taxation.

The increase in the current expenditures finally compelled the assembly to increase the taxes. The grand list was not growing rapidly enough to supply the necessary funds by continuing to impose upon the towns the former state tax of one cent on the dollar. In 1847 the rate was raised by the legislature to one and a half cents on the dollar.[4] This action increased the returns from the state tax by twenty thousand dollars a year, but nevertheless the state was forced to borrow from the school fund, annually, from the beginning of this period, and on March 31, 1850, it owed more than fifty-eight thousand dollars to this fund. Although on other occasions the state had received temporary loans from the school fund and from

[1] Treasurer's Report, 1851, p. 6.
[2] Public Acts, 1850, chap. 64, sec. 6.
[3] Cf. pp. 57, 98.
[4] Private Acts, 1847, p. 123.

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banks, never before had it let them remain unpaid for more than a year. The loans had been made merely to carry the treasury through an emergency until the state taxes were paid. Now, the expenditures were exceeding the receipts and therefore the temporary debt accumulated. Finally, in the sessions of 1850 and 1851, the general assembly revised the entire system of taxation and the system which was evolved bears all the earmarks of the present system. In the first place, instead of attempting to name everything which should be taxed,[1] the law was made to read "all real and personal property, except that which is exempt from taxation, shall be valued and set in the list."[2] A list of exemptions was thus substituted for the list of taxable property. The second change to be noted was the provision that both real and personal property should be listed at three per cent of their true valuation.[3] Previous to this time personal property had been listed at a higher rate than real estate. These two modifications made the law in regard to the taxation of real and personal property substantially the same as it is to-day.[4] Personal property was made to include all goods, chattels, money, and effects (except wearing apparel) and all vessels owned by residents of the state in addition to all personal property already taxed.[5] The assessment of professions and occupations was dropped in the new system developed in 1850.[6] Polls continued to be set in the list at ten dollars each until 1860, when they were raised to three hundred dollars.[7]

2. Increase in Grand List.

Under the new system of assessing and the increasing prosperity of the state, the grand list increased from $4,704,612 in 1850 to $7,479,302 in 1859, the list on which the last state tax on the towns for the period was laid. The rate of the state tax was reduced by the legislature in 1851[8] to one cent and a quarter on the dollar and

[1] Cf. pp. 22 and 62—64.

[2] Public Acts, May 1850, chap. 64, sec. 1.

[3] Idem.

[4] In 1860 the law was changed to its present form, so that all taxable property was to be set in the list at its actual valuation instead of at three per cent of its valuation, but for practical purposes this made no change as the rate could be correspondingly lowered.

[5] Public Acts, May 1850, chap. 64, sec. 2.

[6] Public Acts, May 1850, chap. 6, sec. 4.

[7] Public Acts, May 1860, chap. 15, sec. 2.

[8] Private Acts, 1851, p. 188.

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in 1852[1] it set the rate again at one cent on the dollar. In 1858,[2] the rate was raised to one cent and a half. The total amount of state taxes on the towns from April 1, 1846, to March 31, 1861, was $1,088,546. This is an average of seventy-two thousand five hundred sixty-nine dollars per year, an increase of thirty-two thousand six hundred fifty-one dollars over the average for the previous period. By comparing the first of these averages with the fifteen-year averages already given for the first and second periods,[3] it will be found that it is twenty-three thousand eight hundred fifty-one dollars higher than the average for the given years of the first period and thirty-four thousand six hundred four dollars more than the average for the same number of years in the second period.

3. Military Commutation Tax.

An additional tax in the nature of a poll tax was levied by an act of the legislature in 1854. This was called the military commutation tax and was a tax of fifty cents on all persons from twenty-one to forty-five years of age who were subject to military duty, except those actually serving in the militia. This tax and the state tax were collected by the towns at the same time.[4] The first return from this tax was in 1856. The total amount received by the state up to March 31, 1861, was sixty-eight thousand six hundred twenty-six dollars. If the amount received from this tax be added to that produced by the state tax, the total sum collected by the state from the towns from April 1, 1855, until March 31, 1861, is found to be six hundred four thousand six hundred nine dollars. This is an annual average of one hundred thousand seven hundred sixty-eight dollars and shows a great increase over the amount received from the towns during the previous period.

4. Tax on Corporations.

The assembly did not stop here in its search for additional sources of revenue. The railroads, insurance companies and banking institutions had hitherto escaped all special taxation except the bonuses required of some of the banks. In 1850, under the demands for increased revenue, the assembly began to lay special taxes on corporations, which is the distinctive feature of the modern system of state taxation.

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[1] Private Acts, 1852, p. 140.

[2] Private Acts, 1858, p. 95.

[3] Cf. p. 67.

[4] Public Acts, May 1854, chap. 68, sec. 5, p. 25.

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The first tax of this kind was a tax of one-third of one per cent aid in 1850 upon the market value of the capital stock of railroad companies. If a railroad extended beyond the limits of the state, it was directed to pay that proportion of the above tax which the length of the road within the state bore to the entire length of the road.[1] This was an annual tax and was in lieu of all other taxes on railroad stock. From April 1, 1850, until March 31, 1861, the state received from this tax the sum of two hundred forty-nine thousand eight hundred sixteen dollars, an average of twenty-two thousand seven hundred eleven dollars a year.

Railroads

In 1851 the assembly passed an act providing that the agents of all insurance companies not incorporated by Connecticut, but doing business therein, should pay a tax equal to two per cent of the gross amount of premiums and assessments collected by them during the year. No tax, however, was to be collected from such companies chartered by states which did not lay an excise or license upon companies chartered by Connecticut and doing business within their territory.[2] This introduces for the first time the reciprocal feature in taxation and the principle was carried further the next year. The law was then changed by subjecting foreign insurance companies to the same taxation that was imposed by their home states upon Connecticut companies.[3] The legislature at this time was very uncertain as to how foreign insurance companies should be taxed. They afforded a good opportunity to increase the revenue of the state and revenue was much to be desired; on the other hand, the home insurance companies, which would probably be taxed by other states according to the policy Connecticut pursued in regard to companies chartered by those states, were entitled to consideration. The latter idea prevailed in 1852, but in 1853 the assembly again laid the two per cent tax on the gross amount of premiums and assessments which it laid in 1851.[4] Finally, in 1854, the reciprocal law of 1852 was re-enacted[5] and it was not altered again during this period. The total amount of taxes received from the agents during the first three years of vacillation was four thousand nine hundred ninety-four dollars. After the act of 1854 the revenue

Foreign Insurance Companies

[1] Public Acts, May 1850, chap. 58, sec. 2.
[2] Public Acts, 1851, chap. 47, sec. 22.
[3] Public Acts, May 1852, chap. 69, sec. 1.
[4] Public Acts, May 1853, chap. 27, sec. 4
[5] Public Acts, May 1854, chap. 23.

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from this source was very small, amounting to only twelve hundred twenty-one dollars for the seven years ending March 31, 1861. The grand total for the ten years was five thousand two hundred fifteen dollars.

In the same act in which a tax was first levied on foreign insurance companies, the assembly imposed a tax on all mutual insurance companies chartered by the state. The tax was one-third of one per cent of the total cash capital, whether invested or on deposit. This tax exempted these companies from all other taxes.[1] The legislature, at its next session, May, 1852, reduced this tax from one-third of one per cent to one-fourth of one per cent of the total cash capital.[2] From the time it was first laid until March 31, 1861, forty thousand seven hundred seventy-four dollars was received from this tax. The growth in the business of these companies may be seen by noticing the increase in the sums realized from this tax. During the year ending March 31, 1853, the tax was two thousand three hundred fifty-four dollars. For the last year of this period it amounted to the much larger sum of seven thousand seven hundred seventy-nine dollars.

Mutual Insurance Companies

Savings banks and associations for saving were also made the object of a special tax in 1851. It was provided that beginning with July, 1852, these institutions should pay an annual tax of one-eighth of one per cent upon the total amount of their deposits. This tax released them from further taxation except on real estate.[3] In 1857 this tax was changed so that savings and building associations were to pay one-fourth of one per cent on the total amount of their deposits and stock and the savings banks were to pay three-sixteenths of one per cent on the total amount of their deposits.[4] This change almost doubled the revenue from this source. The tax had risen about three thousand dollars a year from the amount it yielded for the year ending March 31, 1853 (eight thousand seven hundred seven dollars), until it brought into the state treasury, during the year ending March 31, 1857, the sum of nineteen thousand thirty-seven dollars. The next year, the income from the new tax was thirty-four thousand fifty-five dollars. In 1859 the tax on savings banks was made the same as the tax on

Savings Banks and Savings Associations

[1] Public Acts, May 1851, chap. 47, sec. 21.
[2] Public Acts, May 1852, chap. 66, sec. 4.
[3] Public Acts, May 1851, chap. 47, sec. 18.
[4] Public Acts, May 1857, chap. 64, sec. 1.

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savings and building associations.[1] This again increased the revenue of the tax and for the year ending March 31, 1861, the amount received was forty-nine thousand five hundred sixty-one dollars. From March 31, 1852, until March 31, 1861, the taxes on these institutions were two hundred thirty-two thousand three hundred eighty dollars.

Bonuses from Banks

Although before this period the state had imposed the payment of bonuses upon banks as a condition of granting them charters, not much money had been brought into the state treasury by this expedient, because generally the banks had been directed to pay the required bonus to a particular enterprise. As has already been shown in the treatment of state aid to institutions,[2] this policy was continued in this period. In 1853 the state received some revenue from bank bonuses to which no condition in regard to its expenditure had been attached and in 1854 the legislature adopted the policy of requiring all the bonuses to be paid into the state treasury. A resolution was passed that all banks which were chartered during the session, or of which the capital stock was increased within the same time, should pay to the state a bonus of two per cent on the capital thus obtained.[3] In 1855 a good opportunity to use the bonus as a means of revenue arose and the legislature did not let is pass. To show how this opportunity arose, it is necessary to refer to banking history.

In 1852 the legislature passed an act known as the "Free Banking Act." This act permitted any number of persons from twenty-five upward who were residents of the state to engage in banking subject to the terms of the act. No special charter was required. The act also directed the state treasurer to provide for engraving blank circulating notes, in the form of bank notes, of the denominations issued by the incorporated banks of the state. On the face of these notes were to be stamped the words, "Secured by the pledge of Public Stocks." The banking associations or corporations formed under this act, upon depositing with the state treasurer certain specified public securities, were entitled to receive an equal amount of these circulating notes and could use them as bank notes. In case any bank failed to redeem its notes, the state would redeem them by means of the securities received from that bank.[4] Three years later the legislature passed an act by which any of the "free

[1] Public Acts, May 1859, chap. 67.

[2] Cf. pp. 106–110.

[3] Private Acts, 1854, p. 53.

[4] Public Acts, May 1852, chap. 23.

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banks" organized under the act of 1852 could be specially incorporated. If the holders of two-thirds of the stock of any of these banks voted to accept the provisions of the act granting the privilege, a charter would be granted on condition that the banks pay to the state a bonus of two per cent on their capital.[1] This bonus was to be paid in two instalments, one-half on or before January 1, 1856, and the other half on or before January 1, 1857.[2] All the free banks accepted this offer,[3] which allowed them to withdraw the securities which under the Free Banking Act of 1852 they had been required to deposit with the state treasurer, and the state received over one hundred thousand dollars in bonuses from banks in the two years ending March 31, 1857. In the regular session of the legislature this year an act similar to the act of 1854 was passed, requiring that all banks which, during this session, were chartered, or were authorized to increase their capital, should pay a bonus of two per cent on the capital granted. This was payable on January 1, 1858, and January 1, 1859.[4] The state continued to derive revenue from bank bonuses until March 31, 1860. The total amount thus received from banks from March 31, 1853, to March 31, 1860, was one hundred fifty-nine thousand four hundred sixty-eight dollars.

Banks and Insurance Companies

One other form of corporation tax was tried during this period but was in operation for two years only. A tax of one-eighth of one per cent on the market value of the paid-in capital stock was laid on banks and insurance companies in 1857.[5] This tax was repealed in 1859.[6] The state received fifty thousand six hundred twenty-nine dollars from this tax, of which about eighty-five per cent was paid by the banks.

5. Non-Resident Stock.

The tax of two-thirds of one per cent of the value of the capital stock of banks and insurance companies held by non-residents, which was imposed in 1831,[7] remained unchanged until 1852. In 1849 the legislature directed the railroad and turnpike companies to pay a tax of one-half of one per cent of the market value of all

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[1] Public Acts, May 1855, chap. 13.
[2] Public Acts, May 1855, chap. 14.
[3] Treasurer's Report, 1856, p. 4.
[4] Private Acts, 1857, p. 3.
[5] Public Acts, May 1857, chap. 64, sec. 2.
[6] Public Acts, May 1859, chap. 4.
[7] Cf. p. 74.

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their stock held by non-residents. However, if a railroad extended beyond the limits of the state, is was required to pay only that proportion of this sum that the length of the road within the state bore to the entire length.[1] In 1850 the tax on non-resident turnpike stock was made the same as that levied on non-resident bank stock.[2] In the same year the assembly began its policy of imposing special taxes on various corporations, which, as has been shown in the treatment of these special taxes, exempted them from all other taxes.[3] With these exceptions, the tax on non-resident stock imposed by the assembly in 1852 was as follows: Banks, insurance, turnpike and all other companies and associations whose stock was liable to taxation were required to pay a tax of one-half of one per cent of the value of all their stock held by non-residents.[4] This tax remained unchanged for the remainder of this period. The reduction in the rate from two-thirds of one per cent to one-half of one per cent was more than counterbalanced by the amount of non-resident stock subjected to the tax. The return of the tax for the first year of this period was thirty-five hundred nineteen dollars and the amount steadily increased until for the last year twelve thousand four hundred fifty dollars was received. The entire receipts for the fifteen years were ninety-three thousand four hundred seventy-nine dollars. This is an average of six thousand two hundred thirty-two dollars a year, an increase of three thousand two hundred seventy-four dollars over the average for the fifteen preceding years (April 1, 1831, to March 31, 1846).

6. Duties and Licenses.

Before the close of the last period the revenue from this source had become very small, but in this period it dropped to almost nothing. The license on pedlers imposed by the legislature in 1841 and limited the next year to persons who were not inhabitants of the state[5] was still in force at the opening of the period, but in 1848 this license was repealed and a license of ten dollars to be received by the towns was substituted.[6] After the state had relinquished this license in favor

Pedlers and Auction Sales

[1] Public Acts, May 1849, chap. 42, sec. 2.
[2] Public Acts, May 1850, chap. 64, sec. 4.
[3] Cf. pp. 114—117.
[4] Public Acts, May 1852, chap. 66, sec. 2.
[5] Cf. p. 73.
[6] Public Acts, May 1848, chap. 67, sec. 3.

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of the towns, there remained but one source of revenue of this description. The duties on auction sales of foreign goods imposed in 1820[1] were still required. The return from these duties was trifling and in some years nothing was received in this way. The income to the state from duties and licenses for the entire period was only twenty-one hundred twelve dollars.

7. Forfeited Bonds and Avails of Court.

The receipts from forfeited bonds, fines, and avails of court from April 1, 1846, to March 31, 1861, were seventy-two thousand four hundred ninety-six dollars, an average of four thousand eight hundred thirty-three dollars per annum. The average annual receipts in the preceding period were twenty-five hundred thirty-eight dollars. The gain is due to the growing population and the increasing volume of business done by the courts.

8. The State Prison.

The state prison continued to be self-supporting throughout this entire period, but the annual profits fell from an average exceeding seventy-five hundred dollars during the last five years of the second period to less than twenty-five hundred dollars. This was principally due to the diminution in the number of prisoners. This did not indicate that there was less crime in the state. On the contrary, crime had increased, but the county prisons and work-houses were now caring for classes of prisoners formerly confined in the state prison.[2] Necessarily, therefore, the state treasury did not receive so much revenue from the prison during this period. After April 1, 1852, none of the surplus earnings of the prison were paid into the state treasury and the amount thus transferred during the first six years of the period was only sixteen thousand dollars.

9. Permanent Fund.

At the beginning of this period the principal of the permanent fund stood as follows[3]:

Non-transferable bank stock,	$356,400
Transferable bank stock,	44,000
Total,	$400,400

[1] Cf. p. 72.

[2] Comptroller's Report, 1850, p. 10.

[3] Abstract of Comptroller's Report, Private Acts, 1846, p. 142.

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In the first year, however, the state disposed of the transferable stock and by adding to the proceeds of the sale the small sum of seventy-four dollars it secured forty-nine thousand six hundred dollars of non-transferable stock, thereby making the fund fifty-six hundred dollars larger and leaving it standing at four hundred six thousand dollars invested in non-transferable bank stock.

The total amount of dividends received from this fund for this period was five hundred twenty-seven thousand nine hundred sixty-four dollars, an average per year of $35,197.60. The average annual rate of dividends from April 1, 1848, until the close of the period was eight and seven-tenths per cent.

10. School Fund.

The principal of the school fund reached its highest point at the end of the first year of this period. It was estimated to be $2,077,641. To show the history of the investment of the fund during the period, the following tables have been compiled from the reports of the commissioner of the school fund.

A. Loaned on Bonds, Contracts and Mortgages to Inhabitants of the States Herein Named.

	1847	1851	1855	1860
Connecticut,	$679,109	$752,156	$885,773	$1,127,811
New York,	601,114	546,728	486,048	457,859
Massachusetts,	176,792	173,562	161,050	132,514
Ohio,	140,086	100,254	62,765	36,670
Vermont,	6,233	4,392	5,950	365
	$1,603,333	$1,577,093	$1,601,587	$1,755,217

B. Cultivated Land and Buildings Situated in

	Connecticut	Massachusetts	New York	Total
1847	$21,572	$37,032	$26,685	$85,289
1851	6,050	15,601	5,600	27,251
1855	3,600	4,080		7,680
1860			5,000	5,000

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C. Wild Lands Located in

	Ohio	New York	Vermont	Total
1847	$40,856	$13,496	$7,909	$62,261
1851	16,476	9,800	6,343	32,618
1855	441	5,257	1,777	7,475
1860				None

D. Bank Stock.

	Number of Banks	Amount of Stock
1847	20	$311,000
1851	24	359,900
1855	29	423,900
1860	23	288,900

E. Total Capital.

	1847	1851	1855	1860
Bonds, Contracts and Mortgages,	$1,603,333	$1,577,093	$1,601,587	$1,755,217
Cultivated Lands and Buildings,	85,289	27,251	7,680	5,000
Wild Lands,	62,261	32,618	7,475	
Bank Stock,	311,000	359,900	423,900	288,900
Loans to State,		33,000		
Cash on hand,	15,758	19,621	9,312	1,342
Totals,	$2,077,641	$2,049,482	$2,049,953	$2,050,460

The first point to notice in this table is the decrease in the capital from 1847 to 1851. This was due to the depreciation of the cultivated lands which had been exchanged under Mr. Beer's management.[1] The commissioner, in his report of 1851, stated that on the lands taken in exchange which had already been sold, there had been the following depreciation from the original appraised value.[2]

Farms in Connecticut,	$28,500
Farms in Massachusetts,	31,500
Farms in New York,	4,000
	$64,000

[1] Cf. p. 79.

[2] Report of Commissioner of School Fund, 1851, p. 8.

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From 1851, there was very little fluctuation in the amount of the capital. The limit to which it could be increased had been reached.

A second noticeable fact is the almost total disappearance, by the close of the period, of any investment in cultivated lands and buildings and the complete disappearance of wild land in the items of capital. The former produced little revenue and the latter none, and it was the policy in the management of this fund to dispose of these forms of capital even at a loss, if necessary to put all the capital on as productive a basis as possible.

The third point to notice is the gradual drawing in of the loans to inhabitants of other states and the reinvestment of the amounts thus received in loans to inhabitants of Connecticut. In 1847 forty-two per cent of the loans were to inhabitants of Connecticut. In 1860 sixty-four per cent of the loans were thus placed. This furnished the people of Connecticut with more available capital for investment, the fund serving the double purpose of supplying capital and producing an income for the schools.

Finally, the amount of the capital invested in bank stock increased during the first two-thirds of the period and decreased during the latter third. This decrease was due to the fact that some of the banks were passing dividends or paying a very low dividend. From such banks the capital invested by the school fund was withdrawn. Investments in bank stock were considered to be among the best. The advantages of such investments are well summed up in the comptroller's report of 1852: "These investments," he said, "are in the nature of deposits in the several banks, liable to be withdrawn on six months' notice, entitled to a priority of payment over other stockholders, and to participation, while deposited, in the same rate of dividends. Unless the whole capital of a bank is sunk, the investment of the school fund can not be lost, and the state will be only temporarily deprived of dividends while the principal is being withdrawn."[1] In the same report the commissioner stated that the dividends from the banks were at least as high as could be gained on the most favorable loans to individuals.[2] The average rate of the dividends received from the banks during this period was over eight per cent.

The income of the fund for the fifteen years in this period was $2,078,892, an average of one hundred thirty-eight thousand five

[1] Report of Commissioner of School Fund, 1852, pp. 9, 10. (Leg. Doc. 1852.)

[2] Idem, p. 10.

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hundred ninety-three dollars per year. The amount of dividends distributed from this income during these same years was $1,991,191, an annual average of one hundred thirty-two thousand seven hundred forty-six dollars. The amount per child enumerated was one dollar and forty-five cents for the first two years and this was raised to one dollar and a half for the years 1849 and 1850. This was the highest amount per child that the fund ever afforded, for in spite of the increase in the income of the fund the number of children among whom it was distributed increased more rapidly. The number of children enumerated in 1846 was eighty-five thousand two hundred seventy-five. In 1851 the number had increased to ninety-two thousand two hundred twenty. The rate of dividend per child dropped this year to one dollar and forty cents. The number of children between the ages of four and sixteen continued to increase so that in 1861 the enumeration was one hundred eight-thousand three hundred eighty-nine. This increase caused the allowance per child to continue to fall and for the year 1861 it was only one dollar and fifteen cents, the lowest figure it had been since 1837.

D. Summary.

1. Increased Expenditures and Receipts.

The first fact observable in a study of this period is the large increase in the financial transactions of the state. The following comparison of the total expenditures and receipts for the years opening and closing the period clearly illustrates this increase.

	1846–1847	1860–1861	Increase
Expenditures,	$109,502	$227,151	$117,649
Receipts,	95,646	254,552	158,906

2. Causes of Increased Expenditures.

The expenses which show the largest increase are the judicial, the military, the legislative, the educational and the charitable.

Largest Items of Expense

The principal factors in the increase of expenditures were the rise and growth of commercial and manufacturing corporations and the attendant increase in the population. Crime and litigation were on the increase, causing the judicial expenditures to rise rapidly. The growth in

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the foreign element of the population gave an impulse to the feeling that there was a need for a well-organized and efficient state militia, which culminated in a new militia law and greatly increased this branch of the state expenditures. More legislation than formerly became necessary, causing the sessions of the legislature to be lengthened. The compensation of the members of the general assembly was still on a per diem basis and the inevitable effect of the lengthening of the legislative sessions was increased expense of legislation. Other expenses incidental to legislation, and proportioned to the length of time spent in effecting it, contributed to this increase. Thus the cause of the larger part of the increased expenditures can be traced, as stated at the beginning of this paragraph, to the growth of corporations and to the increased population. On the other hand, these same corporations, which were in a large measure responsible for the presence of the foreigner and the growing concentration of the population as well as for much of the increased litigation, became the source of a large part of the revenue needed to meet the increased expenditures. This will be more fully shown in a subsequent paragraph.[1]

During this period there was an awakening by the state to the necessity of providing a better system of education than existed.

Educational Awakening

The increase in the school population without a corresponding enlargement of the school fund reduced the per capita dividend for the education of the children. This fact together with the failure of the municipalities to voluntarily tax themselves sufficiently to provide good schools led the legislature to impose again upon the towns the duty of laying a specified tax for the support of schools. Provision was also made for the supervision of schools by a state superintendent and in 1849 a normal school was established.

The state also awoke to its duty of providing for the poor unfortunates in its midst who were unable to better their condition. A beginning in this direction was made in the last half of the second period, but the work was considerably extended in this period.

Aid for the Unfortunate

In addition to providing for the deaf and dumb, the blind and the insane, for whom the state was regularly making provision at the beginning of the period, the legislature in the last year of the period made appropriations for the General Hospital Society, the Hartford Hospital, and for the education of idiotic children. The appro-

[1] Cf. p. 126.

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priations for these purposes were increased during the period and frequently the amount allowed was found by the officials entrusted with its expenditure to be larger than necessary.

3. Influence of Corporations.

It is now appropriate to return to the important part played by corporations in defraying the expenses of the state. As already stated in a preceding paragraph, they caused expense to the state, but they also contributed to its support.[1] The introduction, in the early fifties, of special taxes on corporations is the most important feature of this period. As the old system of specifying the property which should be taxable was abolished in 1850 and a list of property which should be exempt from taxation was substituted, the origin of the modern taxation system may be set at the year 1851.

4. Principal Items of Revenue.

The income from the school fund as in the two preceding periods was the largest source of revenue. The state tax continued to be the second in importance, and until the last two years of the period the income from the permanent fund maintained its relative importance of third. At that time the tax on the deposits in savings banks and institutions supplanted it. In several years during this period the state was required to resort to temporary loans and at the close of the period it was indebted to the school fund for fifty thousand dollars.

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[1] Cf. p. 125.

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APPENDIX.

TABLE I.

Annual State Receipts from 1798 to 1818.

	1798	1799	1800	1801
State Tax	$41,346	$60,357	$60,991	$48,458
Interest on United States Stock	15,253	15,269	14,790	16,670
Duties and Licenses	4,907	6,056	6,172	6,156
Forfeited Bonds, Avails of Court, etc.	580	1,123	442	227
Miscellaneous	1,628	102	758	13
	$63,714	$82,907	$83,152	$71,524

	1802	1803	1804	1805
State Tax	$41,118	$42,159	$42,132	$42,183
Interest on United States Stock	23,803	23,701	23,516	22,745
Dividends on Bank Stock			48	3,634
Duties and Licenses	5,635	5,482	5,790	5,992
Forfeited Bonds, Avails of Court, etc.	428	367	952	1,190
Miscellaneous	963	1,155	60	426
	$71,945	$72,864	$72,497	$76,171

	1806	1807	1808	1809
State Tax	$42,627	$56,571	$28,040	$44,618
Interest on United States Stock	21,926	21,056	20,134	19,155
Dividends on Bank Stock	5,915	5,719	7,325	6,754
Duties and Licenses	5,674	6,214	6,457	7,354
Forfeited Bonds, Avails of Court, etc.	1,532	632	2,052	957
Miscellaneous	299	181	59	924
	$77,973	$90,372	$64,065	$79,762

	1810	1811	1812	1813
State Tax	$55,529	$55,651	$56,217	$67,905
Interest on United States Stock	18,116	17,014	15,843	14,601
Dividends on Bank Stock	8,201	9,467	9,782	13,087
Duties and Licenses	7,702	7,326	6,292	6,221
Forfeited Bonds, Avails of Court, etc.	3,335	2,616	4,486	1,363
Miscellaneous	1	504	370	845
	$92,884	$92,577	$92,989	$104,021

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	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
State Tax	$113,131	$112,862	$202,241	$57,990	$56,487
Interest on United States Stock	13,282	11,883	10,119	9,655	8,357
Dividends on Bank Stock	12,005	9,204	9,788	[1]	[1]
Duties and Licenses	5,465	8,838	10,484	12,453	13,407
Forfeited Bonds, Avails of Court, etc.	956	1,400	2,273	1,008	4,210
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	366	608	482	567	573
Miscellaneous	145	50,161[2]	46	55,597[3]	14,908[4]
	$145,351	$194,956	$235,433	$137,271	$97,942

TABLE II.

Annual State Expenditures from 1798 to 1818.

	1798	1799	1800	1801
General Assembly	$15,091	$15,134	$15,458	$16,411
Salaries	8,137	7,911	8,200	7,573
Judicial	4,217	5,093	3,942	2,553
Education	11,286	13,619	12,599	11,560
Paupers	2,241	3,342	3,188	3,429
State Prison	3,458	4,063	3,658	3,800
Buildings and Institutions			1,480	
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	5,839	8,601	11,290	5,402
Discharge of Debt				6,126
Contingent	8,837	15,320	5,308	7,096
Miscellaneous	2,631	4,374	1,262	1,012
	$61,738	$77,457	$66,383	$64,964

[1] The dividends on bank stock for 1817 ($9,889) and for 1818 ($15,372) were added to the fund for the purchase of bank stock. Cf. p. 35.

[2] Includes $50,000 bonus from Phœnix Bank. Cf. p. 29.

[3] Includes $55,400 from United States for services of Connecticut militia. Cf. p. 29.

[4] Includes $11,500 from United States for services of Connecticut militia* and $3,254 for interest on loan to school fund.

* Cf. p. 29.

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	1802	1803	1804	1805
General Assembly	$16,337	$16,446	$17,057	$17,145
Salaries	8,056	8,481	8,130	9,565
Judicial	5,377	5,617	6,734	7,527
Education	12,989	12,114	10,134	12,566
Paupers	3,476	3,980	5,175	5,869
State Prison	1,311	6,071	5,572	5,657
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	8,473	5,943	4,727	6,004
Discharge of Debt	2,572	1,629	1,677	575
Contingent	6,956	5,764	4,685	9,180
Miscellaneous	367	176	22	104
	$65,915	$66,220	$63,913	$74,192

	1806[1]	1807	1808	1809
General Assembly		$16,972	$16,740	$21,811
Salaries		10,251	11,566	11,355
Judicial		8,588	9,441	9,874
Education		15,802	13,917	12,549
Paupers		8,071	7,723	8,275
State Prison		2,637	5,530	5,889
Military			150	75
Bounties		32	121	62
Buildings and Institutions		10,000	10,450	10,000[2]
Abatement and Collection of Taxes		11,931	5,137	7,192
Discharge of Debt		454	375	181
Contingent		5,155	9,202	5,510
Miscellaneous				11
		$89,893	$90,352	$92,785

	1810	1811	1812	1813
General Assembly	$17,607	$16,198	$16,875	$21,339
Salaries	11,270	11,838	11,651	10,702
Judicial	9,043	9,438	10,288	9,247
Education	13,078	13,602	12,647	13,254
Paupers	9,689	12,194	12,901	14,159
State Prison	7,951	5,466	5,700	6,158
Military	5,000	2,500	10,709	32,353
Bounties	83	52	321	395
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	9,285	8,954	9,049	10,780
Discharge of Debt		560	61	60
Contingent	8,717	5,710	5,019	8,940
	$91,722	$86,514	$95,222	$127,386

[1] Comptroller's Report, Oct. 1805, is missing.

[2] Last instalment of $40,000 to Gore Land Company.

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	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
General Assembly	$16,876	$35,785	$24,673	$27,532	28,009
Salaries	12,101	11,201	13,367	13,817	13,817
Judicial	10,203	10,009	11,048	13,867	15,151
Education	13,046	32,789[1]	13,641	20,590[2]	14,314[3]
Paupers	12,537	12,964	13,854	15,171	12,918
State Prison	4,792	7,243	9,674	12,680	12,494
Military	48,438	148,295	14,228	751	1,516
Bounties	276	223	48	1	
Buildings and Institutions			2,412	5,980[4]	
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	18,050	17,729	32,080	9,169	9,185
Discharge of Debt		160	41		
Contingent	6,688	7,074	7,400	4,925	3,444
Miscellaneous	100	1,081	405	7,298[5]	25,915[6]
	$143,107	$284,555	$142,870	$131,781	$136,764

TABLE III.

Annual State Receipts for Second Period.

	1819	1820	1821	1822
State Tax	$55,271	$55,462	$40,972	$38,915
Interest on United States Stock	6,703	4,544	5,525	4,909
Dividends on Bank Stock	8,435	15,504	16,063	8,483
Duties and Licenses	9,344	8,535	10,120	9,516
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	4,260	4,089	1,027	3,076
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	752	857	620	718
Miscellaneous	4,287[7]	8,850[8]	1,688	401
	$89,050	$97,842	$76,015	$66,018

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[1] $20,000 to Yale College for Medical School.

[2] $7,143 to Yale College.

[3] $1,643 to Yale College.

[4] $5,000 to Asylum for Deaf and Dumb.

[5] $7,143 to Episcopalians.

[6] To various religious societies.

[7] Includes $2,776 transferred from Permanent Fund.

[8] Includes $7,936 reimbursement of principal of United States Funded Debt.

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	1823	1824	1825	1826
State Tax	$37,273	$37,829	$37,680	$38,101
Interest on United States Stock	4,255	3,561	2,821	1,659
Dividends on Bank Stock	5,164	10,220	11,252	20,797
Duties and Licenses	7,886	7,741	7,876	7,540
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	1,552	1,266	3,526	4,195
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	723	926	1,002	1,084
Miscellaneous	511	338		239
	$57,363	$61,880	$64,156	$73,615

	1827	1828	1829	1830
State Tax	$38,671	$36,077	$36,604	$36,974
Interest on United States Stock	1,659	1,659	1,659	1,659
Dividends on Bank Stock	8,708	18,100	15,531	13,036
Duties and Licenses	10,349	10,040	10,091	6,170
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	1,706	3,841	1,037	1,488
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	596	634	345	443
Avails of State Prison		2,168	3,231	1,182
Miscellaneous	180	9,860[1]	106	
	$61,870	$82,378	$68,604	$60,952

	1831	1832	1833	1834
State Tax	$37,454	$37,340	$37,984	$38,293
Interest on United States Stock	1,659	1,659	1,383	
Dividends on Bank Stock	21,843	21,843	25,671	27,636
Duties and Licenses	4,780	4,753	4,299	127
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	1,737	2,034	2,798	938
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	1,341	3 204	2,818	2,547
Avails of State Prison	6,918	6,665	5,127	
Miscellaneous	24	159	223	266
	$75,754	$77,657	$80,305	$69,807
Temporary Loan from School Fund		5,000		

	1835	1836	1837	1838
State Tax	$39,302	$39,742	$41,097	$42,407
Dividends on Bank Stock	27,894	36,140	31,113	21,489
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	3,234	3,113	3,489	2,657
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	2,145	1,787	2,436	1,540
Duties and Licenses	204	64	70	59
Miscellaneous	5,479[2]	512	2,109	1,115
	$78,258	$81,358	$80,315	$69,266
Temporary Loan from School Fund				20,565

[1] Balance (Cash) transferred from Permanent Fund, $9,696.

[2] Includes $1000 bonus from Exchange Bank.

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	1839	1840	1841	1842
State Tax	$43,843	$43,580	$44,558	$43,549
Dividends on Bank Stock	32,387	28,497	27,944	31,828
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	2,953	2,831	2,748	2,750
Avails of State Prison			5,000	13,000
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	1,240	3,915	2,981	3,621
Duties and Licenses	63	76	54	57
Miscellaneous	72,346[1]	794	148	475
	$152,832	$79,694	$83,433	$95,280
Temporary Loans from Banks	25,000			
Temporary Loans from School Fund	15,000			

	1843	1844	1845	1846
State Tax	$44,112	$44,236	$40,130	$41,224
Dividends on Bank Stock	30,949	26,818	27,838	32,722
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	2,668	3,032	3,157	3,174
Avails of State Prison		10,000	10,000	7,000
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	3,005	2,987	2,884	4,198
Duties and Licenses	2,517	793	291	183
Miscellaneous	11,199[2]	1,700[3]		
	$94,451	$89,564	$84,300	$88,500

TABLE IV.

Annual State Expenditures for Second Period.

	1819	1820	1821	1822
General Assembly	$38,375[4]	$17,341	$17,532	$14,008
Salaries	13,877	9,617	7,193	13,101
Judicial	11,700	12,441	13,494	11,399
Education	13,283	12,645	970	
Paupers	11,736	10,854	9,499	5,157
State Prison	11,404	9,704	6,000	5,263
Military	1,167	680	662	640
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	8,920	8,710	7,728	5,486
Discharge of Debt	28			
Contingent	4,729	4,744	8,231	5,716
Miscellaneous	1,464[5]	16	7,717[6]	293
	$116,684	$86,752	$79,025	$61,063

[1] Received $72,234 from United States in payment of Connecticut claims arising from the War of 1812.

[2] Reveived from the United States its share on sale of public lands, $10,927.

[3] Received from the United States its share on sale of public lands, $1,342.

[4] Includes $11,313 for expenses of Constitutional Convention.

[5] Includes $1,353 to Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

[6] Includes $7,688 appropriation to Baptists.

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	1823	1824	1825	1826
General Assembly	$13,104	$11,833	$13,938	$13,457
Salaries	9,384	8,959	9,259	8,159
Judicial	18,274	14,279	16,714	13,432
Paupers	4,891	3,251	2,691	2,600
State Prison	5,500	8,003	7,285	6,301
Military	630	725	625	600
Buildings and Institutions		5,000[1]		
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	6,090	6,217	6,185	6,208
Discharge of Debt				143
Contingent	4,187	5,338	6,422	4,407
Miscellaneous				
	$62,060	$63,604	$63,118	$55,307

	1827	1828	1829	1830
General Assembly	$14,177	$14,010	$13,485	$13,965
Salaries	8,984	9,034	9,034	9,034
Judicial	15,085	17,571	23,209	22,870
Paupers	2,600	2,600	2,000	2,000
State Prison	4,815	2,280	2,202	383
Military	363	638	748	913
Buildings and Institutions	19,000	15,000	9,201	3,867
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	6,329	5,980	5,890	6,176
Discharge of Debt		118	355	
Contingent	5,191	5,919	8,830	7,391
Miscellaneous				
	$76,543	$73,149	$74,954	$66,600

	1831	1832	1833	1834
General Assembly	$15,679	$14,254	$15,924	$16,880
Salaries	8,484	9,095	9,034	9,388
Judicial	24,106	25,712	21,845	27,410
Education			3,000[2]	3,000[2]
Paupers	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,800
State Prison	300	300	300	2,909
Military	2,680[3]	818	827	704
Bounties			53	236
Buildings and Institutions	22,142	4,904	7,775	2,620

[1] Retreat for Insane.
[2] Washington (now Trinity) College.
[3] Includes $2,000 for building State Arsenal.

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Abatement and Collection of Taxes	6,154	6,137	6,238	6,272
Discharge of Debt			4	7
Interest on Temporary Loans		225		21
Contingent	5,635	5,221	4,627	4,634
Miscellaneous	500			
	$87,680	$68,666	$71,626	$75,881
Loans Repaid		5,000		

	1835	1836	1837	1838
General Assembly	$15,597	$14,937	$26,717	$21,729
Salaries	9,494	9,367	9,034	9,234
Judicial	29,008	29,962	32,220	34,115
Education	3,000[1]	990[1]		
Paupers	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,700
State Prison	300	300	300	300
Military	660	1,004	1,492	1,720
Bounties	976	1,117	1,363	264
Buildings and Institutions	2,398	2,150	2,900	3,759
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	6,308	6,591	6,737	6,689
Discharge of Debt		52	1	22
Interest on Temporary Loans				600
Contingent	4,474	5,891	13,068	10,986
Miscellaneous			3,491	2,356
	$74,015	$74,160	$99,122	$93,475

	1839	1840	1841	1842
General Assembly	$15,065	$17,601	$17,287	$16,891
Salaries	9,234	9,034	9,034	11,434
Judicial	28,483	27,544	32,479	29,432
Education	535	6,809[2]	10,613[3]	4,493[4]
Paupers	1,700	1,700	1,700	1,700
State Prison	300	300	300	300
Military	1,078	1,100	870	1,100
Bounties	464	44		
Agricultural Societies			700	1,018
Buildings and Institutions	4,727	2,518	2,216	4,717
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	6,995	6,909	7,271	7,109

[1] Washington (now Trinity) College.

[2] $5,000 to Wesleyan University.

[3] $5,000 to Wesleyan University; $3,500 to Connecticut Literary Institution.

[4] $3,500 to Connecticut Literary Institution.

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Interest on Temporary Loans	530			59
Contingent	7,886	7,174	7,986	8,542
Miscellaneous	29,389[1]	4,519[2]	7	
	$106,386	$85,252	$90,464	$86,795
Paid temporary loans (from banks)	25,000			

	1843	1844	1845	1846
General Assembly	$21,930	$16,253	$17,642	$18,451
Salaries	11,434	11,434	11,434	11,934
Judicial	31,336	31,021	31,776	33,911
Education	872			
Paupers	1,500	1,580	1,500	1,500
State Prison	1,300[3]	300	300	300
Military	828	838	943	1,725
Agricultural Societies	1,136	1,106	600	1,200
Buildings and Institutions	2,651	4,301	11,974	12,246
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	7,154	7,222	6,515	6,642
Contingent	10,740	5,948	8,191	10,249
Miscellaneous		235	44	705
	$90,878	$80,238	$90,919	$98,863

TABLE V.

Annual State Receipts for Third Period.

	1847	1848	1849	1850
State Tax	$41,642	$64,171	$66,976	$69,339
Dividends on Bank Stock	32,220	33,488	34,061	37,053
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	3,519	3,695	3,886	4,218
Avails of State Prison	4,000		1,000	3,000
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	2,215	1,887	3,968	5,895
Duties and Licenses	484	441	504	247
Specific Purposes				11,000
Miscellaneous		981	2,601	2,595
	$84,080	$104,663	$112,996	$133,347
Temporary Loans from School Fund	11,566	25,000	13,000	12,000

[1] $26,003 to towns for their shares of money received from the United States in payment of war claims.

[2] $3,994 to towns for their shares of money received from the United States in payment of war claims.

[3] $1,000 Windham County Jail per order Directors of State Prison.

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	1851	1852	1853	1854
State Tax	$71,129	$64,241	$56,883	$58,472
Dividends on Bank Stock	37,597	37,597	38,553	37,646
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	4,171	4,919	5,413	5,331
Avails of State Prison		6,000	2,000	
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	4,099	3,931	3,183	4,546
Duties and Licenses	30			317
Special Corporation Taxes (total)	25,202	27,785	42,653	48,295
Savings banks and building associations			$8,707	$11,590
Bonuses from banks				2,007
Railroads	$25,202	$26,534	29,372	29,623
Mutual insurance companies		205	2,354	3,347
Agents of foreign insurance companies		1,046	2,220	1,728
Specific Purposes	660	588	23,748	11,194
Miscellaneous	4,179	3,163	1,963	1,018
	$147,066	$148,224	$174,398	$166,819

	1855	1856	1857	1858
State Tax	$63,505	$67,133	$70,110	$72,518
Military Commutation Tax		12,071	13,435	12,103
Dividends on Bank Stock	36,426	35,891	37,542	35,289
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	5,233	6,218	7,322	7,607
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	3,567	2,885	9,639	5,695
Duties and Licenses	4	22		
Special Corporation Taxes (total)	49,936	87,230	101,883	100,500
Savings banks and building associations	$14,916	$17,087	$19,037	$34,055
Bonuses from banks	6,510	45,007	59,600	19,980
Railroads	25,670	21,376	18,646	17,731
Mutual insurance companies	2,818	3,479	4,377	4,574
Agents of foreign insurance companies	22	281	223	183
Capital stock of insurance companies				3,127
Capital stock of banks				20,850
Specific Purposes	6,283		542	
Miscellaneous	1,363	5,606	248	920
	$166,318	$217,054	$240,721	$234,632
Temporary Loans from School Fund			50,000	85,000

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	1859	1860	1861
State Tax	$106,880	$107,637	$111,706
Military Commutation Tax	10,604	10,050	10,363
Dividends on Bank Stock	33,790	26,470	33,839
Tax on Non-Resident Stock	9,415	10,765	12,450
Forfeited Bonds, etc.	6,399	7,277	7,220
Duties and Licenses			63
Special Corporation Taxes (total)	103,606	74,720	77,472
Savings banks and building associations	$33,269	$44,158	$49,561
Bonuses from banks	21,638	4,726	
Railroads	17,330	18,421	19,911
Mutual insurance companies	5,441	6,400	7,779
Agents of foreign insurance companies	153	138	221
Capital stock of insurance companies	4,529		
Capital stock of banks	21,246	877	
Miscellaneous	377	2,538	1,439
	$271,072	$239,455	$254,552
Temporary Loans from School Fund	65,000	50,000	

TABLE VI.

Annual State Expenditures for Third Period.

	1847	1848	1849	1850
General Assembly	$23,850	$25,118	$28,354	$25,986
Salaries	12,597	11,934	13,725	14,150
Judicial	34,761	36,781	41,375	49,002
Education	528	1,250	1,351	813
Paupers	1,500	1,100	1,100	2,292
State Prison	1,300[1]	300	300	300
Military	605	1,746	2,250	1,911
Agricultural Societies	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Buildings and Institutions	10,112	8,536	8,387	7,610
Abatement and Collection of Taxes	6,809	10,233	10,674	11,155
Interest on Temporary Loans	848	1,844	2,580	3,329
Contingent	15,934	9,556	10,567	15,294
Miscellaneous	779	20	338	34
	$110,622	$109,419	$122,000	$132,876
Paid Loan from School Fund		3,353		

[1] $1,000 Litchfield County Jail.

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	1851	1852	1853	1854
General Assembly	$27,874	$31,210	$30,282	$32,509
Salaries	13,430	13,750	14,000	13,500
Judicial	39,460	31,494	36,059	44,036
Education	4,161	4,917	4,759	7,966
Paupers	2,200	2,200	1,785	2,200
State Prison	300	300	1,300[1]	300
Military	2,294	5,936	4,737	5,236
Agricultural Societies	1,000	1,165	1,181	1,400
Buildings and Institutions	8,942	8,752	24,492	54,008
Interest on Temporary Loans	2,977	1,832	13	
Contingent	10,554	10,018	15,900	15,924
Miscellaneous	123	104	4,114	10,311
	$113,314	$111,680	$138,623	$187,390
Paid on Loans from School Fund	25,668	25,000	8,000	

	1855	1856	1857	1858
General Assembly	$33,261	$36,328	$43,331	$35,954
Salaries	14,058	22,863	23,194	23,050
Judicial	54,329	67,188	77,889	86,262
Education	14,169	13,990[2]	15,935[3]	12,866
Paupers	2,200	2,200	1,800	1,800
State Prison	300	3,300[4]	300	300
Military	6,138	24,938	29,081	30,521
Agricultural Societies	3,900	3,900	4,100	4,100
Buildings and Institutions	31,566	48,194	39,524	46,191
Interest on Temporary Loans			5,311	6,891
Contingent	21,453	31,068	27,265	31,881
Miscellaneous	6,030	1,409	9,802	688
	$187,405	$255,379	$277,532	$280,502
Paid on Loans from School Fund		1,924		50,000

[1] Fairfield County Jail $1,000 per order Directors of State Prison.

[2] $5,000 to Wesleyan University.

[3] $5,000 to Wesleyan University; $2,000 to Connecticut Literary Institution.

[4] $3,000 for repairs and introduction of gas.

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	1859	1860	1861
General Assembly	$34,451	$31,107	$35,978
Salaries	24,180	23,600	23,900
Judicial	83,481	73,126	73,132
Education	9,787	8,580	9,581
Paupers	1,800	1,800	1,800
State Prison	1,500	8,300	300
Military	29,354	16,539	21,620
Agricultural Societies	4,100	3,600	1,160
Buildings and Institutions	27,831	21,558	24,966
Interest on Temporary Loans	7,303	5,122	5,330
Contingent	21,497	24,062	26,813
	$245,287	$217,394	$224,579
Paid on Temporary Loans from School Fund	85,000	65,000	

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The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of "King Henry VI"

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II.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SECOND AND THIRD PARTS OF KING HENRY VI.

By C. F. Tucker Brooke.

THE APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT.

During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, at least five opposing theories were circulated in regard to the authorship of the second and third *Henry VI* plays, each supported by careful research and ingenious argument. Yet, in spite of the successive labors of Malone, Knight, Halliwell, Grant White, and Miss Jane Lee, with their respective followers, the problem was left at the end so much involved in the mists of conflicting opinion as to appear more insoluble than ever. Indeed, the very mass of accumulated argument has apparently had the effect of stifling inquiry during the last thirty-five years, notwithstanding the fact that the publication of careful facsimiles of the early quarto editions of 1594/5 and 1619 has placed the means of study within easy reach.

It is possible that the failure of critics so far to arrive at conclusive results arises from the circumstance that they have all treated the question primarily, if not exclusively, in connexion with its bearing upon Shakespeare. Malone (d. 1812) contented himself with proving that Shakespeare was not the author of the early quartos entitled *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedy*. These plays he first assigned, with little discussion, to Greene and Peele on the evidence of a passage in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*.[1] Subsequently, Malone lightly renounced this theory, and accepted the suggestion of Marlowe's authorship, originally proposed by Dr. Richard Farmer (d. 1797).[2]

Charles Knight, in his *Pictorial Shakespeare* (1839, etc.), attempted on grounds purely sentimental to establish Shakespeare's exclusive right to the plays in all their phases. This extravagant claim, which contradicts all the probabilities, has not been accepted, I believe, by any other writer on the subject.

In 1843, J. O. Halliwell (later Halliwell-Phillips) edited *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedy* for the (old) Shake-

[1] See the *Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI*, printed in Boswell's edition of Malone's Shakespeare (1821), vol. xviii, p. 570 ff.

[2] See *An Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakspeare were Written*, Boswell's Malone, vol. ii, p. 311 ff.

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speare Society. In his introduction to this work, the editor set up, as a sort of compromise between the views of Malone and Knight, the unfounded conjecture that the original plays upon which *2* and *3 Henry VI* were based have been lost, and that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* " included the first additions which Shakespeare made to the originals." The gratuitous assumption of such a hypothesis, inspired by the pious desire of the Shakespeare-worshipper to ascribe to his idol whatever might be of particular merit in the work, while relieving him of all responsibility for the mediocre portions, really carries the problem out of the domain of logical research, and makes the discussion of the non-Shakespearean residue impracticable and unimportant.

An equally one-sided attitude to the question is involved in Richard Grant White's more painstaking *Essay on the Authorship of Henry VI* (1859). It was, of course, natural that this elaborate paper, composed for insertion in White's edition of Shakespeare, should concern itself primarily, like its predecessors, with Shakespeare's interest in the plays. White's theory assumes that all the passages in the earlier plays (*i. e., Contention* and *True Tragedy*) retained in *2* and *3 Henry VI* were of Shakespeare's original composition. Thus, only the poor rejected matter in *Contention* and *True Tragedy* is ascribed to the other authors, whom White identifies as Greene, Peele, and Marlowe; and White's treatment of the non-Shakespearean side of the question degenerates into an unworthy attempt to show by illustrative excerpts that the poets named were incapable of writing of the scenes retained in *2* and *3 Henry VI*.

Miss Lee's paper,[1] the most clearly reasoned discussion of the subject which has yet appeared, is mainly occupied with a refutation of the ill-advised Shakespearean claims of Knight, Halliwell, and White. She advances solid, and, it appears to me, sufficient arguments in favor of the belief that Shakespeare had no part in the *Contention* or the *True Tragedy*. Yet Miss Lee's negative thesis is not much less engrossed with the special Shakespearean interest of the problem than were the positive theories which she opposed. Though she very conscientiously devoted considerable pains to the discussion of Marlowe's and Greene's share in the earlier plays, she really left that part of the subject as undecided as she found it. Her concluding statements are that " Marlowe and Greene, and possibly Peele, were the authors" of the older plays, and " that there is, at least, nothing

[1] " On the Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI and their Originals," *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1875—76. p. 219 ff.

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unreasonable, or even improbable, in supposing" that Marlowe furthermore collaborated with Shakespeare in the revised *2* and *3 Henry VI*.[1]

Thus critical investigation during nearly a century had travelled a circular path. Miss Lee, in 1875, guided by independent research, occupied approximately the same vague position taken up by Malone before 1800. It is not surprising that this relative failure to advance, in view of the careful scholarship and indubitable earnestness of the various investigators, should have discouraged further effort. It may be believed, however, without excessive temerity, that the difficulties encountered arose less from inherent lack of evidence than from the preoccupation of all the critics with one attractive, but rather unproductive, aspect of the question. The direct approach to the mystery of the authorship of *2* and *3 Henry VI* from the side of Shakespeare's concern in the plays offers little secure foothold for the critic. Those writers who, like Knight, Halliwell, and White, attempted to prove Shakespeare's exclusive or partial interest in the antecedent plays of the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* seem by all the best evidence to have been upholding a theory with no basis of fact; and they unconsciously distorted the real truths in order to render this preconceived fiction tenable. Critics of the opposing group expended far more care upon the disproof of Shakespeare's authorship than upon the discovery of the actual writers. Malone, indeed, regarding the question, like Knight and White, from the specialized view-point of the editor of Shakespeare, frankly lost interest when he had shown reason to believe the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* non-Shakespearean. Even Miss Lee's more comprehensive discussion manifests in the constructive portion which deals with the actual origin of the earlier plays a vagueness and comparative in-

[1] In consequence of a challenge from Dr. Furnivall, Miss Lee added, though with doubt and against her expressed better judgment, tables indicating Shakespeare's and Marlowe's shares in *2* and *3 Henry VI*, and Marlowe's and Greene's shares in *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. These tables, which seem to me to possess no importance, will be found on pp. 293—306 of the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1875—76. Other discussions worthy of attention are: A. Dyce, in the prefatory matter to his editions of Marlowe (1850, etc.), and Shakespeare (1857, etc.); F. G. Fleay, "Who Wrote Henry VI?" *Macmillan's Magazine*, Nov., 1875, p. 50—62; A. C. Swinburne, "The Three Stages of Shakespeare," *Fortnightly Review*, Jan., 1876, p. 25—30; F. E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play*, 1902, p. 78 ff.; J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, 1558—1642. 1910, vol. i, p. 59—67.

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difference very strikingly in contrast with the admirable acuteness with which she defends her negative position in regard to Shakespeare's authorship.

It is doubtless true that the question of Shakespeare's concern in the *Henry VI* plays possesses considerably higher importance than any other which arises in this connexion. It seems clear, however, that this question can be adequately discussed only after definite knowledge has been attained regarding the origin and general character of the plays upon which Shakespeare based his work. In the following treatment, therefore, I purpose first to consider in detail the authorship and dramatic structure of the plays which Shakespeare received as his sources—namely, the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*; and then, on the basis of what may thus be ascertained, to attempt an investigation of the extent and nature of the alterations introduced by Shakespeare. It is hoped that some light may thus be thrown upon the character of Shakespeare's style and method during his earliest dramatic period.

That Marlowe was responsible for much or all of the best poetry in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* has been at least vaguely accepted by all writers on the subject for many years. Collier, indeed,[1] appears to be the only nineteenth-century critic who felt doubt concerning Marlowe's authorship, though the problem of the origin of these plays has long been complicated by the general acceptance of a piece of external evidence, which I shall discuss later,[2] as proving that Greene and Peele also had shares in the work.

It will be well to take up the examination of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* from the point of view of the authorship of Marlowe, the only Elizabethan writer who, in my opinion, has any demonstrable interest in these plays.

I. Marlowe's Authorship of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*.

1. External evidence.

It is a familiar fact that the two plays known since 1623 as the second and third parts of *Henry VI* have each been preserved in three different forms. It will be well to distinguish clearly the three phases in the evolution of the text.

[1] See J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, etc., 2nd ed., 1879, vol. ii, p. 519–521.

[2] See below, p. 188 ff.

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I. *2 Henry VI* is first mentioned in the following entry on the Stationers' Register for March 12, 1593/4: "Thomas Millington Entred for his copie vnder the handes of bothe the wardens a booke intituled, *the firste parte of the Contention of the twoo famous houses of York and Lancaster* with the death of the good Duke Humfrey, and the banishement and Deathe of the Duke of Suffolk, and the tragicall ende of the proud Cardinall of Winchester, with the notable rebellion of Jack Cade and the Duke of Yorkes ffirste clayme vnto the Crowne." In the same year (1594), the play was printed, by Thomas Creed for Thomas Millington, with a title identical, except for spelling and the change of one preposition, with that given in the Register.

The earliest version of *3 Henry VI* does not appear to have been registered before publication; but it was printed for Millington by P. S. (Peter Short) in the following year (1595), with the title: "The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole contention betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, as it was sundrie times acted by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke his seruants."

In the year 1600, Millington published reprints of both plays, involving no essential alterations.

II. In 1603, Millington retired from business. On April 19 of the previous year (1602), doubtless with the idea of winding up his affairs, he assigned over to Thomas Pavier his interest in the two plays we are considering, which he terms "the first and second parte of Henry the vi^{t} ij bookes." It is not known that Pavier attempted to make commercial use of the copyright which he had thus obtained till 1619, for his only extant edition of the plays, though it bears no date on its title-page, appears to have been brought out simultaneously with his 1619 edition of *Pericles*.[1] Pavier's version combined the two plays received from Millington in a single quarto with the title: "The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the sixt. Diuided into two Parts: And newly corrected and enlarged. Written by *William Shakespeare*, Gent." The text here printed introduced a number of more or less trivial alterations, which will be discussed

[1] The signatures at the bottoms of the leaves in the two quartos are continuous; that is, the leaves in the *Whole Contention* are signed with the letters, A—Q, while the 1619 *Pericles* begins with R. The probable reason for Pavier's long delay in issuing an edition of our plays is that he took over in 1602, along with the copyright, a number of unsold copies of Millington's 1600 quartos.

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later.[1] It may be said at once that Pavier's assertion of Shakespeare's authorship seems to be quite as little grounded in this case as in the same publisher's editions of *Sir John Oldcastle* (1600)[2] and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608), where the words, " Written by W(illiam) Shakespeare " likewise appear.

III. The third and final phase in the evolution of the text of the plays under discussion is found in the 1623 Shakespeare Folio. Here for the first time, the two plays, clearly first written as a two-part drama, and so regarded for thirty years, are associated with the previously unpublished *First Part of King Henry VI* and thus changed into the second and third members of a trilogy. The verbal alterations in the 1623 edition of our plays are so radical, particularly in the case of 2 *Henry VI*, as to make the revised texts almost new dramas, though the basic elements of plot and character are not very seriously affected.

There is evidence to indicate that the revision represented in the 1623 text was carried out not later than 1592[3]: and it seems very likely that the matter then added was exclusively Shakespearean work and was the only Shakespearean work in the plays. Therefore, the discussion of Shakespeare's concern, in the concluding section of this article, will be mainly a discussion of the peculiar features of the 1623 text.

Let us return for the present to the consideration of the external evidence connected with Millington's editions. It will have been noted that the first title-page of the *True Tragedy* expressly declares the drama to have been acted by the Earl of Pembroke's Company. The connection between the two plays under discussion is so close, and the later one so entirely unintelligible without the earlier, that it is perfectly safe to conclude that the introductory drama of the *Contention* must have been produced by the same company. The determination of the company by which the plays printed by Millington were acted, does not, of course, determine their authorship. Both Greene and Marlowe, among others, are known to have written for Pembroke's Men. The fact, however, that *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* texts represent plays written for Lord Pembroke's Company justifies us in inferring that Shakespeare had nothing to do with them; for there is every reason against believing that Shakespeare had direct relations at any period of his life with any but the

[1] See p. 186 ff.

[2] This edition of *Oldcastle*, though dated 1600, was probably printed in the same year as the *Whole Contention* (1619).

[3] See p. 191.

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single company—known successively as Lord Strange's, Lord Derby's Lord Hunsdon's, the Lord Chamberlain's, and the King's—of which he was personally a member.

Those critics who imagine Shakespeare employed during his early years as a hack writer for various companies reason against all the evidence and all the probabilities. The old distinction between the "university wits" on the one hand and Shakespeare on the other is trite and superficial, but it has one true side. About 1590, there were two sets of dramatic writers in London. The larger class was made up of professional *littérateurs*, who, like Greene and Marlowe, had no personal knowledge of the stage, or whose interest in any one company, like that of Ben Jonson, was too unsatisfactory to encourage permanence. These poets naturally disposed of their plays as best they could, now to one company, now to another, but nearly always, as far as we can tell, at pitiably low rates and much to their own discontent. To the other set belonged Shakespeare, who, approaching the stage from its non-literary side, was already a loyal and relatively prosperous actor in a particular company when he commenced his career as playwright by patching up old dramas for purely utilitarian reasons. To the end, Shakespeare's income from the success of his company seems to have far exceeded his earnings as a writer. Considering, then, where the theatrical profits lay in his time, it would have been utterly absurd for Shakespeare to dispose of any play capable of being successfully acted to a company in which he had no interest. And it is hardly less absurd to imagine the Earl of Pembroke's Company applying for dramatic material, between 1590 and 1592 to an active member of a rival company, who was as yet almost unknown as a dramatic author.

Pembroke's company acted Marlowe's *Edward II*, which seems to have been composed a very little later than the plays we are considering.[1]

The only other piece of external evidence bearing upon the 1594/5 texts concerns the publisher, Thomas Millington. The entry of the *Contention*, March 12, 1593/4, quoted above,[2] is the earliest mention of Millington's name on the Stationers' Register. Millington next appears, just two months and five days later (May 17, 1594), when he, in conjunction with Nicholas Linge, registered "the famouse tragedie of the Riche Jewe of Malta." Unfortunately, no edition of the *Jew of Malta*, published at this time, is known to have survived; but it is worth remarking that the registration notice,

[1] With reference to the relative dates of these plays, see pp. 173—177.

[2] See p. 149.

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like that of the *Contention*, and like the registration notice and all the early title-pages of *Tamburlaine*, omits the author's name. Hence, Millington's failure to mention Marlowe as author of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* should not be taken as evidence against that poet's authorship, particularly as the revised version by Shakespeare must probably have been better known to the public at the time when Millington's quartos were published.

The rather scanty external evidence regarding the 1594/5 texts of our plays seems to me, therefore, quite sufficient to disqualify Shakespeare as possible author. Respecting the positive determination of authorship, though there is nothing in this evidence which at all approaches proof, it seems worth remembering that the company which acted the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* very shortly after acted Marlowe's play of *Edward II*, and that the publisher of our plays recorded his ownership of the copyright of Marlowe's other play of *The Jew of Malta* during the very months when the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were issuing from his press.

2. Plot.

The two plays we are considering are very carefully welded into one. The *Contention* breaks off abruptly at the most exciting moment, when the success of York at the first Battle of St. Albans renders civil war inevitable. Without any intermission or prelude, the first scene of the *True Tragedy* introduces the conversation of the victorious leaders as they compare their experiences on the battle-field. The whole work is planned with an imaginative appreciation of the meaning of history and a power of unifying details which are very remarkable and which would make themselves more generally felt even in the revised versions of Shakespeare, if these plays were there separated in the reader's mind from the unrelated *First Part of Henry VI.* The very determination of the limits of the double drama shows marked constructive ability. The first play opens with the arrival of Margaret, England's evil genius. The second closes with the final ruin of Margaret's cause at Tewkesbury, and the death of the pious Henry, whose fate has been so disastrously linked with that of his terrible queen. Between these termini the poet's imagination moves with an iron precision. Though the historical figures necessarily shift and disappear, the tone of the work never changes. There is nothing irrelevant or episodic. Even the Horner, Simcox, and Cade scenes in the *Contention* bear directly upon the general tragic plot and have their comedy suffused with its stern light.

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This singleness of purpose and feeling, in dramas dealing with a particularly chaotic era and belonging clearly to the earliest period in the development of the history play, is a very remarkable phenomenon. How far such solidarity of outlook lay from the youthful Shakespeare will be abundantly clear when we come to analyze the spirit in which the changes introduced into the revised *2* and *3 Henry VI* were made. How infinitely far it lay from Peele and Greene need hardly be suggested to any one who has considered the wonderful medleys of plot and tone illustrated in *Edward I*, *James IV*, and *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. Leaving all confirmatory evidence out of mind, I believe that it would be safe to assert that the brilliant synthesis of plot and emotion manifested in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* can about 1590 have been the work of only one dramatist known to literary history. The whole tangled story is resolutely pitched in a single key, preserved with hardly a fluctuation through the two plays, which thus become a kind of monody on the single note of ambition, transmitted from the throat of one leading figure to that of the next, from York's glorious vaunt in the first scene of the *Contention* to Richard's final proclamation of his magnificent villainy at the close of the *True Tragedy*. This insistence upon one mood and one aspect produces a sense of order in the midst of plot confusion and a touch also of that fine lucidity which in classic works accompanies restrictedness of view.

For other examples of this rare unity injected into ill-unified matter by the vividness of the poet's feeling one can turn among plays contemporary with those we are discussing only to the accepted works of Marlowe. Through the two parts of *Tamburlaine* the fervid expression of heaven-topping egoism lends consecutiveness and meaning to the hopelessly ill-ordered material. In *Edward II*, the first great English historical play, a wild, purposeless reign and an uninteresting monarch are made deeply affecting by the consistent tragedy which the poet, almost gratuitously, reads into them. An even closer parallel to the tone and method of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* is found in Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, where French history during seventeen years just past (1572–1589) is carelessly depicted in connexion with the three sensational incidents of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the death of the Duc de Guise, and the assassination of Henri III. Here there is no semblance of technical unity. Yet the reader hardly perceives any incoherence, because the consuming anti-papal ardor of the poet is strong enough to focuss and bring into apparent relation all the alien elements of the play.

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There is about Marlowe's genius a kind of fierceness of perception and expression which renders him equally incapable of dramatic impartiality, of incoherence, and of dullness. Life and history he viewed always from one side only, the side of the picturesque; and what he saw he reproduced necessarily in the most brilliant color, with little of the modesty of nature, but with a glowing feeling which made his picture, however unfaithful to outward fact, inevitably true in its expression of a single clear passion of the poet. Once the predominant emotion is set in play, it courses through the work, and tinges every atom of material. No triviality, digression, or change of attitude is possible. In *Tamburlaine*, the hero's lust for conquest rages through every scene. In *Faustus*, the atmosphere of sulphur and brimstone pervades even such ostensibly comic passages as the masque of the seven deadly sins, Faust's visit to Rome, or the interview with the horse-courser. Never for an instant, I think, in the genuine part of that play, is the central tragic idea out of the mind of either poet or spectator. So it is with the plays we are considering. The *True Tragedy*, the higher-pitched of the two, contains no spark of comedy, a thing almost marvellous in an early English history play. The *Contention* has several scenes, which, handled by any Elizabethan writer except Marlowe, would probably be broadly farcical and digressive; but as they here appear, they are filled no less than the rest of the drama with the muffled roar of civil war. The Horner and Cade scenes, instead of conflicting with the tragic passages, seem to me to tend toward precisely the same effect.

In an age when the drama was almost universally inclined to excessive range of mood and subject, this constant adherence to the one note is very conspicuous. It made Marlowe a poor dramatist in several respects: it certainly prevented the normal expansion of his abilities as a playwright. Undoubtedly, however, it permitted him to give unity and force to the handling of subjects which would otherwise have wanted both those qualities.

It is commonly said that Marlowe lacked the perception of comedy. This is probably not true. A grim sense of humor will hardly be denied the poet by those who have carefully read his works. It is, however, quite true that the student of Marlowe misses both the irresponsible transition from black tragedy to light-hearted merriment, so characteristic of the cruder Elizabethan dramatists, and also Shakespeare's judicial power of setting side by side the tragic aspect which a particular circumstance may bear for those vitally interested and the commonplace or even ludicrous view taken by

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casual outsiders. The absence of this changefulness of mood and of dramatic irony should probably be ascribed, not to any congenital want of humor in the poet, but to his total absorption in the special side of the question which he is endeavoring to portray. Few men can throw themselves into the delineation of the highest sublimities of passion and at the same time retain full consciousness of all the little humorous accompaniments of life. Even in Shakespeare thi power came only with maturity, and in Shakespeare it is almost unique. It is easy for the cold critic, sympathizing with Shakespeare's Pistol, to find much that is absurd in the intensity of *Tamburlaine*; but it would have been quite impossible for any poet, while in a mood unimpassioned enough to be conscious of these laughable trivialities, to reach the tragic exaltation which makes the greatness of Marlowe's play. Thus, the fact that Marlowe's strong tragic pinion bears him in his moments of inspiration above the lowly species of comedy with which Greene, for instance, was accustomed to intersperse his romantic extravaganzas should not be taken as a necessary indication that Marlowe at all times lacks a sense of humor, or that he was incapable of utilizing comic material where it was possible to do so without subverting the great tragic purpose of his dramas. The evidence is all against this common assumption.

I believe that the most conspicuous comic scenes in the *Contention*, those dealing with Jack Cade, are distinctly in Marlowe's manner. It has been usual, of course, to declare that these scenes cannot have been composed by Marlowe, because they are effective comedy, and Marlowe was no comic writer. Such an argument involves a complete *non sequitur*. What we are really justified in expecting of comic matter introduced by Marlowe into a serious play is that it shall not be tawdry, as is much of Greene's buffoonery and most of the later, non-Marlovian, additions to the text of *Doctor Faustus*; and that it shall not be extraneous to the main issue of the play, as Shakespeare's early comic scenes usually are. The Cade scenes offend in none of these respects. So far are they from being irrelevant that they serve a very necessary function in preparing the way for York's rebellion and bringing out the instability of Henry's rule. Their spirit is not that imparted by the professed comedian or fun-maker. Cade's followers, unlike the insipid clowns of contemporary farce, are a band of wild fanatics, as heavily charged with tragedy as any that in later days did homage to the goddess Guillotine. Their follies and extravagances, like the murderous jests in *The Massacre at Paris*, have in every case a deadly sequel which actually darkens the black atmosphere of the tragedy.

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The figure of Cade himself is a masterpiece which could never have emerged from the brain of an essentially "comic" writer. Instead of the buffoon and demagogue that one would expect, one finds a colossus in whose character grandeur and pathos are continually getting the better of boorishness—a giant peasant type near of kin to Tamburlaine, who seems restrained only by the limitations of the historic plot from snapping the bonds of the commonplace and soaring with the Scythian shepherd into the heights of poetry and heroism. That the Cade scenes could have been written by Shakespeare at the early period at which they were written appears simply impossible in the light of what we know of that poet's comic method in such contemporary plays as *Love's Labor's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. That the scenes in question were moulded at the same time as the rest of the original play, of which they form an integral part, is, I think, unquestionable; and it seems to me that in spirit and character delineation they bear the strongest testimony to Marlowe's authorship.

3. Character.

The *Contention* and *True Tragedy* contain twelve important characters. Of these eight are conspicuous in the earlier play: Suffolk, Margaret, King Henry, Duke Humphrey, Cardinal Beaufort, York, Warwick, and Jack Cade. Four of these, Humphrey, the Cardinal, Suffolk, and Cade, die during the course of the earlier play; and the remaining four are supplemented in the *True Tragedy* by Richard, Edward, and Young Clifford, who, though all on the stage in the last part of the *Contention* are not there psychologically important. The *True Tragedy* introduces one new figure worthy of study in Margaret's son, Prince Edward.

If any deduction concerning the authorship of the plays is to be drawn from their delineation of character, the final conclusion must be based upon the treatment of these twelve figures. The character of Cade has already been discussed. It seems to me unlike the work of any known dramatist of the time except Marlowe.

The other notable figures divide themselves into two or three groups. Seven of them, the most memorable and the least altered in Shakespeare's revision, represent the type of bold bad nobility whose romantically egoistic and vindictive figures seem in *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris* to have caught the imagination of Marlowe to the exclusion of nearly everything else in history. Suffolk, Warwick, the Cardinal, and Young Clifford form a group of overdaring, remorseless, terrible, yet splendid peers comparable only

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perhaps with the similar group of turbulent barons in *Edward II.* Three other figures of this same type, York, Queen Margaret, and Richard, are yet more highly individualized. They are masterpieces of that overwhelming evil ambition and malignant selfishness in which a rather curious twist of Marlowe's genius made him see the highest reach of human glory. These three characters are related by the closest bonds to the supreme embodiments of evil power in Marlowe's accepted history plays: Young Mortimer in *Edward II* and Guise and the Old Queen in the *Massacre at Paris.* Verbal similarities may be reserved for later discussion; but on the evidence of spirit and general style alone, it seems impossible to read in succession two such companion passages as those printed below without complete assurance that in each the same poet's mind has been at work under the impulse of the same inspiration. The first quotation is from the soliloquy of Guise near the opening of the *Massacre at Paris* (ll. 91ff.).[1] The second gives the soliloquy of York at the close of the first scene of the *Contention.*

"Now *Guise* begins those deepe ingendred thoughts
To burst abroad those neuer dying flames,
Which cannot be extinguisht but by bloud.
Oft haue I leueld, and at last haue learnd,
That perill is the cheefest way to happines,
And resolution honors fairest aime.
What glory is there in a common good,
That hanges for euery peasant to atchiue?
That like I best that flyes beyond my reach.
Set me to scale the high Peramides (*i. e.*, pyramids),
And thereon set the Diadem of Fraunce,
Ile either rend it with my nayles to naught,
Or mount the top with my aspiring winges,
Although my downfall be the deepest hell.
For this I wake when others think I sleepe,
For this I waite, that scornes attendance else.
. . . . . .
The gentle King whose pleasure vncontrolde
Weakneth his body, and will waste his Realme,

[1] References to Marlowe in the following pages will give the line number in my edition, Clarendon Press, 1910; references to *Contention, True Tragedy,* and the 1619 quarto allude to page and line in the Praetorius facsimiles 1886—1891; references to Shakespeare's plays, including *2* and *3 Henry VI* follow the Oxford Shakespeare.

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If I repaire not what he ruinates:
Him as a childe I dayly winne with words,
So that for proofe he barely beares the name:
I execute, and he sustaines the blame.
. . . . . .
Giue me a look, that when I bend the browes,
Pale death may walke in furrowes of my face:
A hand, that with a graspe may gripe world,
An eare, to heare what my detractors say,
A royall seate, a scepter, and a crowne:
That those which doe beholde, thay may become
As men that stand and gase against the Sunne.
The plot is laide, and things shall come to passe,
Where resolution striues for victory."
"*Anioy* and *Maine*, both giuen vnto the French,
Cold newes for me, for I had hope of *France*,
Euen as I haue of fertill England.
A day will come when *Yorke* shall claime his owne,
And therefore I will take the *Neuels* parts,
And make a show of loue to proud Duke *Humphrey*:
And when I spie aduantage, claime the Crowne,
For that's the golden marke I seeke to hit:
Nor shall proud *Lancaster* vsurpe my right,
Nor hold the scepter in his childish fist,
Nor weare the Diademe vpon his head,
Whose church-like humours fits not for a Crowne:
Then *Yorke* be still a while till time do serue,
Watch thou, and wake when others be asleepe,
To prie into the secrets of the state,
Till *Henry* surfeiting in ioyes of loue,
With his new bride, and Englands dear bought queene,
And Humphrey with the Peeres be falne at iarres,
Then will I raise aloft the milke-white Rose,
With whose sweete smell the aire shall be perfumde,
And in my Standard beare the Armes of *Yorke*,
To graffle with the House of *Lancaster*:
And force perforce, ile make him yeeld the Crowne,
Whose bookish rule hath puld faire England downe."
(*Contention*, p. 7, l. 143 – p. 8, l. 166).

In addition to the figures just discussed, there remain four which merit attention: Henry VI, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Edward IV, and the young Prince Edward. These, in contrast with

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the others, are good characters. The prince perhaps need not be seriously considered, because he appears relatively little and owes his romantic courage quite as much to the chronicle accounts as to the poet's original portraiture. The other three figures are likely to surprise the readers of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* by their comparative tameness. It was in the presentation of the good characters that Shakespeare found his most fruitful opportunity to improve upon the delineation of the earlier plays. It is remarkable, certainly, that in the *Contention* the picture of so mean a creature as Suffolk remains clearer in the memory than that of Humphrey, the real hero of the epoch in the chronicle accounts and a particularly promising subject, one would say, for dramatic presentation. There is no question, I think, that the *Contention* fails on the whole to make Duke Humphrey and King Henry vivid personalities, and that the *True Tragedy* makes the capable and relatively virtuous Edward a far less interesting figure than either the villainous Richard or the madly impetuous and mischief-making Warwick. The same unconvincingness in the normal or good characters must strike the student of the acknowledged work of Marlowe, for that poet appears never to have been able to separate virtue from mediocrity or to portray vivid personality except in the prosecution of godless and desperate extravagance. To depict sympathetically and persuasively a great man strong in righteousness, as, for example, the unknown author of the contemporary play of *Woodstock* did with an earlier Duke of Gloucester very similar to Humphrey in character and fate, seems to have been decidedly beyond the range of Marlowe's genius. The representation of the king's well-meaning brother Edmund in *Edward II* and even of the great figure of Henry of Navarre in the *Massacre at Paris* illustrates the same failure on the poet's part to rise to the possibilities latent in the portrayal of simple nobleness.

It would appear, therefore, that the presentation of character in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* manifests both the special merits and also the particular limitations of Marlowe's work. I think, moreover, that the parallel between the characters of the plays we are considering and those of accepted Marlovian dramas can be traced yet farther. Careful readers will hardly fail to notice the close resemblance between the complex quadrangle of relations between Henry VI, Margaret, Suffolk, and Prince Edward in our plays and the relations of Edward II, Isabella, Young Mortimer, and Prince Edward in *Edward II*. So, too, the similarity between the treatment of Margaret's experiences at the French court and those of Isabella in *Edward II* seems very much closer than historic coin-

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cidence would make natural. It would perhaps be unduly tedious to dwell at length upon the likenesses between the two sets of characters; but it is certainly worth remarking that, wherever the analogy seems particularly striking, the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* will be found to be merely reproducing history, while *Edward II* frequently departs from the facts recorded by the chroniclers in order to conform to our plays. Thus, Edward IV's despatching of Warwick to France to prevent Louis from listening to Margaret's appeals is a well-known historic occurrence; but Edward II's sending of Levune on a similar mission against Isabella appears to be a gratuitous invention suggested from the other play. Here, then, and in other instances, where an account of debit and credit can be set up between *Edward II* and the early versions of the Henry VI plays, it is the former which proves to be the borrower. Hence, if we are unwilling to admit that Marlowe was influenced in *Edward II* by reminiscence of his own earlier productions, we shall be driven to the unlikely conclusion that in his most mature play he introduced a series of small purposeless imitations of an inferior work by an undetermined author.[1]

4. Verbal Parallels in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and in Accepted Plays of Marlowe.

Previous critics have been struck with the close parallel between some six or eight passages in the plays under discussion and corresponding passages in Marlowe's acknowledged dramas, and they have explained the similarity in various ways. Dyce, who discovered five of the most important resemblances, believed that they indicated Marlowe's authorship of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, in part at least.[2] Grant White, holding the opposite view, tried to invalidate this testimony by the citation of several vague parallels between plays by Marlowe and others by Shakespeare. Miss Lee accepted the parallels as proof of Marlowe's authorship of parts of the plays, but attempted quite fruitlessly to point out another set of parallels with the works of Greene, in order that the claim of that poet might also be supported.[3] The list which follows will show that the verbal echoes of undoubted Marlovian dramas in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* are three or four times as numerous as has been hitherto suggested. It is important to discuss with some care what these resemblances really indicate.

[1] For a further discussion of this point see p. 175 ff.

[2] Cf. "Some Account of Marlowe and his Writings" in Dyce's edition of Marlowe (1850, etc.).

[3] Cf. *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1875—76, p. 248.

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It must be admitted as axiomatic that mere similarity or identity of language between two works does not of itself imply common authorship. In the case of Shakespeare, for example, striking repetition of the wording of genuine plays in a doubtful work would go far to discredit the claim of the latter, because Shakespeare, who was often imitated by other writers, was never much disposed to repeat his own lines and phrases. In the present case, before the parallels in question can be used to support the theory of Marlowe's authorship of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, it will be necessary first to prove from the certainly genuine plays that Marlowe was accustomed to reproduce his ideas and expressions in the particular manner in which our plays reproduce them, and then to show that the passages which appear in the plays before us cannot be reasonably explained as an alien poet's imitation of Marlowe's work. I believe it possible to establish both these theses.

Marlowe's tendency to hark back to a favorite image or idea and to ring the changes upon any line which by its mellifluous flow had caught his fancy, is, indeed, too familiar to require much illustration. The following examples, selected rather at random among the undisputed plays, will serve as a basis for comparison with the Marlovian parallels in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*:

(a) *Tamburlaine*, l. 729: "And now we will to faire *Persepolis*."
,, l. 745: "To follow me to faire *Persepolis*."
,, l. 754: "And ride in triumph through *Persepolis*."
,, l. 755: "And ride in triumph through *Persepolis*."
,, l. 759: "And ride in triumph through *Persepolis*."

(b) *Doctor Faustus*, ll. 1422–1430:

"Stand stil you euer moouing spheres of heauen,
That time may cease, and midnight neuer come:
Faire Natures eie, rise, rise againe, and make
Perpetuall day, or let this houre be but
A yeare, a moneth, a weeke, a naturall day,
That Faustus may repent, and saue his soule.
. . . . . .
The starres mooue stil, time runs, the clocke wil strike
The diuel wil come, and Faustus must be damnd"

Edward II, ll. 2050–2056:

"Continue euer thou celestiall sunne,
Let neuer silent night possesse this clime,
Stand still you watches of the element,

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All times and seasons rest you at a stay,
That *Edward* may be still faire Englands king:
But dayes bright beames dooth vanish fast away,
And needes I must resigne my wished crowne."

(c) *Edward II*, ll. 343 f.:

" Ere my sweete *Gaueston* shall part from me,
This Ile shall fleete vpon the Ocean."

Dido, ll. 1340 f.:

" And let rich Carthage fleete vpon the seas.
So I may haue Aeneas in mine armes."

(d) *Edward II*, ll. 393–397:

" Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperiall groomes,
For these thy superstitious taperlights,
Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze,
Ile fire thy crazed buildings and enforce
The papall towers to kisse the lowlie ground."

Massacre at Paris, ll. 1210–1215:

" Which if I doe, the Papall Monarck goes
To wrack and antechristian kingdome falles.
These bloudy hands shall teare his triple Crowne,
And fire accursed Rome about his eares.
Ile fire his crased buildings and inforse
The papall towers to kisse the holy earth."

Jew of Malta, ll. 2066 f.:

" I'le helpe to slay their children and their wiues,
To fire the Churches, pull their houses downe."

(e) *Doctor Faustus*, ll. 1328 f.:

" Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes,
And burnt the toplesse Towres of Ilium? "

Dido, ll. 481 f.:

" In whose sterne faces shin'd the quenchles fire,
That after burnt the pride of *Asia*."

(f) *Edward II*, ll. 117 f.:

" Brother, reuenge it, and let these their heads
Preach vpon poles for trespasse of their tongues."

Ibid., l. 1326:

" Strike off their heads, and let them preach on poles."

(g) *Massacre at Paris*, l. 289:

" Cheefe standard bearer to the Lutheranes."

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Ibid., l. 317:

"Cheef standard bearer to the Lutheranes."

(h) *Massacre at Paris*, ll. 524–530:

"I, but my Lord let me alone for that,
For *Katherine* must haue her will in France:
As I doe liue, so surely shall he dye,
And *Henry* then shall weare the diadem.
And if he grudge or crosse his Mothers will,
Ile disinherite him and all the rest:
For Ile rule France, but they shall weare the crowne."

Ibid., ll. 653–659:

"Thus man, let me alone with him,
To work the way to bring this thing to passe:
And if he doe deny what I doe say,
Ile dispatch him with his brother presently,
And then shall *Mounser* weare the diadem:
Thus, all shall dye vnles I haue my will,
For while she liues *Katherine* will be Queene."

(i) *Ibid.*, ll. 938 f.:

"Come on sirs, what, are you resolutely bent,
Hating the life and honour of the *Guise*?"

Ibid., ll. 956 f.:

"But are they resolute and armde to kill,
Hating the life and honour of the *Guise*?"

(j) *Massacre at Paris*, ll. 992 f.:

"Now doe I but begin to look about,
And all my former time was spent in vaine."

Ibid., ll. 1011 f.: "Nay then tis time
To look about."

In the instances just cited, two kinds of parallels are illustrated. In some cases, as in (a), (f), (g), (i), (j), a striking line or expression, which has already been used once in a play, lingers in the poet's mind and repeats itself later either from carelessness or as a conscious rhetorical device. In the other cases, though identity of wording is still largely present, this is of less importance than the identity of idea. In these latter instances, usually occurring in different plays, the poet happens to deal with similar conceptions, and his mind naturally reacts in each case in a similar manner, so that there results a parallel of thought and language, quite un-

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realized by the writer, but more clearly demonstrative of unity of authorship than any number of mere word echoes.

Now, if Marlowe wrote the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, we should normally expect to find both these types of parallels there illustrated. We should expect to find the poet introducing parallels of language and thought from his other plays—particularly from those nearly contemporary with the ones in question; and we should also expect to find him continuing the same practice of repetition within the new plays themselves. That is, we should expect to find the same similarities of language and idea between the different parts of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* as between those plays and accepted works like the *Massacre at Paris* and *Edward II*. This is precisely what we do find. It will be well to take up first the passages which show the plays under consideration echoing lines in Marlowe's acknowledged dramas. I give a list of all the instances I have noted in the order in which they appear. The references allude, as before, to the page and line number in the Praetorius facsimiles of *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and to the line number in my edition of Marlowe:—

(1) *Contention*, p. 4, l. 30:

"Her lookes did wound, but now her speech doth pierce."

Dido, l. 1007:

"*Aeneas*, no, although his eyes doe pearce."

(2) *Contention*, p. 5, l. 79:

"Ah Lords, fatall is this marriage canselling our states."

Massacre at Paris, l. 206:

"Oh fatall was this marriage to vs all."

(3) *Contention*, p. 7, ll. 149f.:

"And when I spie aduantage, claime the Crowne,
For thats the golden marke I seeke to hit."

Ibid., p. 32, l. 80:

"And dogged Yorke that leuels at the Moone."

Ibid., p. 53, l. 94:

"If honour be the marke whereat you aime."

True Tragedy, p. 28, l. 18:

"Ambitious Yorke did leuell at thy Crowne."

Edward II, ll. 1581 f.:

"Thats it these Barons and the subtill Queene
Long leueld at."

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Ibid., l. 2277:
"It is the chiefest marke they leuell at."

(4) *Contention*, p. 8, l. 156:
"Watch thou and wake when others be asleepe."
Massacre at Paris, l. 104:
"For this I wake, when others think I sleepe."

(5) *Contention*, p. 12, ll. 49 f.:
"But still must be protected like a childe,
And gouerned by that ambitious Duke."
Edward II, ll. 1336 f.:
"As though your highnes were a schoole boy still,
And must be awde and gouernd like a child."

(6) *Contention*, p. 13, ll. 59–61:
"I tell thee *Poull*, when thou didst runne at Tilt,
And stolst away our Ladaies hearts in *France*,
I thought King Henry had bene like to thee."
Edward II, ll. 2516–2518:
"Tell *Isabell* the Queene, I lookt not thus,
When for her sake I ran at tilt in Fraunce,
And there vnhorste the duke of *Cleremont*."

(7) *Contention*, p. 17, ll. 15 f.:
"(Night) Wherein the Furies maske in hellish troupes,
Send vp I charge you from *Sosetus* lake."
Tamburlaine, l. 1999:
"Furies from the blacke *Cocitus* lake."

(8) *Contention*, p. 25, l. 10:
"Euen to my death, for I haue liued too long."
Edward II, l. 2651:
"Nay, to my death, for too long haue I liued."

(9) *Contention*, p. 25, l. 17:
"For sorrowes teares hath gripte my aged heart."
Ibid., p. 42, l. 12:
"See how the panges of death doth gripe his heart."
True Tragedy, p. 21, l. 156:
"How inlie anger gripes his hart."
Massacre at Paris, ll. 542 f.:
"A griping paine hath ceasde vpon my heart:
A sodaine pang, the messenger of death."

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(10) *Contention*, p. 27, ll. 9 f.:

" That earst did follow thy proud Chariot wheeles,
When thou didst ride in tryumph through the streetes."

Massacre at Paris, ll. 990 f.:

" So will I triumph ouer this wanton King,
And he shall follow my proud Chariots wheeles."

Tamburlaine, l. 754 (repeated in ll. 755, 759):

" And ride in triumph through *Persepolis*."

(11) *Contention*, p. 33, ll. 134–136:

" The wilde Onele my Lords, is vp in Armes,
With troupes of Irish Kernes that vncontrold
Doth plant themselues within the English pale."

Edward II, ll. 969 f.:

" The wilde *Oneyle*, with swarmes of Irish Kernes
Liues vncontroulde within the English pale."

(12) *Contention*, p. 39, l. 127:

" To trie how quaint an Orator you were."

True Tragedy, p. 12, l. 2:

" Nay, I can better plaie the Orator."

Ibid., p. 29, l. 42: " Full wel hath *Clifford* plaid the Orator."
Tamburlaine, l. 32: ' Or looke you, I should play the Orator."
Ibid., l. 328: " Our swords shall play the Orators for vs."[1]

(13) *Contention*, p. 49, ll. 6 f.:

" Lord Say, Iacke Cade hath solemnely vowde to haue thy head.
Say. I, but I hope your highnesse shall haue his."

Massacre at Paris, ll. 783 f.:

" For he hath solemnely sworne thy death.
Muge. I may be stabd, and liue till he be dead."

(14) *Contention*, p. 57, l. 53:

" Deepe trenched furrowes in his frowning brow."

True Tragedy, p. 68, ll. 10 f.:

" The wrinkles in my browes now fild with bloud
Were likened oft to kinglie sepulchers."

Edward II, l. 94:

" The sworde shall plane the furrowes of thy browes."

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[1] A similar line is found in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, III, v, 94: " Doubt not, my lord, I'll play the orator."

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Massacre at Paris, l. 158:

"Giue me a look, that when I bend the browes,
Pale death may walke in furrowes of my face."

(15) *True Tragedy*, p. 10, l. 177:

"And die in bands for this vnkingly deed."

Edward II, l. 1289:

"Weaponless must I fall and die in bands?"

(16) *True Tragedy*, p. 11, l. 210 f.:

"Sterne *Fawconbridge*
Commands the narrow seas."

Ibid., p. 64, l. 24:

"Is past in safetie through the narrow seas."

Edward II, l. 970:

"The hautie *Dane* commands the narrow seas."

(17) *True Tragedy*, p. 21, ll. 139 f.:

"But you are more inhumaine, more inexorable,
O ten times more then Tygers of *Arcadia* (*i. e.*, Hyrcania)"[1]

Edward II, l. 2057:

"Inhumaine creatures, nurst with Tigers milke."

Dido, ll. 1566 f.:

"But thou art sprung from Scythian *Caucasus*,
And Tygers of *Hircania* gaue thee sucke."

(18) *True Tragedy*, p. 19, l. 92:

"Off with the Crowne and with the Crowne his head."

Edward II, l. 2043: "Here, take my crowne, the life of *Edward* too."

(19) *True Tragedy*, p. 21, ll. 164 f.:

"Off with his head and set it on *Yorke* Gates,
So *Yorke* maie ouerlooke the towne of *Yorke*."

Edward II, ll. 1547 f.:

"For which thy head shall ouerlooke the rest
As much as thou in rage out wentst the rest."

(20) *True Tragedy*, p. 23, ll. 45 f.:

"Sweet Duke of *Yorke*, our prop to leane vpon,
Now thou art gone there is no hope for vs."

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[1] "Arcadia," the reading of the editions of 1595 and 1619, is evidently a printer's error. The 1623 edition gives the correct "Hyrcania."

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Massacre at Paris, ll. 1122 f.:

" Sweet Duke of *Guise*, our prop to leane vpon,
Now thou art dead, heere is no stay for vs."

(21) *True Tragedy*, p. 39, ll. 30 f.:

" Thus farre our fortunes keepes an vpward Course,
And we are grast with wreathes of victorie."

Ibid., p. 69, ll. 1 f.:

" Thus still our fortune giues vs victorie,
And girts our temples with triumphant ioies."

Massacre at Paris, l. 794:

" And we are grac'd with wreathes of victory."

(22) *True Tragedy*, p. 43, l. 9:

" Your highnesse shall doe well to grant it then."

Jew of Malta, l. 274:

" Your Lordship shall doe well to let them haue it."

(23) *True Tragedy*, p. 52, l. 189:

" Did I impale him with the regall Crowne."

Edward II., ll. 1472 f.:

" The royall vine, whose golden leaues
Empale your princelie head, your diadem."

(24) *True Tragedy*, p. 66, ll. 32 f.:

" But whilst he sought to steale the single ten,
The king was finelie fingerd from the decke."

Massacre at Paris, ll. 146–148:

" Since thou hast all the Cardes within thy hands
To shuffle or cut, take this as surest thing:
That right or wrong, thou deale thy selfe a King."

(25) *True Tragedy*, p. 68, ll. 6 f.:

" Thus yeelds the Cedar to the axes edge,
Whose armes gaue shelter to the princelie Eagle."

Edward II., ll. 818 f.:

" A loftie Cedar tree faire flourishing,
On whose top-branches Kinglie Eagles pearch."

(26) *True Tragedy*, p. 68, l. 9:

" Whose top branch ouerpeerd Ioues spreading tree."

Edward II., ll. 2579 f.:

" I stand as Ioues huge tree,
And others are but shrubs compard to me."

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(27) *True Tragedy*, p. 71, ll. 35–37:

" See brothers, yonder stands the thornie wood,
Which by Gods assistance and your prowesse,
Shall with our swords yer night be cleane cut downe."

Tamburlaine, ll. 1397–1399:

" Shaking their swords, their speares and yron bils,
Enuironing their standard round, that stood
As bristle-pointed as a thorny wood."

(28) *True Tragedy*, p. 76, ll. 50 f.:

" What? will the aspiring bloud of *Lancaster*
Sinke into the ground? I had thought it would haue mounted."

Edward II, l. 93:

" Frownst thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster? "

Ibid., ll. 2000 f.:

" Highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drinke his bloud, mounts vp into the ayre."

In a number of the passages just quoted (*e. g.*, nos. 3, 9, 12, 14), parallels appear not only with the accepted plays of Marlowe, but also between the various parts of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*. In the following additional instances the plays we are considering exhibit parallels for which the acknowledged plays offer no suggestion or counterpart:

(29) *Contention*, p. 4, l. 39:

" Till terme of eighteene months be full expired."

Ibid., p. 5, ll. 60 f.:

" Till terme of 18. months be full expirde."

(30) *Contention*, p. 6, ll. 98–101:

" The common people swarme about him straight,
Crying Iesus blesse your royall exellence,
With God preserue the good Duke *Humphrey*,
And many things besides that are not knowne."

Ibid., p. 30, ll. 9–12:

" See you not how the Commons follow him
In troupes, crying, God saue the good Duke Humphrey,
And with long life, Iesus preserue his grace,
Honouring him as if he were their King."

(31) *Contention*, p. 6, l. 104:

" Ile laie a plot to heaue him from his seate."

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Ibid., p. 6, l. 111:
" Weele quickly heaue Duke Humphrey from his seate."

(32) *Contention*, p. 6, l. 108:
" And put them from the marke they faine would hit."

Ibid., p. 7, l. 150:
" For thats the golden marke I seeke to hit."

(33) *Contention*, p. 7, ll. 144 f.:
" Cold newes for me, for I had hope of *France*,
Euen as I haue of fertill England."

Ibid., p. 31, ll. 34 f.:
" Cold newes for me, for I had hope of France,
Euen as I haue of fertill England."

(34) *Contention*, p. 23, l. 171:
" My mind doth tell me thou art innocent."

Ibid., p. 32, l. 70:
" My conscience tells me thou art innocent."

(35) *Contention*, p. 33, ll. 118 f.:
" If our King Henry had shooke hands with death,
Duke Humphrey then would looke to be our King."

True Tragedy, p. 19, ll. 86 f.:
" As I bethinke me you should not be king,
Till our *Henry* had shooke hands with death."

(36) *Contention*, p. 40, l. 165:
" You bad me ban, and will you bid me sease? "

True Tragedy, p. 20, l. 128:
" Bids thou me rage? why now thou hast thy will."

(37) *Contention*, p. 62, l. 63:
" Make hast, for vengeance comes along with them."

True Tragedy, p. 38, l. 61:
" Awaie my Lord for vengeance comes along with him."

(38) *True Tragedy*, p. 33, l. 3—p. 34, l. 5:
" For strokes receiude, and manie blowes repaide,
Hath robd my strong knit sinnews of their strength,
And force perforce needes must I rest my selfe."

Ibid., p. 68, ll. 25—27:
" For manie wounds receiu'd, and manie moe repaid,
Hath robd my strong knit sinews of their strength,
And spite of spites needes must I yeeld to death."

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(39) *True Tragedy*, p. 45, l. 64:
"Her lookes are all repleat with maiestie."
Ibid., p. 63, l. 19:
"Thy lookes are all repleat with Maiestie."
Contention, p. 4, l. 21:
"Lend me a heart repleat with thankfulnesse."

(40) *True Tragedy*, p. 47, l. 107:
"For I am not yet lookt on in the world."
Ibid., p. 78, l. 22:
"For yet I am not lookt on in the world."

(41) *True Tragedy*, p. 52, ll. 135–143:
"tell false *Edward* thy supposed king,
That *Lewis* of France is sending ouer Maskers
To reuell it with him and his now bride.
Bona. Tell him in hope heele be a Widower shortlie,
Ile weare the willow garland for his sake.
Queen. Tell him my mourning weedes be laide aside,
And I am readie to put armor on.
War. Tell him from me, that he hath done me wrong,
And therefore Ile vncrowne him er't be long."
Ibid., p. 56, ll. 64–66, 69 f., 74 f., 79 f.:
"tell false *Edward* thy supposed king,
That *Lewis* of France is sending ouer Maskers,
To reuill it with him and his new bride . . .
Tel him, quoth she, in hope heele proue a widdower shortly
Ile weare the willow garland for his sake . . .
Tell him, quoth shee, my mourning weeds be Doone,
And I am readie to put armor on . . .
Tell him quoth he, that he hath done me wrong,
And therefore Ile vncrowne him er't be long."

(42) *True Tragedy*, p. 59, l. 52 f.:
"And free king *Henry* from imprisonment,
And see him seated in his regall throne."
Ibid., p. 63, l. 58:
"And pull false *Henry* from the Regall throne."

(43) *True Tragedy*, p. 65, l. 3:
"Awaie with him, I will not heare him speake."
Ibid., p. 72, l. 50:
"Awaie, I will not heare them speake."

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Even though one rates evidence derived from parallel passages at its very lowest value, making every allowance for possible coincidence, I believe that the cumulative force of this long list of resemblances must go very near to proving identity of authorship between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and the plays of Marlowe. In the face of the number, complexity, and closeness of the parallels in the first list (nos. 1—28) Grant White's theory of mere accident seems now entirely indefensible. And reason argues hardly less strongly, I think, against the other alternative of conscious plagiarism. Marlowe, to be sure, was a much imitated writer. Yet it is notorious that none of the poet's imitators was ever able to raise his own style near enough to that of his model to prevent the presence of the stolen finery striking the attention of any careful reader. The probability of Marlowe's authorship of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* gains in force very considerably upon comparison of their Marlovian parallels with the conspicuous borrowings from *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus* in the pre-Shakespearean *Taming of a Shrew*.[1] The two cases are fundamentally different. The passages in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* which are reminiscent of accepted plays do not arouse attention in their contexts. In every instance they are homogeneous with the rest of the speeches in which they occur, and they illustrate the same habits of mind shown in the parallels between the genuine plays. On the other hand, the borrowings from Marlowe in the *Taming of a Shrew* are totally different in style from the rest of the play and incongruous with its spirit. Of this unevenness, indicating the presence of an alien mind, no trace is found in the dramas we are discussing.

A strong additional proof of the Marlovian quality of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* is implied in the list of parallels (nos. 29—43) occurring within those plays alone. Here no model was furnished by other plays of Marlowe. Yet the distinctive note of Marlowe's style seems clearly apparent in the more conspicuous of these passages, such as nos. 32, 33, 38, 39, 42: and the repetition of wording and idea is in these cases of precisely the same kind as that found in the parallels between the various accepted plays (a—j) and between those plays and ours (nos. 1—28). Here we have a state of affairs which seems quite unexplainable on any assumption of plagiarism. Even if we admit the possibility that another writer could imitate passages in Marlowe's plays with the delicate fidelity

[1] A detailed list of these parallels is given in Appendix I of Prof. Boas's edition of *The Taming of a Shrew*, 1908.

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to verse music and feeling, and yet with the perfect appropriateness to the new context which appear in examples 1–28, it seems utterly fantastic to imagine that this writer could then proceed to compose from his own mind other lines perfectly suggestive of Marlowe and to vary these original lines in precisely the manner in which he had varied those stolen from Marlowe. No poet, it may probably be said, who plagiarizes largely from another, will plagiarize from himself in the same manner and to the same relative extent. Yet no one, I think, can compare such parallels as those cited above in (b), (c), (d), in (6), (11), (17), and in (35), (38), (42) without feeling that in each case the same mind has been at work both in the original conception of the idea and in its later repetition. To conclude otherwise would be to assume that there existed, all unknown to history, an exact intellectual double to one of the most original and peculiar geniuses in English literature.

I believe that Marlowe's authorship of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* is sufficiently attested, in so far as the parallel passages bear upon the question, by what has been already said. There is, however, a further point which it seems improper to ignore, since it offers positive evidence in the same direction. It will have been observed that decidedly the greatest number of the resemblances between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and the canonical plays of Marlowe in the list given on pp. 164–169 refer to *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris*. Of the twenty-eight parallels there cited, fourteen concern the former play and nine the latter. The obvious inference from this is that these four dramas, all dealing with historical themes, were composed within relatively short limits of time. It is important to attempt to fix the precise sequence of the four plays in question, since the theory that an unidentified author imitated Marlowe in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* is tenable only on the assumption that the latter plays are subsequent to those from which they appear to borrow.

Some of the parallels offer evidence on this question. Wherever a passage appearing in two plays is naturally suggested by the context in one, while in the other it appears out of keeping or unnecessary to the argument, I think it may be assumed that the passage is original in the former instance and has been gratuitously introduced in the second either by a trick of the author's memory or by the conscious imitation of a later writer. Now, in regard to *The Massacre at Paris*, though the material for inference is rather scanty, the probabilities seem to favor the priority of that play to *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*. For example, the allusion to the

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" proud chariot's wheels " in the tenth parallel is perfectly natural in the context in which it appears in the *Massacre*. Guise is referring to Roman life in a carefully sustained simile:

> " As ancient Romanes ouer their Captiue Lords,
> So will I triumph ouer this wanton King,
> And he shall follow my proud Chariots wheeles."

In the case of the *Contention*, however, the allusion to the chariot is anachronistic and even absurd, for Humphrey is speaking, without any suggestion of figurative language, of his own wife and of the present time:

> " Sweete Nell, ill can thy noble minde abrooke
> The abject people gazing on thy face,
> *That earst did follow thy proud Chariot wheeles*,
> When thou didst ride in tryumph through the streetes."

May we not here feel reasonably sure that the picture of the Duchess Eleanor driving in triumph through fifteenth-century London streets in a proud chariot with the abject people following at her wheels is due to a mischievous freak of the poet's memory, which suddenly diverted his attention from the real subject and caused Humphrey's plain speech to end incongruously with the repetition of a remembered line from the *Massacre* and another from *Tamburlaine*?

There is one other parallel which seems likewise to suggest the earlier composition of the *Massacre*. When, near the close of that play, Dumaine says of his brother (l. 1122f.),

> " Sweet Duke of *Guise*, our prop to leane vpon,
> Now thou art dead, heere is no stay for vs,"

he is speaking only what the exigencies of the occasion justify, for the Guise's party is crushed and the speaker himself is at the moment threatened with death. However, when Edward repeats virtually the same words in the *True Tragedy* (p. 23, l. 45f.),

> " Sweet Duke of Yorke, our prop to leane vpon,
> Now thou art gone there is no hope for vs,"

they seem decidedly less appropriate to the speaker's situation, for Edward's emotion is merely personal sorrow at his father's death, and his very next speech shows that he is as far as possible from having lost political hope:

" His name that valiant Duke hath left with thee (*i. e.*, Richard), His chaire and Dukedome that remaines for me." (l. 56f.)

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The case is different with the parallels between our plays and *Edward II*. When Queen Margaret, enraged at the mild inassertiveness of Henry's character and the consequent predominance of Gloucester and his Duchess at the English court, exclaims to Suffolk (parallel 6):

> "I tell thee *Poull*, when thou didst runne at Tilt,
> And stolst away our Ladaies hearts in *France*,
> I thought King *Henry* had bene like to thee,
> Or else thou hadst not brought me out of *France*,"

the words are admirably adapted to the speaker's character and to the facts of history. The chroniclers all give special attention to the magnificent jousts in which Suffolk was the chief figure, both during his negotiations with the French king for Henry's marriage and later when he returned to France as Henry's representative to escort the new queen to England. The similar lines spoken by Edward II in his distress,

> "Tell *Isabell* the Queene, I lookt not thus,
> When for her sake I ran at Tilt in France,
> And there vnhorste the duke of *Cleremont*,"

add a desired touch of romance and pathos to the king's figure, but they seem to be quite unjustified by history. The words which naturally suggested themselves in connexion with Suffolk's knightly accomplishments seem to have been consciously repeated in order to lend an unhistoric charm to the personality of the hero of a later play. So far was Edward II really, at the time of his marriage with Isabella, from paralleling the chivalrous feats of Suffolk, that a very dark cloud was thrown over the wedding and coronation ceremonies (January, February, 1308) by the obvious degeneracy and effeminacy of the bridegroom.[1]

In the O'Neill passages, again, the *Contention* version (parallel 11) seems clearly the original, suggested by the historical sources and by dramatic propriety, while the similar lines in *Edward II* form a mere replica which, except for the recollection of the already written *Contention*, would have had nothing to suggest it. The name O'Neill was, indeed, very familiar to the English public of Marlowe's day in connexion with Irish disturbances because of the activities of "the great O'Neill," as Fabyan calls him, who was created Earl of Tyrone in 1543 after thrice invading the Pale. But the lines of the *Contention*,

[1] See Chalfant Robinson, "Was King Edward the Second a Degenerate?" *American Journal of Insanity*, 1910, p. 454 f.

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> " The wilde Onele my Lords, is vp in armes,
> With troupes of Irish Kernes that vncontrold,
> Doth plant themselves within the English pale,"

perfectly describe the situation at the time of the action of the play Henry O'Neill (d. 1489) was at this period a conspicuous figure in Irish affairs, and was officially recognized by England in 1459. The despatch of the Duke of York, in 1448, to quell the unrest in Ireland, the remarkable success of the Duke, and the consequent devotion of the Irish to his cause during the English civil wars were facts dwelt upon at considerable length by all the chroniclers, and they had an important bearing upon the fortunes of the Yorkist party. The similar lines in *Edward II*, on the other hand,

> " The wilde Onele, with swarmes of Irish Kernes,
> Liues vncontroulde within the English pale,"

must be regarded as a mere fabrication of the poet. No O'Neill, living at this period, is regognized by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Nor was there an Irish rebellion at the time when Gaveston was sent as governor to Ireland.[1]

Only four lines after the O'Neill passage in *Edward II*, Young Mortimer cites another evidence of Edward's misrule (l. 970 f.):

> " The hautie *Dane* commands the narrow seas,
> While in the harbor ride thy ships vnrigd."

Now history knows nothing, apparently, of any Danish interference with the English seas during Edward II's reign. But the corresponding line in the *True Tragedy* (parallel 16)

> " Sterne Fawconbridge commands the narrow seas"

alludes to a prominent actual character of the time and to an actual situation.

In these cases it would seem preposterous to believe that historically unfounded lines were needlessly invented by Marlowe in *Edward II*, and that these lines were then later found to fit precisely the historic facts presented in the Henry VI plays. The debt must lie the other way, as the evidence discussed on pages 159 and 160 also suggests.

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[1] *l. c.*, 1308/9. Later, in 1315, war broke out in connexion with Edward Bruce's attempt to gain the Irish crown, and the O'Neills appeared on his side (cf. T. F. Tout, *Political History of England, 1216—1377*, p. 270). At this time Gaveston had been dead three years.

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Thus, we get the following sequence of plays: *Massacre at Paris—Contention—True Tragedy—Edward II.* Once this order is accepted, the theory that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written by an imitator of Marlowe and not by Marlowe himself becomes indefensible, since upholders of that theory would be obliged to assume that the plagiarist first succeeded in introducing into the plays we are considering marvellous imitations of the spirit and language of Marlowe's earlier dramas, such as *Tamburlaine, The Jew of Malta,* and *The Massacre at Paris*; next that he himself composed other original passages conspicuously suggestive of Marlowe's hand; and then that Marlowe borrowed copiously from these passages in his later play of *Edward II.* By this theory, one would have to assume such a poetic identity between the two authors, each writing in the same style, and each stealing from the other in the same manner, that the two would constitute a kind of literary syndicate, To any one who considers Marlowe's striking individuality and his aloofness from all his dramatic contemporaries, no conception can well seem more extravagant.

5. Metrical evidence.

The imperfect state in which the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are preserved in the earliest editions of 1594/5 makes it impossible to apply metrical tests to the solution of the problem of authorship with even the doubtful authority which such tests possess in the case of the works of Shakespeare. Yet, after allowing for the inconclusiveness of this evidence, the results obtained by tabulating the various metrical criteria seem pretty strongly to suggest homogeneity of authorship between the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* and the Marlovian plays of about the same date, while they point yet more decisively to the fact that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* cannot have been written by the author of the new passages inserted in the revised *2* and *3 Henry VI.*

Blank verse, as written by Marlowe, is a definitely decasyllabic measure, in which the individual line is still unmistakeably the poetic unit. Marlowe, therefore, avoids run-on lines, in which the division of one verse from the next is obscured in the unity of sentence or paragraph; and double-ending lines, in which the normal ten-syllable measure is varied by the addition of a more or less strongly stressed eleventh syllable. These latter features, which give the impression of colloquial ease, grew steadily more conspicuous, as dramatic verse came in the later Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights to be regarded less as a medium for impassioned lyric declamation and more

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as a vehicle of real conversation. Run-on lines and double endings are far more frequent even in the earliest of Shakespeare's plays than in Marlowe's, and in the works of such Jacobean writers as Fletcher and Massinger they predominate to such an extent as to make the blank verse of these writers largely lose the quality of poetry and become, like much of Wordsworth's, mere measured prose. The change indicated is in great measure a regular evolution occasioned by a change in the purpose and tone of the drama from Marlowe's time to Fletcher's; and the stylistic peculiarities of Marlowe's verse are shared, to a certain extent, by several of the more impassioned writers of his age—by Kyd and Peele, for example. The discussion of the minutiæ of versification by which Marlowe's individual style can be distinguished even from that of his immediate contemporaries would be not altogether germane to the present subject, and would carry the inquiry unjustifiably far afield. I hope to prosecute this investigation in another place. For the present, I offer the statistics below as proving merely that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* cannot reasonably be regarded as the work of the author who wrote the additions to these plays in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, while fully agreeing with the theory that Marlowe wrote the first two plays and Shakespeare the additions.

One of the most striking characteristics of Marlowe's verse, an outgrowth of his tendency to emphasize the division of lines and his dislike of double endings, is the frequent appearance of two weak syllables in the final foot. This pyrrhic ending gives the verse a kind of dying fall which very markedly emphasizes its close. It also permits the avoidance of a double ending where words like "resolution" or "valiant" conclude the line. In such cases, Marlowe and the author of *Contention* and *True Tragedy* normally pronounce every possible syllable, making the line a regular pentameter, whereas Shakespeare and the author of the additions in *2* and *3 Henry VI* cause the fifth foot to close with the stressed antepenult of the word, and run the remaining "-tion" or "-iant" together as a single superfluous eleventh syllable. The ordinary Marlovian pronunciation is seen in the line:

"Before / we part / with our / posses- / si-on." (*Tamburlaine*, 340)

or

"Desirde / her more, / and waxt / outra- / gi-ous" (*Edward II*, 857)

The usual Shakespearean scansion, on the other hand, appears in the line (*Richard III*, I, 1, 18):

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" I that / am cur- / tail'd of / this fair / propor- / tion " Marlowe, writing this last line, would normally have omitted two of the syllables. " I, cur- / tail'd of / this fair / propor- / ti-on " or, " I that / am cur- / tail'd of / propor / ti-on " would represent the regular Marlovian rhythm.

Marlowe's avoidance of the eleventh syllable and his fondness for the pyrrhic fifth foot frequently led him to make trisyllables out of awkward final dissyllables such as " England " by the insertion of a colorless parasitic vowel before the liquid consonant. Thus, (*Edward II*, l. 581),

" But can- / not brooke / a night / grown mush- / (e)rump / (mush-room) "

This tendency is illustrated in the second line of a couplet which occurs twice in the *Contention* (p. 7, l. 145 ; p. 31, l. 35) :

> " Cold newes for me, for I had hope of *France,*
> *Even as / I have / of fer- / till Eng- / (e)land.*"

The rhythm of the italicized verse, quite characteristic of Marlowe, was clearly displeasing to the reviser, for in each of the corresponding lines in *2 Henry VI* he has altered the metrical flow according to his own principles of prosody. In the first instance (*2 Henry VI*, I, i, 239) he has made the last foot a regular iambus by the addition of a colorless monosyllable :

> " Even as / I have / of fer- / tile Eng- / land's *soil.*"

In the second case (*2 Henry VI*, III, i, 88), he has an eleven-syllable line :

> " As firm- / ly as / I hope / for fer- / tile Eng- / land."

Since no alteration of meaning is involved in these changes, and since the revised lines are not inherently more musical or more correct than the original, it is clear that the alteration illustrates the disagreement between the stylistic idiosyncracies of the two poets.

There are many other instances in which lines with the peculiar Marlovian rhythm in *Contention* and *True Tragedy* have been recast in *2* and *3 Henry VI* merely in order to avoid the pyrrhic final foot or in order to admit the eleventh-syllable mannerism of the reviser. In the following cases the revised form seems actually inferior to the older version :

Contention, p. 32, l. 100 :

> " Before / his legs / can beare / his bo- / die vp."

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2 Henry VI, III, i, 190:
" Before / his legs / be firm / to bear / his bo- / dy."
Contention, p. 37, l. 59:
" Of a- / shie sem- / blance, pale, / and blood- / (e)lesse."
2 Henry VI, III, ii, 162:
" Of a- / shy sem- / blance, mea- / gre, pale, / and blood- / less."
Contention, p. 38, l. 93:
" Blunt wit- / ted Lord, / igno- / ble in / thy words."
2 Henry VI, III, ii, 210:
" Blunt wit- / ted lord, / igno- / ble in / demea- / nour."
Contention, p. 57, l. 51:
" Did worke / me and / my land / such cru- / ell spight."
2 Henry IV, V, i, 70:
" That li- / ving wrought / me such / excee- / ding trou- / ble."
True Tragedy, p. 5, l. 55:
" My heart / for an- / ger breakes, / I can- / not speake."
3 Henry VI, I, i, 60:
" My heart / for an- / ger burns; / I can- / not brook / it."
True Tragedy, p. 49, l. 39:
" Whose wise- / dome was / a mir- / rour to / the world."
3 Henry VI, III, iii, 84:
"Whose wis- / dom was / a mir / ror to / the wis- / est."
Trve Tragedy, p. 62, l. 35:
" With what / secur' / ty we / maie doe / this thing."
3 Henry VI, IV, vii, 52:
" By what / safe means / the crown / may be / reco- / ver'd."
Trve Tragedy, p. 70, l. 22:
" Women / and chil- / dren of / so high / resolve."
3 Henry VI, V, iv, 50:
" Women / and chil- / dren of / so high / a cou- / rage."
Trve Tragedy, p. 76, i, 56:
" If a- / nie sparke / of life / remaine / in thee."
3 Henry VI, V, vi, 66:
" If a- / ny spark / of life / be yet / remai- / ning."

Of course, it is not to be supposed that Marlowe *never* wrote eleven-syllable lines or that the reviser (Shakespeare) *never* employed the pyrrhic fifth foot. The figures below would at once dispel such

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a notion. It seems quite clear, however, that the normal tendencies of the two writers were distinctly opposed as regards the use of these two metrical forms. The list which I have just given of ten-syllable lines in *Contention* and *True Tragedy* expanded into eleven-syllable lines in the revised plays might be greatly increased; but I have been unable to find even a single instance of the converse, where an eleven-syllable line in the original version has been recast as ten syllables.

There follows a list of the percentages of pyrrhic fifth feet, eleven-syllable lines, and run-on lines in three of Marlowe's later plays—*Edward II*, *The Massacre at Paris*, and *The Jew of Malta*; in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*; in those parts of *2* and *3 Henry VI* not found in the earlier plays or found there in essentially different form; and in Shakespeare's most closely connected play, *Richard III*.

	Percent pyrrhic fifth feet	Percent 11-syllable lines	Percent run-on lines	Total number of metrical lines
Contention	7—	4—	4+	1254
2 Henry VI (additional matter)	11—	14—	10	2148
True Tragedy	10	7	5	1865
3 Henry VI (additional matter)	8—	14—	$7^1/_2$	1550
Edward II	$13^1/_2$	$4^1/_3$	$6^2/_3$	2519
Massacre at Paris	14	2	$7^1/_4$	1039
Jew of Malta	18—	3	$10^1/_2$	1811
Richard III	9	19+	13+	3412

The evidence of this table is, on the whole, quite definite. In the small percentage of eleven-syllable lines (less than four percent and seven percent respectively) the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, even in their corrupted texts, agree closely with the undisputed plays of Marlowe, and are strikingly at variance with the additional matter of the 1623 edition (14 percent) and with *Richard III* (19 percent). In the work which I would attribute to Marlowe—to put the converse of what has just been said—the percentage of ten-syllable lines out of the total number scannable as pentameters, ranges from 98 percent in *The Massacre at Paris* to 93 percent in *The True Tragedy*. The average is well above 95 percent. In the additional matter of the *Henry VI* plays, however, the percentage of ten-syllable lines is only 86 and in *Richard III* only 81. So too, the percentage of pyrrhic fifth feet is in all the work ascribed

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to Marlowe considerably in excess of the percentage of eleven-syllable lines, whereas in all the work ascribed to Shakespeare the proportion is reversed. The ratio of run-on lines bears out the same division with two easily explainable irregularities. Normally Marlowe paused at the close of nearly every line even in his latest plays. In the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, only about five percent of the lines run on; in *Edward II* and *The Massacre at Paris* only about seven percent.[1] Shakespeare's percentage of run-on lines, however, even in so early a play as *Richard III*, is over thirteen. Apparently, therefore, we should expect something over the ten percent of run-on lines in the additional matter in *2 Henry VI*, and considerably more than the seven and a half percent of *3 Henry VI*. However, this exception is only superficial. The figures are based on the total number of lines added or materially altered in the 1623 edition, but the opportunity for the reviser to insert run-on lines occurred almost exclusively in new passages extending to several verses. In *3 Henry VI*, especially, the reviser's work consists very largely of single new lines, almost necessarily end-stopped, because not closely consecutive with the old matter; and of old lines rewritten, where the original pauses were for the most part retained. If the percentages of run-on lines in the supposedly Shakespearean part of *2* and *3 Henry VI* were based entirely upon the number of lines where the reviser had a fair opportunity of arranging verse pause according to his own ear, the proportion would be found very materially in excess of that given in the table.

The figures in the table contain, indeed, only one serious discrepancy. That occurs in the ratio of pyrrhic fifth feet in the *Contention* and in the additional matter of *2 Henry VI* respectively. Since Marlowe uses the mannerism in question much more frequently than Shakespeare, one would expect the percentages of seven for the *Contention* and eleven for the " new " matter to be reversed. Rules relating to metrical tests are doubtless particularly subject to exceptions, and it may be, of course, that the irregularity here is only accidental. It is worth noting, however, that this apparent discrepancy lends weight to the inference, which on other grounds amounts to practical certainty, that the 1254 lines printed in the *Contention* give a much abbreviated and corrupted version of Marlowe's manuscript, whereas the large number of new and altered

[1] It seems almost certain that the relatively high percentage of run-on lines in *The Jew of Malta* is due to the serious alteration which that play suffered between Marlowe's death and its publication in 1633.

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lines in *2 Henry VI* (2148) include not only Shakespeare's revisions, but also a very considerable amount of original matter not represented in the *Contention*.[1]

6. How far do the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* represent Marlowe's original text?

In the last section it was suggested that, although the evidence of metre in general strongly confirms the idea that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* were written by Marlowe and altered by Shakespeare into *2* and *3 Henry VI*, at least one metrical consideration indicates that Marlowe's share in the performance is not wholly represented in the 1594/5 text. Evidence of another kind, now to be discussed, points in the same direction, justifying the assumption that the 1623 version of the plays, besides including for the first time the alterations of Shakespeare, also represented a purer and more complete copy of the Marlovian work than Millington, the publisher of the 1594/5 quartos, was able to acquire.

Though there appears not a shadow of likelihood of collaboration in the original composition of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, there is a practical certainty of contamination of Marlowe's text. No intelligent reader will probably desire to hold so careful a metrist as Marlowe responsible for the five percent, or more, of totally unscannable lines in *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, or for the three percent in *The Massacre at Paris* and four percent in *The Jew of Malta*. Moreover, since it is known that inferior matter, not by Marlowe, was injected into *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*, subsequent to their original composition, is it not impossible that spurious scenes may have been added to the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* even before they were revised by Shakespeare.

The unusual excellence of the Folio text of Shakespeare's plays inclines us to estimate too highly the accuracy of the extant versions of the works of other dramatists of the period. Shakespeare's practical connexion with the company that acted his plays was productive to the poet of many benefits, both literary and temporal. Among others, it protected the acting version of his plays from outside interference, made sure that such changes as might from time to time become commercially desirable should during his life be made by the poet himself, and after his death procured the careful editing of the genuine texts by those who knew most about them. Thus Shakespeare's position in his company and the friendly services of his

[1] For a further discussion of this point, see pp. 184—188.

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" fellows," Hemings and Condell gained for his works the same textual purity which Ben Jonson obtained by the unusual expedient of personal revision and publication.

With the dramas of Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, and other popular writers not connected with particular companies, the case is very different. For these poets the power of ensuring the form of their productions ceased when the plays were once sold to an acting company. Yet a popular play was likely to need frequent renovation in the eyes of the company's manager, and the latter would be likely to turn the manuscript over for revision to some hack in his employ—often, doubtless, to one incapable of appreciating the purposes of the original poet. Moreover, there was small chance that a valuable stage play would reach the press even in the modified form in which the actors presented it; for the companies certainly frowned on publication. Therefore, a very large number of the dramas of Marlowe and his contemporaries were printed surreptitiously from damaged, imperfect, or superseded drafts less authoritative even than the playhouse copies.

In the case of no play of Marlowe, not even in the case of *Edward II*, which is least corrupt, can we feel assurance that there has survived a text based upon the author's original manuscript and comparable in authority with the texts of the Shakespeare and Jonson Folios. The *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are particularly imperfect. The dubious authenticity of the printed text should, therefore, be kept in mind lest the occasional degeneration of the poetry into rank doggerel or the sudden weakening of the dialogue be given undue weight in judging the plays. It is largely on the basis of this textual impurity that the theory of double or triple authorship of our plays has arisen, the tendency being to ascribe to one poet what has survived more or less in its original state, while assigning to another whatever the theatrical manipulator and the printer's devil have united in deforming.

Several parallels to passages in Marlowe's accepted dramas occur in lines of *2* and *3 Henry VI* not found in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* versions:

2 Henry VI, I, ii, 15 f.:

" And never more abase our sight so low
As to vouchsafe one glance unto the ground."

Edward II, l. 879 f.:

" Whose mounting thoughts did never creepe so low,
As to bestow a looke on such as you."

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2 Henry VI, I, iii, 83:

"She bears a duke's revenues on her back." [1]

Edward II, l. 704:

"He weares a lords revenewe on his back."

3 Henry VI, I, ii, 28–31:

"And, father, do but think
How sweet a thing it is to wear a crown,
Within whose circuit is Elysium,
And all that poets feign of bliss and joy."

Tamburlaine, ll. 763–765:

"I thinke the pleasure they enioy in heaven
Can not compare with kingly ioyes in earth,
To weare a Crowne enchac'd with pearle and golde."

Ibid., ll. 863, 879 f.:

"The thirst of raigne and sweetnes of a crowne—
. . . . . .
That perfect blisse and sole felicitie,
The sweet fruition of an earthly crowne."

3 Henry VI, II, iii, 56:

"Forslow no longer; make we hence amain."

Edward II, l. 1138:

"Forslowe no time, sweet Lancaster, lets march."

3 Henry VI, II, v, 14 f.:

"These arms of mine shall be thy winding-sheet;
My heart, sweet boy, shall be thy sepulchre."

Jew of Malta, l. 1192:

"These armes of mine shall be thy Sepulchre."

There would thus seem, on *prima facie* evidence and on the testimony of parallels, very good reason to believe that Millington's version of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, printed in 1594/5, gave a corrupt text of the plays and omitted certain passages belonging to Marlowe's original draft. This suspicion is rendered almost a certainty when we consider the intermediate version printed by Pavier in 1619. In the preceding pages there has been little occasion to mention Pavier's edition, which inherently possesses very small

[1] See p. 187.

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importance. No just ground exists for supposing either that this edition represents an independent recension of the plays or that it includes any of Shakespeare's alterations. Pavier doubtless used as basis for his printer's "copy" the text of Millington, of which the copyright was in his possession. In the case of the *Contention*, he increased the total number of lines by some eight or ten; in the *True Tragedy* he added two new lines, but omitted, presumably by accident, two of the old ones. In the main essentials, however, the text of Pavier is the text of Millington; and the failure of the former to make use of the hundreds of new lines by Shakespeare, in spite of his fraudulent insertion of Shakespeare's name on the title-page, is conclusive evidence that he had no access to the Shakespearean version of the dramas.

Yet Pavier's edition is not a mere reprint of either of Millington's, as Millington's 1600 edition is a reprint of his 1594/5 text. Four brief passages in the *Contention* are given by Pavier in rather longer and more satisfactory form, and about two hundred distinct changes of word or phrase occur through the two parts, exclusive of mere correction of misprints and variation of spelling. A careful list of the variant readings of ed. 1619 will be found in the introductions to the Praetorius facsimiles of the *Whole Contention* (1886). Study of these variants makes it clear that Pavier's edition, though mainly based on Millington's, must have had also another source independent both of the Millington quartos and of the Shakespearean version of the plays. Thus, in the four passages of the *Contention*, previously mentioned, where ed. 1619 notably amplifies the text of 1594, the later edition often approaches comparatively close to the version of 1623. Yet it is quite certain that ed. 1619 cannot here be merely a corrupted rendering of the Shakespearean text, for it contains matter not found in either of the other versions. For example, in York's list of the descendants of Edward III (*2 Henry VI*, II, ii, 9 ff.), the 1623 Folio differs very radically from the quarto of 1594; and the 1619 text, while agreeing in places with each of the others, is in some respects quite independent of both. The progeny of the Black Prince is fully stated by ed. 1619 alone (*Facsimile*, p. 231): "Now *Edward* the blacke Prince dyed before his Father, leaving behinde him two sonnes, *Edward* borne at *Angolesme*, who died young, and *Richard* that was after crowned King, by the name of *Richard* the second."[1] This Edward of Angoulême, though duly

[1] The suggestion that Edward of Angoulême survived his father is, of course, incorrect.

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mentioned by Holinshed, is entirely ignored in both the other versions of the play.

In this same passage, ed. 1619 reverses the order of Edward III's sixth and seventh sons, as given in the other versions. Both in the *Contention* and again in the *True Tragedy*, the 1619 edition adds a line, apparently quite genuine, which does not appear elsewhere.[1] It prints in the obviously correct sequence another line, clearly misplaced in the edition of 1594 and entirely omitted in that of 1623 (Part I of *Whole Contention*, p. 34, fifth line from top of page):

"And burnes and spoiles the Country as they go."

Moreover, it inserts for the first time one of the lines found in the 1623 version, but not in that of Millington, which verbal resemblance to *Edward II* would indicate to be of Marlowe's composition (Part I of *Whole Contention*, p. 12):

"She beares a Dukes whole revennewes on her backe."[2]

The only reasonable conclusion from the state of the 1619 text seems to be that Pavier, who shows no acquaintance whatever with any of the characteristically Shakespearean alterations in the plays, did have access to some version of the Marlovian text different in a number of particulars from that printed by Millington. Since the influence of this other version tends on the whole to bring Pavier's edition closer than Millington's to that of 1623, we are doubtless justified in inferring that the discrepancy between Marlowe's original and the version of Shakespeare was less broad than the text of the Millington quartos would suggest.

It is by no means to be supposed, I think, that all the necessary corrections of the Millington text, or even all the better readings accessible to Pavier in manuscript, are embodied in the 1619 edition. The chief value of that edition lies merely in the fact that it furnishes a rough measure of the inaccuracy of the earlier quartos, and proves the existence of some other source independent of the two important printed versions of 1594/5 and 1623. That Pavier made full use of

[1] The new lines are those italicized in the following passages: Part I of *Whole Contention*, p. 35,

"Vnder the title of Iohn Mortimer,
(*For he is like him every kinde of way*)" and

Part II of *Whole Contention*, p. 62,

"For I will buz abroad such Prophesies
Vnder pretence of outward seeming ill."

[2] See p. 185.

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that source is highly improbable, since he seems clearly to have printed from one of Millington's editions, merely correcting that text here and there from the results of an inattentive collation of the manuscript. It is worth noting that extensive changes in ed. 1619 appear only in the first two acts of the earlier play (the *Contention*). For all the rest of the work of collator seems to have contented himself with the insertion of one or two omitted lines and the alteration of an occasional single word, doubtless marking his corrections in the margin of a copy of Millington's text as he glanced carelessly through the manuscript.

II. The Greene-Peele Myth.

Near the close of Robert Greene's last work, *Greens Groats-worth of Wit, bought with a Million of Repentance*, is printed a letter addressed "To those Gentlemen, his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making Plaies." Upon a complete misinterpretation of this passage, which altogether extends to about three pages, is based alone the current idea that Greene and Peele had a concern, along with Marlowe, in the earlier version of *2* and *3 Henry VI*. Here, as in so many other cases, interest in an entirely incidental, though important, allusion to Shakespeare has tended to blind readers to the true significance of the document, and has led to wholly unfounded conclusions.

Greene's main purpose is, indeed, made sufficiently clear in the heading. To his former acquaintances, who, like Greene, "spend their wits in making plays" and of whom three are specifically addressed, Greene wishes "a better exercise," that is, a more profitable occupation and the avoidance thereby of the extremities brought upon the writer, as he asserts, by his connection with the ungrateful trade of playwright. The purpose, therefore, of these last words, written by Greene in his poverty and sickness, was not, as it is generally explained, the expression of a mean-spirited grudge against Shakespeare because of a paltry piece of borrowing by that poet. The purpose was rather the arraignment of the very unfair relations existing in Greene's day between the writers of plays, nearly always dependent and necessitous, and the prosperous actors who built their fortunes upon the ill-paid product of the others' genius. The allusion to Shakespeare, which has so much distorted the view of critics, is quite subordinate, and it certainly does not contain the slightest possible suggestion that Shakespeare had plagiarized from Greene, either in *Henry VI* or elsewhere.

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It is generally agreed—rightly, I think—that the three authors addressed by Greene in the passage under discussion are first Marlowe, "famous gracer of Tragedians," whose supposed atheism and Machiavellianism are dwelt upon in rather malicious manner; then Nash, "young Iuvenall, that byting Satyrist, that lastlie with mee together writ a Comedie"; and finally Peele. The address to the last and the general admonition which follows must be quoted entire, since they include the pith of the letter:

"And thou no lesse deseruing then the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour; driuen (as my selfe) to extreame shifts; a little haue I to say to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oth, I would sweare by sweet S. George, thou art unworthie better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay. Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned; for unto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleaue: those Puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they al haue beene beholding: is it not like that you, to whome they all haue beene beholding, shall (were ye in the case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not: for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Iohannes factotum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses; & let these Apes imitate your past excellence, and neuer more acquaint them with your admired inventions. I know the best husband of you all wil neuer proue an Vsurer, and the kindest of them all wil neuer prooue a kinde nurse: yet, whilst you may, seeke you better Maisters; for it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subject to the pleasures of such rude groomes."[1]

The "extreame shifts" to which Peele was driven by his poverty were notorious in his day and furnished the subject of many contemporary anecdotes.[2] Greene's comment is pointed enough: "thou art unworthie better hap, sith thou dependest on so meane a stay"; namely, on the sorry recompense offered by the players to their poets. Base-minded men, he goes on, they must all be if they are not warned by Greene's misery, for none of them has been so much solicited in the past as Greene, by "those burres . . . those Puppits

[1] *Shakspere Allusion-Books, Part I*, ed. C. M. Ingleby, 1874, p. 29—31.

[2] Cf. *The Merrie conceited Jests of George Peele, Gent.*, 1607.

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that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours;" that is, by the actors in search of dramatic material. Is it not likely that the other poets, in spite of their services to the ungrateful companies, will in the end be forsaken, like Greene, in their extremities. Here Greene, in his anger, cites another cause for distrust of the actors: " Yes, trust them not for there is an vpstart Crow, beautified with our feathers (*i. e.*, a presumptuous actor who makes his fortune by repeating our lines) that with his *Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you: and being an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrie."

That the allusion here is to Shakespeare is unmistakeable; but the charge which Greene brings against him is not that of plagiarism. Greene is moved merely by pique that this upstart player, accustomed to make his profit out of the ill-paid labors of the poets, should now add insult to injury by venturing to enter the ranks of dramatic authors and thus attempting to prove himself an absolute *Iohannes fac totum*. The line, " Tygers heart wrapt in a Players hide," is clearly a parody of " Oh Tygers hart wrapt in a womans hide " in the *True Tragedy*[1] and seems to have pertinence only if we assume Shakespeare's revision of the play in question already to have been made. Similarly, the next clause, " supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you," indicates that Johannes-fac-totum had definitely put his blank verse rendering of the play into competition with that of " the best " of the poets addressed by Greene (*viz.*, Marlowe?). For even a hint, however, that Greene or Peele was connected in any way with the work quoted the reader must look in vain. The very use of the second person of the pronoun, rather than the first, in the phrase, " as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of *you*," shows, it seems to me, that Greene did not feel himself included in the challenge involved in the actor-poet's revisionary work.

After this not unnatural excursus upon the effrontery of an individual actor who had dared in his revision of the Henry VI plays to match his blank verse against that of the best of the professional poets, Greene returns to his main theme: the unprofitableness of the playwright's career: " O that I might intreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses (*i. e.*, that I might entreat you to employ your genius in more lucrative undertakings than play-writing) & let these Apes (the actors) imitate your past

[1] Facsimile of *True Tragedy*, 1891, p. 20, l. 122; *3 Henry VI*, I, iv, 137.

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excellence (act your old plays), and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions (refrain for the future from writing for the stage). "I know," Greene continues, "the best husband of you all will neuer proue an Vsurer, and the kindest of them all wil neuer prooue a kinde nurse; yet, whilst you may seeke you better Maisters; for it is pittie men of such rare wits should be subject to the pleasures of such rude groomes."

Considerable injustice has been done to Greene in the prevailing interpretation of this passage.[1] A certain malice appears, to be sure, in the address to Marlowe, and there is open hostility in the allusion to Shakespeare—hostility directed in the latter instance rather against the actor than the poet. In general, however, Greene's letter, instead of voicing petty literary spite and unfounded charges of plagiarism, expresses a manly denunciation of one of the cruelest injustices of Elizabethan life: the heart-breaking and pauperizing subservience of the dramatic poets to the managers of theatrical companies. The genuineness of the grievance against which the dying Greene inveighs is illustrated not only by the cases cited by the writer—that of Peele and of Greene himself—but even more pathetically in the detailed sketch which Henslowe's Diary gives of the straitened lives of that penurious manager's employes, Chettle and Dekker.

Greene's letter bears upon the *True Tragedy*, and inferentially upon the *Contention*, only in so far as it suggests that Shakespeare's revision of these pieces had already been completed at the time of Greene's death (September, 1592), and in so far as it seems to indicate more remotely that the original author was Marlowe. No hint whatever of Peele's connexion with the plays occurs and Greene's connexion appears to be positively disclaimed by the wording of the passage. No accusation of plagiarism is brought against Shakespeare. Such a charge would, indeed, have been absurd in view

[1] Apparently Malone in his *Dissertation on King Henry VI* (Boswell's Malone, vol. xviii, p. 570 ff.) first concluded from the *Groatsworth of Wit* that Shakespeare had plagiarized from Greene and Peele. Tyrwhitt (cf. Boswell's Malone, same volume, p. 551 f.) had previously called attention to the passage in question, but only as proving that Shakespeare was author of the Henry VI plays and that "they had, at the time of their appearance, a sufficient degree of excellence to alarm the jealousy of the older playwrights." The interpretation which I have attempted to give I find to be partially anticipated in a brief note by Richard Simpson (*The Academy*, Apr. 4, 1874) and in Ingleby's correction of Simpson's view, p. xi of General Introduction to *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, Part I (1874).

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of the facts; for an author hired by one theatrical company to revise a play manuscript acquired from another company could in Greene's time no more be held guilty of plagiarizing from the original writer than could to-day the poet who adapted for the stage another man's novel after the acting rights had been sold. Greene's real accusation against Shakespeare is quite the reverse. Instead of charging him with slavish imitation, he derides his effrontery in essaying too boldly to match his verse, tyro and mechanical as he was, against that of the leading professional dramatist of the day. We shall see, in comparing the earlier and later versions of the plays, that it is precisely this feature, the independence with which Shakespeare alters both the metre and the thought of Marlowe, that distinguishes the later poet's work.

The arguments by which successive critics have sought to support the idea of Greene's and Peele's interest in *Henry VI*, falsely deduced from the passage just considered, are admitted to be of the most insubstantial nature, and they fall with the fall of the preconception which avowedly suggested them. Grant White laid an absurd stress upon the appearance in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* of the idiom *for to* in infinitive phrases, erroneously asserting that this idiom was a peculiar mark of Greene's style never employed by Marlowe or Shakespeare. Miss Lee, herself an advocate of the Greene theory, admits that *for to*, which occurs five times in the *Contention* and four times in the *True Tragedy*, occurs also in Shakespeare and in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, *Doctor Faustus*, and *Massacre at Paris*. In the last play alone I find six instances.[1] Miss Lee mentions examples from *The Winter's Tale*, *Pericles*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Titus Andronicus*, and the older (1603) version of *Hamlet*. In regard to the last play, it is noteworthy that the earlier *for to* is twice altered in the later version into the normal *to*. The fact is that the old use of *for to* as sign of the infinitive was still generally current at the end of the sixteenth century, but had come to be regarded as slip-shod. Greene, a careless writer, employs it frequently. Marlowe and Shakespeare also use it frequently in their rougher works, but tend to eliminate it upon revision.

The only other evidence even speciously favorable to the theory of Greene's partial authorship of our plays is, I think, the circumstance that " mightie Abradas, the great Masadonian Pyrate," mentioned in the *Contention* (Facsimile, p. 44, l. 51), is mentioned also

[1] Ll. 518, 559, 1033, 1120, 1131, 1260. White, indeed, himself admitted that his theory broke down in the case of this play.

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in Greene's prose work, *Penelope's Web*,[1] but not, apparently, in any other Elizabethan author. *Henry VI*, Part II (IV, i, 108) alters the name to "Bargulus, the strong Illyrian pirate." In deciding a question of authorship between Marlowe and Greene, who, after the same kind of school training, had passed through the same Cambridge career at about the same time, no small piece of classic or pseudo-classic learning can safely be held to be the peculiar possession of either. Whatever Greene knew about Abradas he is likely to have learned at Cambridge, where it is improbable that Marlowe failed to gain precisely the same knowledge from the same source.

I believe that no value whatever attaches to the other putative evidence laboriously collected by Miss Lee and her predecessors: the facts, namely, that Greene as well as Marlowe uses words like *countervail* and *eternize*, which are found in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*; and that four passages in these plays, of which two are closely paralleled in Marlowe, are remotely similar to passages in Greene. Miss Lee is herself careful to avow the small stress she lays upon such arguments.[2] Indeed, the reading of her pages tends to convince one the more strongly of the entire baselessness of the Greene theory, as one observes what perfectly negligible results have been attained by the most diligent inquiry backed by fervent belief on the part of the investigator.

It is not enough to say that there is absolutely no proof of Greene's concern in the plays under consideration. There is the strongest reason against believing that Greene collaborated with Marlowe at any time. Though the latter is naturally included in the group of scholar-poets to whom Greene's letter is addressed, the tone of the words concerning Marlowe is covertly hostile. We know from the apology of Greene's executor, Chettle, in his Epistle to the Gentlemen Readers of *Kind-Harts Dreame* that Marlowe as well as Shakespeare resented Greene's letter and made his resentment known. Four years before the composition of the *Groatsworth of Wit*, in the preface to *Perimedes the Blacksmith* (1588), Greene had attacked Marlowe yet more openly:

"I keepe my old course, to palter up some thing in Prose, using mine old poesie still, *Omne tulit punctum*, although latelye two Gentle-

[1] "Abradas the great Macedonian Pirat thought every one had a letter of mart that bare sayles in the Ocean," Greene's Works, ed. Grosart, vol.v, p. 197. The entire passage is repeated verbatim in Greene's *Menaphon*, vol. vi, p. 77 f. of Grosart's ed.

[2] *Transactions New Shakspere Society*, p. 245.

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men Poets made two madmen of Rome beate it out of their paper bucklers, & had it in derision, for that I could not make my verses iet upon the stage in tragicall buskins, euerie worde filling the mouth like the fa burden of Bo-Bell, daring God out of heaven with that Atheist *Tamburlan*, or blaspheming with the mad preest of the sonne." [1]

On Marlowe's side we have no open expression of such early hostility to Greene, but it is easy to guess that he cannot have relished Greene's plagiarism of *Tamburlaine* in *Alphonsvs of Arragon* and *Orlando Furioso* or his clear attempt to cap the success of *Doctor Faustus* in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. Everything indicates that the unfriendliness between Greene and Marlowe was permanent through the entire period, 1588–1592, and it seems out of the question that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, both certainly composed within this period, can have been the result of a friendly alliance between the two poets.

Apart from the state of Marlowe's personal relations with Greene, it seems quite unlikely that the former poet can have collaborated in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* with any writer of his day. Marlowe appears to have worked alone. His genius was not of the character which seeks the assistance and companionship of other men. Except in the case of *Dido*, ascribed on the title-page to Marlowe and Nash, there is no reason to suppose that any other poet was concerned in the original draft of any of Marlowe's works. And even *Dido* bears the stamp of Marlowe's hand so wholly, that editors both of Nash and of Marlowe find difficulty in imagining it the result of a real partnership, preferring on the whole to conclude that Nash had merely a subsequent interest in the play as reviser after Marlowe's death.

It may very safely be said, therefore, I think, that all the evidence at present accessible strongly supports the inference that the original version of *2* and *3 Henry VI*, somewhat imperfectly represented in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, was written by Marlowe alone.

III. Shakespeare's Revision of Marlowe's Work.

The student who compares the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* with the Folio text of *2* and *3 Henry VI* will perceive one of the most conspicuous indications of diverse authorship in the character of King Henry as it appears in the two versions. In the earlier plays

[1] *Greene's Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. vii, p. 7, 8.

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the king is presented as an amiable weakling of the type of Mycetes in *Tamburlaine*. Nothing, I think, in the personality here displayed attracts the attention of the reader, or suggests special interest on the author's part. The negative virtues of humility and irresolute conscientiousness made little appeal to Marlowe's soaring imagination. Thvs, the pious Henry is depicted in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, without insight or sympathy, as a mere foil to bring out the more positive and more evil characters of those who seek to rule or overthrow him.

In the texts printed in the Shakespeare Folio the impression made by this figure is not only vastly deeper; it is also quite different in kind. For the first time Henry becomes important by virtue of the qualities which he possesses rather than because of those he lacks. The view of life back of this later treatment of the king's character is the impartial, judicial view illustrated by Shakespeare a little later in the careful balancing of Bolingbroke against Richard II. It involves an outlook quite foreign to the partisan view-point of Marlowe.

The change in Henry's character, tending to add vividness and poetic charm to the dry stock of Marlowe, is observable almost from the very start of *2 Henry VI*. The first scene of Act II of that play, though otherwise not notably different from the corresponding scene in the *Contention*,[1] increases the lines given to Henry by fifty percent and makes the king's words for the first time significant. In the earlier version of the scene, Henry's speeches are nearly all dull, reflecting no spark of sympathy on the author's part; but in *2 Henry II* there appears a vein of the rich meditative wisdom which endears to vs the figure of the equally incapable Richard II. With hardly an exception, the new lines are conspicuous for poetic and philosophic value; *e. g.*,

> "To see how God in all his creatures works!
> Yea man and birds are fain of climbing high"; l. 7 f.)
>
> Heaven, "The treasury of everlasting joy"; (l. 18)
>
> "How irksome is this music to my heart!
> When such strings jar, what hope of harmony?" (l. 56 f.)
>
> "Now God be prais'd that to believing souls
> Gives light in darkness, comfort in despair!" (66 f.)

[1] In the *Contention* this scene contains 171 lines; in *2 Henry VI* it contains 203. The added lines are almost exclusively those given to King Henry.

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" Great is his comfort in this earthly vale,
Although by his sight his sin be multiplied " ; (l. 70 f.)

" O God! seest thou this, and bearst so long' " (l. 153)

" O God! what mischiefs work the wicked ones,
Heaping confusion on their own heads thereby " ; (l. 184 f.)

" And poise the cause in justice' equal scales,
Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails." (202 f.)

These lines, found only in the revised scene, are strikingly at variance with the bald insipidities of Henry's speeches in the *Contention*. They mark the presence of a mind to which was revealed, behind the practical incompetence of the monarch, a counterbalancing wealth of moral and poetic feeling entirely unpercieved by the original author.

The same new-birth of sympathy for the king is conspicuous in the scene where Duke Humphrey is arraigned (*2 Henry VI*, III, i). Marlowe's version of this passage, in the *Contention*, treats Henry with open contempt. He is allowed to speak only twelve detached lines expressive of his total inability to cope with the situation or even to comprehend it. Shakespeare's version still depicts the king as weak, of course; but it no longer presents him as a mere puppet. Whereas the *Contention* permits Margaret and Suffolk to slander Duke Humphrey without a word of protest from the passive ruler, the 1623 text inserts a fine sympathetic speech admirably expressive of Henry's shy timidity before his headstrong peers and of his innate feeling for righteousness (*2 Henry VI*, III, 1, 66–73):

" My lords, at once: the care you have of us,
To mow down thorns that would annoy our foot,
Is worthy praise; but shall I speak my conscience,
Our kinsman Gloucester is as innocent
From meaning treason to our royal person,
As is the sucking lamb or harmless dove.
The duke is virtuous, mild, and too well given
To dream on evil, or to work my downfall."

Unconvinced, the protesting king is simply talked down by Margaret. Later in the scene, when Humphrey is formally accused and led away by the Cardinal's men, the king goes out, leaving the Queen and her counselors to do as they please. Marlowe here gives Henry only three bare lines in which to speak his feeble sorrow (*Contention*, p. 33, l. 109–111):

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"I, Margaret. My heart is kild with griefe,
Where I may sit and sigh in endlesse mone,
For who's a Traitor, Gloster he is none."[1]

The Folio version, on the other hand, assigns the king twenty-five lines of fine poetry, written in the unmistakeable strain of the young Shakespeare, and calculated to enlist the audience's sympathy with the speaker (*2 Henry VI*, III, i, 198–222):

"Ay, Margaret; my heart is drown'd with grief,
Whose flood begins to flow within mine eyes,
My body round engirt with misery,
For what's more miserable than discontent?
Ah! uncle Humphrey, in thy face I see
The map of honuor, truth, and loyalty;
And yet, good Humphrey, is the hour to come
That e'er I prov'd thee false, or fear'd thy faith.
What low'ring star now envies thy estate,
That these great lords, and Margaret our queen,
Do seek subversion of thy harmless life?
Thou never didst them wrong, nor no man wrong;
And as the butcher takes away the calf,
And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,
Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house,
Even so, remorseless, have they borne him hence;
And as the dam runs lowing up and down,
Looking the way her harmless young one went,
And can do nought but wail her darling's loss;
Even so myself bewails good Gloucester's case,
With sad unhelpful tears, and with dimm'd eyes
Look after him, and cannot do him good;
So mighty are his vowed enemies.
His fortunes I will weep; and, twixt each groan,
Say 'Who's a traitor, Gloucester he is none.'"

This fairmindedness, which impels the poet to see two sides of the situation, and to sympathize with the claims of the feebler personality, is the most notable contribution made by Shakespeare to the psychology of the plays. It not only makes Henry VI's character for the first time worthy of consideration as it appears in the Shake-

[1] As the sense is not quite consecutive, it is possible that a line may have been lost between the first and second verses of this speech. The 1619 edition makes no correction.

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spearean revision. It adds also very notably to the pathos and attractiveness of the good Duke Humphrey. In Marlowe's strenuous philosophy of life, nothing succeeded like success. Genial and sympathetic as was the character of the Duke in the chronicles, the *Contention* has a decided tendency to slight the treatment of this representative of defeated magnanimity in the ardent interest with which the play follows the rising fortunes of Humphrey's rivals, Margaret, Suffolk, and York. The 1623 version does much more justice to the claims of Humphrey's personality, thus broadening the humanity of the work, and reflecting again that impartiality in the judgment of character, which from the first made Shakespeare's equipment as a dramatist superior to Marlowe's.

Otherwise, it can hardly be held that Shakespeare's adaptation greatly enriched the plays we are discussing either in plot or in portraiture. Within the narrow psychological province where Marlowe's genius was at its best—in the depicting of evil ambition—Shakespeare was in 1592 only a pupil, and he seems to have been content to leave the outlines of the great figures of York, Suffolk, Margaret, Warwick, and Richard as he found them. Certainly the minor alterations which he admitted were quite insufficient in all these cases to obscure the deep impression of Marlowe's original sketch. So, too, the plot of *2* and *3 Henry VI* hinges upon the particular kind of interest which Marlowe read into the story of the chroniclers; and, though Shakespeare, as befitted the professional actor, occasionally rearranged the old scenes in the interests of practical stage-craft—notably in the case of scenes ii—vii of Act IV of *3 Henry VI*—he did not essentially affect the general method or tone of his models.

Thus, the reader of the later version should bear in mind that, with the rather unimportant exceptions just mentioned, the second and third parts of *Henry VI* represent the ideas and the dramatic theory of Marlowe, though about half the actual lines printed in the 1623 Folio may be due either to the independent composition or to the careful re-writing of Shakespeare.

Enough has probably been said in other connexions to refute the unfounded hypothesis of Miss Lee that Shakespeare was assisted by Marlowe in his revision. To assume that either Marlowe or Shakespeare was concerned with these plays in more than one of the phases of their evolution is merely to set up a conjecture, unsupported by fact or likelihood, for the purpose of needlessly involving the question of authorship. No known circumstance in the life of either poet suggests the possibility of collaboration between

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Shakespeare and Marlowe at any time; and the great difference both between the careers of the two authors and between the circles in which they moved would make very definite evidence necessary to the proof of so unlikely a connexion. As regards the present question, it would seem particularly improbable that Marlowe, at the height of his fame, should have condescended to rewrite two of his plays under the direction of a young player belonging to a company with which Marlowe can hardly be shown ever to have had business relations.[1] And, on the other hand, there appears no shadow of reason why Shakespeare's company, having one of their own number able to make all the changes required, should have gone to the trouble and expense of hiring a great unattached poet to add what admittedly can have been only a small proportion of the new passages. Collaboration, of course, did exist in Shakespeare's time among the numerous hacks in the regular employ of Henslowe, where it was natural and easily arranged; but Marlowe never belonged to that band of hacks, and there is good reason against believing that Shakespeare or Shakespeare's company ever approved the practice.

It has been indicated, however, that Marlowe's complete work cannot safely be assumed to exist in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* texts. The latter plays appear rather to be bad copies of acting versions, themselves perhaps abbreviated. Shakespeare's revision was made two or three years before the publication of the *Contention* and *Ture Tragedy*, and it was certainly based upon a purer text than that given in Millington's quartos—not improbably upon the very manuscript originally sold by Marlowe to Lord Pembroke's Company. In considering the additional passages found in the 1623 Folio, it is a somewhat delicate matter to discriminate between passages belonging to the original Marlovian plays, but misrepresented or omitted by Millington, and newer passages which embody the revision of Shakespeare.

In a few instances it is clear that the 1623 edition is merely giving the accurate text of Marlowe, where the earlier version prints a corrupt reading. Thus, in *3 Henry VI, III.* iii, 97, the line, "And not bewray thy treason with a blush," is obviously what Marlowe wrote, though the *True Tragedy* text, by omitting the necessary "not", destroys the sense. In IV, iii, 31 f. of the same play,

[1] Henslowe's Diary, indeed, shows that *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris* were acted by Lord Strange's Men in 1592/93. Both plays, however, were also acted by other companies with which Henslowe happened to be connected, and it seems doubtful whether either belonged in the first instance to the Strange Company.

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" When you disgrac'd me in my embassade,
Then I degraded you from being king,"

it seems again probable that Shakespeare preserves Marlowe's text, and that the appearance of " disgraste," instead of " degraded " in the True Tragedy (p. 58, l. 33) is due to the 1595 printer's inadvertent repetition of the word used in the previous line.

In Act V, scene iii, of *3 Henry VI* (ll. 4–6) we read

" I spy a black, suspicious, threat'ning cloud,
That will encounter with our glorious sun,
Ere he attain his easeful western bed;"

whereas the *True Tragedy* version gives (p. 69, l. 6–8):

" I see a blacke suspitious cloud appeare,
That will encounter with our glorious sunne
Before he gaine his easefull westerne *beames*."

Here there is room for doubt in the case of most of the variants whether Shakespeare is revising the *True Tragedy* text or merely printing correctly what that text gives in corrupted form. But as regards the last word, it is clear that " bed ", the reading of the Folio, must be the reading of Marlowe's manuscript also, because the alternative, " beames," fails to make sense and confesses itself the perversion of a sleepy compositor.

Sometimes lines, which seem to be original with the 1623 version, have merely been borrowed from other parts of the earlier text. In II, i, 53 of *3 Henry VI*, the messenger reporting York's death uses a line which does not occur in the corresponding passage of the *True Tragedy*:

" But Hercules himself must yield to odds."

One would probably be inclined to regard this line as original with Shakespeare; but on investigation one discovers that the identical line appears many pages later in the *True Tragedy* in connection with the death of Warwick (p. 68, l. 24):

" But Hercules himselfe must yeeld to ods."

Instead of inventing, Shakespeare has simply shifted the original matter from one context to another.

Another instance of the same procedure is found at the beginning of Act V, scene iii, of *3 Henry VI*:

" Thus far our fortune keeps an upward course,
And we are grac'd with wreaths of victory."

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These lines are quite different from those in the corresponding passage in the *True Tragedy*. Moreover, since the second line is identical with a verse in the *Massacre at Paris*,[1] the couplet has even been cited by Miss Lee as proof that Marlowe collaborated with Shakespeare in revising the plays subsequent to the composition of the text preserved in the *Contention* and *Trve Tragedy*. However, the precise lines in question are found in an earlier part of the *True Tragedy* (p. 39, l. 30). Again the Marlovian material has merely been transferred in the Folio text from one scene to another.

The passages from *3 Henry VI* just instanced illustrate the difficulty of determining with absolute precision the respective amovnts of Marlovian and Shakespearean verse in the plays we are discussing. In the case of *2 Henry VI*, where Millington's text is particularly imperfect, the problem is yet more obscure. Exactly how many lines Shakespeare added from his own imagination and how many he altered from the manuscript of Marlowe must doubtless remain unsettled. There are, however, in both plays a number of passages in which the impact of Shakespeare's mind upon the conceptions of Marlowe can be clearly traced. The study of these passages throws very valuable light upon the character of Shakespeare's early verse and upon the ideals by which he was governed in his first attempts at dramatizing English history.

An excellent example of the contrasted styles of Marlowe and Shakespeare is furnished by the soliloquy of York at the close of the first scene of *2 Henry VI*. In the *Contention* this fine speech runs as follows (*Facsimile*, p. 7, l. 143 ff.):

> "*Anioy* and *Maine* both giuen vnto the French,
> Cold newes for me, for I had hope of *France*,
> Euen as I haue of fertill England.
> A day will come when *Yorke* shall claime his owne,
> And therefore I will take the *Neuels* parts,
> And make a show of loue to proud Duke *Humphrey*:
> And when I spie aduantage, claime the Crowne,
> For thats the golden marke I seeke to hit:
> Nor shall proud *Lancaster* vsurpe my right,
> Nor hold the scepter in his childish fist,
> Nor weare the Diademe vpon his head,
> Whose church-like humours fits not for a Crowne:
> Then *Yorke* be still a while till time do serue,
> Watch thou, and wake when others be asleepe,

[1] See above, p. 168, parallel 21.

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To prie into the secrets of the state,
Till *Henry* surfeiting in ioyes of loue,
With his new bride, and Englands dear bought queene,
And *Humphrey* with the Peeres be falne at iarres,
Then will I raise aloft the milke-white Rose,
With whose swete smell the aire shall be perfumde,
And in my Standard beare the Armes of *Yorke*,
To graffle with the House of *Lancaster*:
And force perforce, ile make him yeeld the Crowne,
Whose bookish rule hath puld faire England downe."

Bad as the text of the *Contention* often is, the student of Marlowe will hardly refuse to accept every syllable of this speech as the genuine work of the poet. More distinctly Marlovian verse, in melody and in sense, it would, indeed, be hard to point out. The reviser, Shakespeare, evidently found no fault here, for he was content to retain the lines quoted without any change except the characteristic metrical alteration of " fertile England " into " fertile England's soil," which has been mentioned above.[1] However, it would seem that the fine lines and the fine situation challenged the imaginative powers of the later writer and made him insert, as a supplement to the old passage, twenty-one new lines as typically Shakespearean as are the others Marlovian. After quoting with a trifling change the first verse of Marlowe, " Anjou and Maine are given to the French," the reviser continues in the strain most natural to him at this period (2 *Henry VI*, I, i, 216–236):

" Paris is lost; the state of Normandy
Stands on a tickle point now they are gone.
Suffolk concluded on the articles,
The peers agreed, and Henry was well pleas'd
To change two dukedoms for a duke's fair daughter.
I cannot blame them all: what is't to them?
'Tis thine they give away, and not their own.
Pirates may make cheap pennyworths of their pillage,
And purchase friends, and give to courtesans,
Still revelling like lords till all be gone;
While as the silly owner of the goods
Weeps over them, and wrings his hapless hands,
And shakes his head, and trembling stands aloof,
While all is shar'd and all is borne away,
Ready to starve and dare not touch his own:

[1] See p. 179.

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So York must sit and fret and bite his tongue
While his own lands are bargain'd for and sold.
Me thinks the realms of England, France, and Ireland
Bear that proportion to my flesh and blood
As did the fatal brand Althaea burn'd
Unto the prince's heart of Calydon."[1]

After this line is then printed the whole of Marlowe's speech,

"Anjou and Maine both given unto the French!
Cold news for me, for I had hope of France," etc.

Unquestionably, the Shakespearean insertion here weakens the effect of the passage. The new matter is in this case so completely discordant from the old as to leave no doubt of its different authorship. The fiery expression of York's iron resolution, which in the original lines forces itself from the speaker's mouth in language of the directest self-revelation, contrasts sharply with the rambling sentimentalism of the Shakespearean part, where five lines of mere statistical recapitulation are followed by a far-away metaphor of pirates and an affected simile relating to Althæa's brand. Divided authorship can hardly have produced many more complete perversions than this, where Marlowe's confident, calculating York, flushed with the sense of power and the promise of supreme triumph, is represented by Shakespeare as a "silly" merchant in the grasp of pirates, weeping over his lost goods and wringing his hapless hands; shaking his head and standing aloof, "While all is shar'd and all is borne away," or sitting and fretting and biting his tongue, "While his own lands are bargain'd for and sold." In writing this score of lines, Shakespeare was impelled not by the desire of voicing more truly the real character of York, but merely by the ambition of the young poet to express a couple of pretty notions—or, in Greene's phrase, "to bumbast out blank verse" with the great master of that metre. In the soliloquy of Hume at the end of the next scene(*2 Henry VI*, I, ii), it is equally clear that Shakespeare is somewhat tastelessly padding out the lines of Marlowe. Instead of the sober presentation of the state of affairs which the *Contention* gives in thirteen lines, the 1623 edition fills twenty-one with feeble plays on words

[1] Something has been made of the fact that the correct version of the Althæa story here disagrees with the incorrect allusion in 2 *Henry IV*, II, ii, 98 ff. It should be remembered that when Shakespeare wrote the latter passage, his recollection of the mythology learned in his school-boy days had become some six years dimmer.

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and other jocularities quite out of keeping with the character of the speaker. The hand of the young Shakespeare is easily recognizable in verses like the following (ll. 100 ff.):

> " They say, ' A crafty knave does need no broker;'
> Yet am I Suffolk and the Cardinal's broker.
> Hume, if you take not heed, you shall go near
> To call them both a pair of crafty knaves," etc.

The first lines of Act II, scene iv (*2 Henry VI*) again offer an insight into Shakespeare's revisionary method. In the *Contention*, the passage is brief and direct, the one object being to show Humphrey's keen feeling of the degradation of his wife (*Contention*, p. 7, ll. 1–10):

> " *Humph.* Sirra, whats a clocke?
> *Serving* (*Man*). Almost ten, my Lord.
> *Humph.* Then is that wofull houre hard at hand,
> That my poore Lady should come by this way,
> In shamefull penance wandring in the streetes.
> Sweete Nell, ill can thy noble minde abrooke
> The abiect people gazing on thy face,
> With envious lookes laughing at thy shame,
> That earst did follow thy proud Chariot wheeles,
> When thou didst ride in tryumph through the streetes."

The 1623 version omits three of these lines (3–5), retains the rest without any noteworthy change, and adds ten new verses expressing a conspicuously different mood. I give the passage as it occurs in the later text, italicizing the lines which seem to be original with Shakespeare:

> " *Glo. Thus sometimes hath the brightest day a cloud;*
> *And after svmmer evermore succeeds*
> *Barren winter, with his wrathful nipping cold:*
> *So cares and joys abound, as seasons fleet.*
> Sirs, what's o'clock?
> *Serv*(*ing-man*). Ten, my lord.
> *Glo. Ten is the hour that was appointed me*
> *To watch the coming of my punished duchess:*
> *Uneath may she endure the flinty streets,*
> *To tread them with her tender-feeling feet.*
> Sweet Nell, ill can thy noble mind abrook
> The abject people, gazing on thy face
> With envious looks still laughing at thy shame,

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That erst did follow thy proud chariot wheels
When thou didst ride in triumph through the streets.
But, soft! I think she comes; and I'll prepare
My tear-stain'd eyes to see her miseries."

Here there is no question that the tone of the new matter is quite opposed to the tone of the old, and that the added lines, though in themselves excellent poetry, decidedly weaken the effect of the whole. The four introductory lines of sententious moral, conceived in the spirit of many of Shakespeare's sonnets, form a feebler opening to the scene which follows than the curt question with which the *Contention* version begins. The new lines, 8 and 9, are positively unfortunate, for they divert attention from the humiliation of Eleanor's "noble mind," of which Marlowe's Gloucester thinks alone, to the rather ludicrous image of the duchess's physical discomfort as she walks barefoot over the flinty pavement. So trifling a detail could at such a time hardly have occupied the attention either of the sufferer or of her husband. To give it special notice seems both bad art and bad psychology. The addition of the last two lines is no less injurious. The purpose of the speech is the exhibition of Gloucester's fine stoical refusal to allow personal feeling to assert itself in opposition to the execution of justice. The sentimental allusion to his tear-stained eyes, together with the lachrymose tone fo the other inserted lines, distinctly weakens this impression of noble austerity.[1]

The soliloquy of York at the end of Act III, scene i (*2 Henry VI*) again shows the contrast between the clear-cut method of Marlowe, bent always upon the expression of some one mood in its highest intensity, and the medleys of changing emotion, rich in poetical truisms and fine-wrought figures, which Shakespeare at the beginning of his career loved to put into the mouths of his characters. The quotation of the first lines of the speech in the two versions will sufficiently illustrate the opposition. Again I italicize the lines which are entirely original in the 1623 version:
Contention, p. 34, l. 170 ff.:

"Now York bethink thy self and rowse thee vp,
Take time whilst it is offered thee so faire,
Least when thou wouldst, thou canst it not attaine.
Twas men I lackt, and now they give them me."

[1] The warmer play of feeling in Shakespeare's treatment, which here results injuriously, is in other scenes advantageous to Gloucester's character as has been noted already (p. 198).

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2 Henry VI, III, i, 331–345:

" Now, York, or never, *steel thy fearful thoughts,*
And change misdovbt to resolution:
Be that thou hop'st to be, or what thou art
Resign to death: it is not worth the enjoying.
Let pale-fac'd fear keep with the mean-born man,
And find no harbour in a royal heart.
Faster than spring-time showers comes thovght on thovght,
And not a thought but thinks on dignity.
My brain, more busy than the labouring spider,
Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.
Well, nobles, well; 'tis politicly done,
To send me packing with a host of men:
I fear me you but warm the starved snake,
Who, cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts.
'Twas men I lack'd, and you will give them me."

The scene representing Cade's death (*2 Henry VI*, IV, x) is expanded in the edition of 1623, not only in bad taste, by the introduction of many lines of pure bombast, but also in a tone which shows that the reviser failed utterly to realize the heroic quality in Cade which Marlowe always brings out. The following parallels exemplify both the intrusion of meaningless rant in the later version, and also the change from the tragic view of Cade to the other very different view which regarded him as a mere vulgar upstart, easily overthrown and justly subjected to insult after death:

Contention, p. 55, l. 20 f.:

" *Eyden* . . . Looke on me, my limmes are equall unto thine, and every way as big; then hand to hand, ile combat thee."

2 Henry VI, IV, x, 48–57:

" *Iden* . . . Oppose thy steadfast-gazing eyes to mine,
See if thou canst out-face me with thy looks:
Set limb to limb, and thou art far the lesser;
Thy hand is but a finger to my fist;
Thy leg a stick compared with this truncheon;
My foot shall fight with all the strength thou hast;
And if mine arm be heaved in the air
Thy grave is digg'd already in the earth.
As for more words, whose greatness answers words,
Let this my sword report what speech forbears."

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Contention, p. 55, l. 35 f.:

> "Ile drag him hence, and with my sword cut off his head, and beare it to the King."

2 Henry VI, IV, x, 82–89:

> "Die, damned wretch, the curse of her that bare thee:
> And as I thrust thy body in with my sword,
> So wish I I might thrvst thy soul to hell.
> Hence will I drag thee headlong by the heels
> Unto a dunghill which shall be thy grave,
> And there cut off most ungracious head;
> Which I will bear in triumph to the king,
> Leaving thy trunk for crows to feed upon."

Extended additions, which can be positively ascribed to Shakespeare, are less frequent in *3 Henry VI*, for in that play the alterations of the 1623 text consist largely of mere changes of single lines. Where longer insertions do occur, however, the relation between the old and new matter is precisely the same as in *2 Henry VI*. A good example of the Shakespearean weakening of a simple but strong speech by remote reference and involved rhetoric is found in Clarence's defiance of Warwick (*3 Henry VI*, V, i, 81 ff.)

The *True Tragedy* gives the first part of this address as follows:

> "Father of *Warwike*, know you what this meanes?
> I throw mine infamie at thee,
> I will not ruinate my fathers house,
> Who gave his bloud to lime the stones together,
> And set up *Lancaster*. Thinkest thou
> That *Clarence* is so harsh unnaturall,
> To lift his sword against his brothers life?
> And so proud harted *Warwike* I defie thee,
> And to my brothers turne my blushing cheekes."

Instead of these nine lines, the 1623 text prints nineteen. I italicize those which are peculiar to the later version:

> "Father of Warwick, know you what this means?
> Look here, I throw my infamy at thee:
> I will not ruinate my father's house,
> Who gave his blood to lime the stones together,
> And set up Lancaster. Why, trow'st thou, Warwick,
> That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,
> To bend the fatal instruments of war

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Against his brother and his lawful king?
Perhaps thou wilt object my holy oath:
To keep that oath were more impiety
Than Jephthah's, when he sacrificed his daughter.
I am so sorry for my trespass made
That, to deserve well at my brother's hands,
I here proclaim myself thy mortal foe;
With resolution, wheresoe'er I meet thee—
As I will meet thee if thou stir abroad—
To plague thee for thy foul misleading me.
And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,
And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks."

Clearly, the rhetorical question and the allusion to Jephthah detract from the candor of Clarence's avowal of the claims of blood. Clearly, too, the following diatribe against Warwick, who is the offended not the offending party, smacks of hollow declamation and deprives the speech of the tone of manly frankness which the early version gives it.

Throughout this part of the play the reviser robs Warwick's figure of much of the charm which it has in the *True Tragedy*. Even in trifling details the warmth of the original is frequently lost, as where in recasting Edward's line: "Tis even so, and yet you are olde *Warwike* still" (V, i, 47; *True Tragedy*, p. 66, l. 36), the omission of the adjective "olde" takes away the friendliness of the king's implied offer of reconciliation. The death of Warwick is very strongly and pathetically treated in the *True Tragedy*. It seems to me that the scene (V, ii) is rather spoiled in the revision. Whereas Marlowe has Warwick enter alone, wounded, with the words:

"Ah, who is nie? Come to me, friend or foe,
And tell me who is victor, *Yorke* or *Warwike*?"

Shakespeare, in the interests of stage effect, has Edward himself drag in the fallen warrior and speak four heartless lines over his body (V, ii, 1 ff.):

"So, lie thou there: die thou, and die our fear;
For Warwick was a bug that fear'd us all
Now Montague, sit fast; I seek for thee,
That Warwicks' bones may keep thine company."

The new lines given to Warwick in this scene are all superfluous, and the most important added speech, conceived in a tone of weak sentimentality, is, I think, glaringly unbecoming (ll. 33–39):

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"Ah! Montague,
If thov be here, sweet brother, take my hand,
And with thy lips keep in my soul awhile
Thou lovs't me not; for, brother, if thou didst,
Thy tears would wash this cold congealed blood
That glues my lips and will not let me speak.
Come quickly, Montague, or I am dead."

A good final example of the extent to which the immature Shakespeare sometimes distorted the natural words of Marlowe's speakers in his ambition to work out an elaborate tissue of metaphor and allusion, appears in the revised version of Queen Margaret's address to her followers in *3 Henry VI*, V, iv. In the *True Tragedy*, this speech consists of eleven lines, all quite appropriate to the occasion:

"Welcome to *England*, my loving friends of *France*,
And welcome *Summerset*, and *Oxford* too.
Once more have we spread our sailes abroad,
And though our tackling be almost consumde,
And *Warwike* as our maine mast overthrowne,
Yet warlike Lords raise you that sturdie post,
That beares the sailes to bring vs vnto rest,
And *Ned* and I as willing Pilots should
For once with carefull mindes gvide on the sterne,
To beare vs through that dangerous gulfe
That heretofore hath swallowed vp our friends"

This passage served only as a foundation for the reviser, who rewrote the speech, nearly quadrupling its length and elaborating every suggested figure to such a degree that the feelings of the ill-starred queen are hidden beneath the profusion of ornament. This is the speech as printed in the Folio:

"Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,
But cheerly seek how to redress their harms.
What though the mast be now blowne overboard,
The cable broke, the holding anchor lost,
And half our sailors swallowed in the flood;
Yet lives our pilot still: is't meet that he
Should leave the helm and like a fearful lad
With tearful eyes, add water to the sea,
And give more strength to that which hath too much;
Whiles in his moan the ship splits on the rock,
Which industry and courage might have saved?

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Ah! what a shame? ah, what a fault were this.
Say, Warwick was our anchor; what of that?
And Montague our top-mast; what of him?
Our slaughter'd friends the tackles; what of those?
Why, is not Oxford here another anchor?
And Somerset, another goodly mast?
The friends of France our shrouds and tacklings?
And, though unskilful, why not Ned and I
For once allow'd the skilful pilot's charge?
We will not from the helm, to sit and weep,
But keep our course, though the rough wind say no,
From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wrack.
As good to chide the waves as speak them fair.
And what is Edward but a rythless sea?
What Clarence but a quicksand of deceit?
And Richard but a ragged fatal rock?
All these the enemies to our poor bark.
Say you can swim; alas! 'tis but a while:
Tread on the sand; why, there you quickly sink:
Bestride the rock; the tide will wash you off,
Or else you famish: that's a three-fold death.
This speak I, lords, to let you understand,
In case some one of you would fly from us,
That there's no hop'd-for mercy with the brothers
More than with ruthless waves, with sands and rocks.
Why, courage, then; what cannot be avoided
'Twere childish weakness to lament or fear."

It is quite possible that injustice is done to Shakespeare in the study of these parallels. The reviser, working upon material so homogeneous and so firmly moulded, was necessarily at a disadvantage. His failures to preserve the tone and purpose of the original quickly rise to convict him. But where he may have succeeded in maintaining or improving the decorum of Marlowe's conceptions, his additions are less easily distinguished from the earlier matter. Certain details in which the adapter was able to broaden the range of character interest of the original plays have been pointed out. On the whole, however, there seems no reason to doubt the justice of the impression, based on many careful readings and comparisons of the different texts, that in spite of probable curtailments and corruptions, the Marlovian versions preserved in the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* are intrinsically better plays than those which resulted

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from the Shakespearean alteration—more powerful in plot-interest and more impressive in psychological portraiture. At the period during which these plays seem to been written and revised—between 1590 and 1592—Marlowe was undoubtedly a maturer and a more effective dramatist than Shakespeare. The very traits upon which Shakespeare's later unapproachable superiority was founded —his broad impartial view of human character and his wealth of poetic fancy—make his earlier style appear diffuse and muddy in contrast with the forceful clarity of Marlowe's more restricted outlook.

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The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses

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Fig. 1. Ruthwell Cross, between 1823 and 1887.
(From Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*.)

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE CROSSES

The problem respecting the date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses is none of the easiest to solve; the only hope of a solution lies in a close and critical examination of every circumstance which might conceivably be of assistance, beginning with the appearance and characteristics of the monuments themselves.

Let us first consider in what respects the two crosses resemble each other. Each has the general form of an obelisk.[1] Each, if it ever had a cross-piece, has lost it now.[2] The two, if the Ruthwell Cross be considered without its unauthorized cross-piece, are not very far from the same height (14½ feet : 17½ feet), and taper to somewhat the same degree. Each has a vine, with animal figures among its branches, covering one or more faces of the monument—two in the case of the Ruthwell Cross, and one in the case of the Bewcastle Cross. Both have sculptured human figures, the Ruthwell Cross on two faces, the Bewcastle Cross on one; moreover, two of the figure-subjects on one of the crosses are identical with two on the other. Both have runic inscriptions, those on the Ruthwell Cross occupying the borders of the faces which are ornamented with vines, and presenting fragments of an Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood*, and those on the Bewcastle Cross being found, mostly in an illegible condition, on three faces—that which contains the figure-sculpture, and two adjacent sides—but not on that which is filled with the ornamental vine. Each is found in the domain of a church, the Ruthwell Cross within its walls, the Bewcastle Cross just outside. Each suffered violence in the Reformation period—the Ruthwell Cross certainly, and the Bewcastle Cross not improbably—besides such defacement as they may have undergone in other ages. Both are situated within the Border, using that term in a rather large sense to denote the frontier where modern Scotland approaches England, or England approaches Scotland, and where both countries have naturally had an influence. Within this Border various races have, within historic times, as well as in the very dawn of authentic history, dwelt, and struggled, and ravaged, often in the wildest and most savage manner. Both crosses are, and always have been

[1] See p. 122, note 1, and Figs. 1 and 2.

[2] See p. 123, note.

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in a comparatively infertile region,[1] remote from centres of population, on nearly the same parallel of latitude (Ruthwell, 54° 59′ 40″; Bewcastle[2], 55° 4′), and certainly within 30 miles of each other.

It is especially to be noted that modern writers are practically unanimous in assuming that they belong to the same period and school. Postulating this, we have only one problem to solve in our attempt to date the two crosses.

> If they are not the work of the same artist, they are certainly of the same school.[3]

> Ruthwell and Bewcastle are of the same school. . . . Their resemblances give them a place together far above other high crosses in our district or around it.[4]

> To the same period the Ruthwell cross must be assigned, for there cannot be the least doubt that they are the product of the same workshop, even if they did not come from the hands of the same artist.[5]

> At Ruthwell, some five and twenty miles distant, is a cross of such similar make and sculpture, that it must be similarly dated.[6]

II. OPINIONS AS TO THE DATE OF THE CROSSES

Earlier students were inclined to consider both the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses as Danish, and therefore to assign them to a comparatively late period.[7]

[1] See p. 148.

[2] Long. 2040, W. Some maps give the name of the village as Shopford.

[3] J. R. Allen, *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, p. 208. Similarly Rivoira, *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1912, p. 24.

[4] Collingwood, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the Present Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 43.

[5] Greenwell, *Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones of the Cathedral Library, Durham*, p. 46.

[6] Prior and Gardner, 'Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England,' *Architectural Review*, July, 1902, p. 7.

[7] Thus of the Ruthwell Cross Nicolson says in 1697 (see my 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 370): 'The former [the Latin inscriptions] are exactly in the same character with these Gospels [a Latin MS. referred to]: which (I confess) I judged to be later than the tenth century.' Hickes, on p. 5 of the Icelandic Grammar published in 1703 as Part III of his *Thesaurus*, speaks of a motive for publishing the first plates of the runic inscriptions at Ruthwell to be that he might

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Fig. 2. Bewcastle Cross, West Face.

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In 1840, J. M. Kemble[1] held the view that the dialect of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross was 'that of Northumberland in the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries.'

From the year 1856 opinion entered on a new phase, and the conjectures of two or three men led to an assignment of the crosses to the 7th century; but in later years dissent from this view has been constantly growing. Chronologically arranged, the chief expressions of opinion have been as follows.

1856. Daniel H. Haigh's version of the principal inscription on the Bewcastle Cross was presented by Dr. Charlton at the January meeting of the Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle-on-Tyne.[2] Haigh believed the Bewcastle Cross was erected in memory of Alcfrith, and that it was to be assigned to about 665 A. D.[3] Because of the resemblance of the Ruthwell to the Bewcastle Cross, he postulated for the former a date in the same century, and was thus led to attribute the fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* on the Ruthwell Cross to Cædmon.[4]

1857. John Maughan read the word Alcfrid on the Bewcastle Cross,[5] and therefore referred the cross to about 670.[6]

1861. Daniel H. Haigh[7] thought that the Ruthwell Cross might 'possibly have been brought from Bewcastle, and once have stood

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show that runes were employed by the Norsemen after their conversion to Christianity (runas *apud Septentrionales gentes, post receptam ab iis Christianam religionem, in usu aliquandiu fuisse*). In 1726 Gordon (*Itinerarium Septentrionale*, pp. 159, 160) quotes with approval Nicolson's opinion that our runic inscriptions are Danish (cf. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, 1890, 5. 62). Chalmers, in 1824, says (referring to Pennant's *Tour* 3. 85-6): 'It cannot be older, if so old, as the ninth century, though tradition is silent about the time and the cause of its erection' (*ibid.*); elsewhere he says (2. 467) that it 'may possibly have been erected by some of the followers of Halfden the Dane [ca. 875].'

With reference to the Bewcastle Cross, Bishop Nicolson, in his famous letter to Obadiah Walker (1685), thought it a work of the Danes; and in 1742 George Smith (*Gent. Mag.* for 1742, p. 369), said: 'None believe the Obelisk to be older than 900.' He also thought it Danish.

[1] *Archæologia* 28. 357.

[2] Maughan, *Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, London, 1857, p. 31.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[4] See my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xi, xii; and cf. p. 41, below.

[5] See p. 41, below. [6] *Memoir*, p. 27.

[7] *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, p. 37.

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at the other end of Alcfrid's grave.' He added[1]: 'That they [the two crosses] belong to the seventh century cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier than Bede's Death Song and Cædmon's Hymn.'

1865. Franz Dietrich, believing that *The Dream of the Rood* was written by Cynewulf, and that near the close of it (133 ff.) he had particularly in mind, among the friends whom he had lost, King Ceolwulf of Northumbria, who died in 764,[2] assigned the Ruthwell Cross to a period soon after this,[3] but before 794, when the Danes devastated Northumbria, and destroyed the peaceful conditions necessary for the cultivation of the arts.[4] Incidentally, he speaks of two crosses at Bewcastle, which he refers to the same time[5]: 'In oppido Bewcastle duæ cruces partim adhuc superstites sunt, quæ propter runas quibus præditæ sunt, ad idem tempus referendæ esse videntur.'

1866. George Stephens accepted Haigh's view with regard to the authorship of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross, and further announced that he had discovered the name of Cædmon on the cross itself.[6] He believed the date could be fixed 'at about 680.'

Of the Bewcastle Cross Stephens said[7]: 'The man who slept beneath it was ALCFRITH. . . . ALCFRITH was a pious and brave prince, and is famous in history as the friend of St. Wilfrid. The year of his death is not ascertained. But as he is not mentioned among the victims of the Great Plague in 664, which carried off so many of his countrymen, he probably died in 665 or 666. As the tomb-stone was not finisht till the first year of ECGFRITH, his successor, its date is about 670.'

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[2] *Disputatio de Cruce Ruthwellensi*, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[6] Stephens, *The Ruthwell Cross*, pp. 9, 17-18: *Old-Northern Runic Monuments* 1. 411, 419-20. On the former page he said: 'By the help of the Casts since taken by Mr. Haigh, and of the Vercelli Codex, I have not only been enabled to amend the text and add some words to the carving, but I have also found the name of the Immortal Bard—CÆDMON.' See also my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xii-xiv, and pp. 12 (1895), 15, note 3, below. Stephens called the period when this monument was raised 'the seventh century or thereabouts.' He read on the top-stone in runes: CADMON MÆFAUCÞO, which he interpreted: 'Cadmon me fawed (made).'

[7] *Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, p. 400.

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1873. James A. H. Murray[1] wrote : ' Eadwin was succeeded by Oswald and Oswiu, during whose reign the Angle power was still further extended in what is now the south of Scotland, their supremacy being apparently recognized by the Cumbrian Britons. Witnesses to this extension of the Northumbrian area, at or shortly after this period, exist in the Cross of Bewcastle, in Cumberland, with a Runic inscription commemorating Alchfrid, son of Oswiu, who was associated with his father in the government about 660, and the Runic Cross at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire, of the same high antiquity.'

1874. Frederik Hammerich[2] attributed the Ruthwell Cross to the end of the 7th century, following Stephens. His grounds were the style of the monument, the forms of the letters, and the antiquity of the language—besides the inscription read by Stephens on the top-stone.

1876. Henry Sweet[3] referred to the Ruthwell Cross inscription as being ' in the old Northumbrian dialect of the seventh or eighth century.'

1879. Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. York Powell[4] read the runes on the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross as: KSDMAMAFA[5]UOO. They give the date in one place[6] as ca. 700, and in another[7] as ca. 800.

1880. Sophus Müller[8] declared that the Ruthwell Cross must be posterior to 800, on account of its decorative features, and indeed that it could scarcely have been sculptured much before 1000 A. D.

1884. George F. Browne[9] remarked : ' The head of the cross bears the words, " Cædmon made me." The Bewcastle inscription states that the pillar was erected to King Alchfrith, in the first year of King Ecgfrith, about A. D. 665. On the bands dividing the panels are names of near relatives of these kings. Alchfrith was the patron of Wilfrith. The runes are unquestionably Anglian runes, and some Anglo-Saxon scholars say that the grammatical peculiarities are

[1] *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, p. 9.

[2] *Aelteste Christliche Epik der Angelsachsen, Deutschen und Nordländer*, p. 34. The Danish original appeared in the previous year.

[3] *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 169.

[4] *Icelandic Prose Reader*, p. 444.

[5] Or Æ.

[6] P. 444.

[7] P. 451.

[8] ' Dyreornamentiken i Norden,' *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1880, pp. 338-9.

[9] *Magazine of Art* 8. 79 (December, 1884).

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early. Thus everything points to the time of Wilfrith as the time when these crosses were first designed.'

1885. Henry Sweet[1] printed the inscriptions on both crosses as given by Stephens, assigning the latter's conjectural date of 670 (Maughan's) to the 'Bewcastle Column,' and of 680 to the Ruthwell Cross. He adds under the latter: 'All that the language teaches us is that the inscription cannot well be later than the middle of the eighth century.'

1887. John Romilly Allen[2] considered that 'the evidence as to the age of the sculptured stones of Northumbria [referring to Stephens' dates] is rather unreliable.' In the same work[3] he called the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries 'the period of the sculptured crosses.'

1887. George F. Black[4] wrote: 'While in the south of Scotland recently, I visited Ruthwell to see its famous cross. . . . The name Cædmon has all but disappeared, being represented only by five faint perpendicular strokes. The other words, "mæ fæuoþo," are quite distinct, with the exception of the last *o* in *fæuoþo*.'

1887. Margaret Stokes[5] assigned the two crosses to the 11th century, (1) because of their relation to the Irish high crosses, which are late; (2) because 'as eleventh century monuments these crosses . . . would fall naturally into their place in the development of the arts of sculpture and design during this period, while as seventh century monuments they are abnormal and exceptional'; (3) because the vine reminds us of Lombardic sculpture; (4) because the figure-subjects are such as are discussed in the Byzantine *Painters' Guide*, compiled 'from the works of Panselinos, a painter of the eleventh century'; (5) because 'it is not likely that such symbols were subjects of the sculptor's art in the North of England, in the seventh century, or that their execution would be more perfect there than the carving of similar subjects in Ravenna or in Milan at the same date.'

1888. Henry Bradley[6] accepted the dating of the Bewcastle Cross by Maughan, thought that 'to maintain that this inscription is a forgery of the eleventh century would be preposterous,' and argued that 'the close resemblance in the style of art' between this and the Ruthwell Cross is 'inconsistent with the theory that they are several

[1] *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 124-5.
[2] *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 85.
[3] P. 132.
[4] *Academy* 32. 225 (Oct. 1).
[5] *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, pp. 125-6.
[6] *Academy* 33. 279 (April 21).

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centuries apart in date.' He also maintained that the dialect of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross is 'considerably earlier than that of the gloss on the Lindisfarne Gospels'; he was therefore in favor of assigning it 'to the eighth century at latest.'

1889. Sophus Bugge[1] repudiated Stephens' rendering, *Cædmon made me*, of words which he professed to have found on the Ruthwell Cross, and proposed to read: GODMON MÆFA^{E}/ᴏÆÞO. He agreed with Sweet regarding the date of the cross, however, and rejected Müller's late date of ca. 1000.

1889. John Romilly Allen[2] said: 'The claim of the crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle to be of the seventh century must, we think, be abandoned.' Referring to the attempts of Haigh and Stephens to identify names on the crosses with those of persons known to history, he remarked[3] that they generally either fail to do this, 'or there is some doubt as to the reading of the names in the inscription which renders the identification valueless.' As to Cædmon he said (p. 210): 'All trace of the name has disappeared, and it is exceedingly doubtful if it ever existed.'

1890. I[4] contended that the language of the poetic fragments on the Ruthwell Cross must be as late as the 10th century, and very likely posterior to 950.

1890. George F. Browne[5] read on the Ruthwell Cross: † KEDMON MÆ FAUŒÞO.

1891. Eduard Sievers[6] believed the inscription on the Bewcastle Cross, if correctly reported by Stephens and Sweet, to be late, and therefore a bungling copy of an earlier original.

1891. William S. Calverley[7] virtually accepted Stephens' date of 670 for the Bewcastle Cross.

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[1] German translation by Brenner, under the title, *Studien über die Entstehung der Nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen* 3. 494 ff.; the passage in question was translated by me in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 5 (1890). 77-8.

[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 159.

[3] P. 223: cf. p. 209.

[4] *Academy* 37. 153 (March 1).

[5] *Academy* 37. 170 (March 8); cf. his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 239.

[6] *Anglia* 13. 12, note, written in January, 1890 (see p. 31, below). This opinion he reaffirmed in 1901 (Paul, *Grundriss der Germ. Phil.*, 2d ed., 1. 256). Sievers (1901) will not allow any Anglian runes, with the exception of a single one on a coin, to be earlier than the 8th century.

[7] *Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 40; cf. p. ix.

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1892. Stopford A. Brooke[1] said : ' The [Ruthwell] Cross, so far as its make goes, might have been set up during the seventh, eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century ; and as to the Runes—th re were runes carved on stones after the Norman Conquest.'

1892. Joseph Anderson[2] dated the monuments of his Class II between 800 and 1000, and remarked that those of his Class III, to which the Ruthwell Cross belongs, ' were only displaced by the European style of grave-slab introduced with Gothic architecture in the twelfth century.'

1895. Wilhelm Vietor[3] could read on the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross only : (R ?) D(D ?) ÆÞ(:) (MÆ ?)(F)AYRÞO, out of which nothing can be made. The cross is earlier than 750.[4] For his readings of the principal inscription on the Bewcastle Cross,[5] see p. 37, below. As to the date, he said : ' Sprachlich steht nichts im Wege, in der sicheren Cyniburg und dem wahrscheinlichen Alcfrithu die Tochter Pendas von Merzien und ihren Gemahl, den Sohn Oswius von Northumbrien, zu sehen.'

1896. George F. Browne[6] wrote of the Bewcastle Cross : ' It was set up in the year 670.'

1897. George F. Browne[7] was confident that the Ruthwell Cross was erected before the death of King Ecgfrith in 685.

1898. Stopford A. Brooke[8] declared : ' The [Ruthwell] cross dates from the first half of the eighth century, and the lines, which from their situation and language belong to the north, are believed to be of the latter end of the seventh. . . . Criticism of the language and manner of the lines tends to make the authorship of Cædmon more and more probable.'

1899. William Greenwell[9] believed the sculptors of the two crosses to have come from Italy, ' towards the close of the seventh century.'

1899. William G. Collingwood[10] attached much weight to the views of Bishop Browne (see under 1896), and accordingly accepted the date 670.[11] He added : ' The date of the Bewcastle Cross does

[1] *Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, p. 337.
[2] *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 1903, pp. cix, cxiii.
[3] *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, p. 11.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[5] P. 16.
[6] *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 2d ed., 1906, pp. 189, 208.
[7] *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 236.
[8] *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*, p. 133.
[9] *Catalogue*, p. 47 ; see p. 78, below.
[10] *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 44.
[11] P. 47.

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not depend on its legend. The style and workmanship are surer proofs of its origin.' Referring to both crosses, he observed[1]: 'How unlike this work is to 12th century carving can be seen at once by comparing the sketch of a floral scroll opposite with Bridekirk Font.'

1901. I[2] resumed and extended my investigation of 1890, and came to the same general result as then.

1901. William G. Collingwood[3] observed of the Bewcastle Cross: 'It can . . . be classed with many other works done in the flush of the great renaissance of the late seventh century, in which Benedict Biscop and St. Wilfrith were leaders, and king Alchfrith and his wife Cyniburg, and her sister and brother Cyneswitha and king Wulfhere of Mercia (all named on this cross) were chief patrons. It is not of the Hexham school, but of a school of that age and character, from which came many fine works quite alien in spirit to the art of North England in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and impossible to have been executed in that period of storm and stress, when the churches were ravaged by the Danes; and it is equally impossible to class it as Norman. The archæological evidence is all in favour of the date assigned to it by the inscription—the first year of king Ecgfrith, 670–71 A. D.; and it has a great importance in the history of art as the starting-point from which not only all our Cumbrian sculpture was derived, but (with Ruthwell cross, its younger sister) the model for much of that so-called Hiberno-Saxon art which has been confused with it.'

1902. Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner,[4] following Maughan, considered the Bewcastle Cross as 'well dated to the year 670.' They added: 'At Ruthwell . . . is a cross of such similar make and sculpture, that it must be similarly dated.'

1902. Henry Rousseau[5] assigned the Ruthwell Cross to the 9th century, when Northumbria was occupied by the Danes. As to Cædmon, he regarded the name, supposing it to be on the cross, as that of the sculptor.[6]

1902. Karl D. Bülbring[7] declared that of early Anglian poetry we possess, for the most part, only late and corrupt copies. Among

[1] P. 43.

[2] 'Notes on the Ruthwell Cross' (written December, 1900), pp. 375-390; cf. pp. 32–33, below.

[3] *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland* 1. 256-7.

[4] 'Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England,' *Architectural Review* 12. 7.

[5] 'La Ruthwell Cross,' *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16. 70.

[6] P. 67. [7] *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 8-9.

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the earliest Northumbrian verses (before 740) he reckons those on the Ruthwell Cross, which he considers to exhibit peculiarities of the northern variety of Northumbrian.

1903. John Romilly Allen[1] quoted, without dissent, the conclusions of my paper of 1901.

1905. Alois Brandl[2] said of the Ruthwell Cross : ' There is of late a tendency to relegate the stone to a much later period— to the ninth or even the tenth century. Archæologists conclude this from its ornamentation, and Prof. Cook has shown that the archaic inflexions, on which so much stress was laid in fixing the age of the Cross, also occur sporadically in Northumbrian manuscripts of the late tenth century. As a matter of fact, this particular dialect did retain for an astonishing length of time a whole series of sounds and inflexions which the others had long since abandoned. The patent objection, however, is : Could such a mass of archaisms have got compressed into such narrow compass ? Only sixteen lines, some of them mutilated, are preserved on the Ruthwell Cross, and they show a consistent[3] early Northumbrian dialect. At the very least a particularly ancient stock of written forms must have lain at bottom.'

1905. Camille Enlart[4] characterized the human figures, knotwork, vines, and animals of the Bewcastle Cross as of a good style of the middle of the 12th century (but see under 1906), and added that the Ruthwell Cross presents a series of interesting bas-reliefs of the same period.

1906. Camille Enlart[5] inclined to attribute the Ruthwell Cross to the 12th century, on account of its high reliefs and its inscriptions. Of the Bewcastle Cross, on the other hand, he said[6]: ' It bears a runic inscription which attributes it formally to the first year of the reign of Eadfrith, that is, to 670, and the inscription has all the characteristics of the period ' (but see under 1905).

1907. G. T. Rivoira[7] said that the Ruthwell Cross ' cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the XIIth century.'

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[1] *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 515-6.

[2] *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* for 1905[2], pp. 716-23. Our quotation is from the translation and revision of this paper, entitled ' On the Early Northumbrian Poem, " A Vision of the Cross of Christ," ' in *Scottish Historical Review* 9. 140 (January, 1912).

[3] But see Cook, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 380 ff.

[4] Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* 1[2]. 521. [5] *Ibid.* 2. 202. [6] *Ibid.* 2. 199.

[7] *Le Origini dell'Architettura Lombarda*, translated in 1910 as *Lombardic Architecture* (2. 143).

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1907. Anna C. Paues[1] spoke of 'the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire, possibly dating back to the eighth century, . . . and the Bewcastle Column in Cumberland, probably erected to the memory of Alchfrith, son of the Northumbrian king Oswy (642—670).'

1907. (Miss) M. Bentinck Smith[2] declared that the supposed words at the top of the Ruthwell Cross, if decipherable, could not refer to the poet Cædmon, 'for the language of the poem on the Ruthwell cross is younger than that of the MS. poem, possibly of the tenth century. The decoration of the cross, also, is thought to be too elaborate and ornate for eighth century work, and can hardly be dated much earlier than the tenth century.'

1910. Henry Bradley[3] made the following statement: 'Cynewulf's authorship has been asserted by some scholars for *The Dream of the Rood*. . . . But an extract from this poem is carved on the Ruthwell Cross; and, notwithstanding the arguments of Prof. A. S. Cook, the language of the inscription seems too early for Cynewulf's date.'

1911. Walter W. Skeat[4] wrote: 'There is another relic of Old Northumbrian, apparently belonging to the middle of the eighth century. . . . I refer to the famous Ruthwell cross. . . . There is also extant a considerable number of very brief inscriptions, such as that on a column at Bewcastle, in Cumberland.'

1912. William P. Ker remarked[5]: 'The Ruthwell Cross with the runic inscription on it is thus one of the oldest poetical manuscripts in English, not to speak of its importance in other ways.'

1912. G. T. Rivoira[6] said: 'The age of the Bewcastle Cross, if I am not mistaken, is not earlier than about the first half of the twelfth century. And the same is true of the other well-known cross at Ruthwell.'

1912. W. R. Lethaby[7] undertook to vindicate the earlier date of the Ruthwell Cross from the strictures of Rivoira. His arguments are: (1) The forms of the letters indicate 'a semi-Irish hand, such as was in

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[1] *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* 1. 12.

[2] *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* 1. 57, note.

[3] *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 7. 691. Elsewhere (4. 935) he is more positive: 'The poem is certainly Northumbrian, and earlier than the date of Cynewulf.' He rejects Stephens' *Cædmon mæ fauœpo* as 'mere jargon, not belonging to any known or unknown Old English dialect.'

[4] *English Dialects*, pp. 18, 20.

[5] *English Literature: Mediæval*, p. 48.

[6] *Burlington Magazine*, April 15, p. 24.

[7] *Burlington Magazine*, June 15, pp. 145-6.

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use in Northumbria about the year 700' ; (2) *The Dream of the Rood* was early ; (3) there were tall crosses in England in the 7th century (referring to the life of Willibald, p. 112, below) ; (4) 'the sculptures of these crosses are of " Early Christian " or Byzantine character' : thus the Paul and Anthony and Christ treading on the wild animals, while the Crucifixion resembles one in an early manuscript at St. Gall ; (5) the interlacings probably derive from Coptic sources. Incidentally, Mr. Lethaby believes that the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross should be turned round, so that the archer would be shooting at the single bird.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CROSSES

I. THE RUTHWELL CROSS

Various descriptions of the Ruthwell Cross are already in print,[1] but none is entirely accurate. The following account, while it no doubt leaves something to be desired, is based upon personal examination and a series of photographs made directly from the shaft itself (ignoring the top-stone).[2]

South Face.[3]

1. *The Archer.*

An archer faces the spectator's right, with an arrow aimed upward at an angle of 45°. A possible quiver hangs at the right side of the archer ; only the tip is visible. There is an inscription at each side, but the letters are illegible.

2. *The Visitation.*

Mary and Elizabeth face each other, so far as the main position of the bodies is concerned, but the figure at the left seems to have her face slightly turned toward the spectator's, while that at his right is seen in profile. The new stone, introduced to fill the space caused by the fracture, seems too thick, so that it suggests legs much too long for the rest of the bodies. The shoes resemble sabots. The figure on the left has her forearm extended at right angles to the upper arm, with hand touching the other figure near the waist,

[1] See a list given by Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 448.

[2] My thanks are due to Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie, minister of Ruthwell, who afforded me every facility for securing these photographs, which were taken by Mr. F. W. Tassell of Carlisle.

[3] As the monument stands at present. See Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6 7, 8.

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Fig. 3. **Ruthwell Cross, South and West Faces.**

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Fig. 4. **Ruthwell Cross, South Face, top.**

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Fig. 5. **Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Visitation.**

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while the figure at the right has her forearm nearly parallel to the other's, and above it. It is difficult to determine whether the drapery for the head may not be hair (cf. the Visitation from St. Benoît-sur-Loire, as figured by Caumont, *L'Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 176). There is an inscription above and at each side, but illegible. A single border on this side corresponds to the lower of the double borders on the north side, though narrower.

An oblong piece of new stone, extending for part of the width of the panel, replaces a portion broken out at some time, from the waist of the figures to below the middle of the lower leg.

3. *The Anointing of Christ's Feet* (Luke 7. 37, 38).

The figure of Christ in the act of benediction faces the spectator, with upraised right hand, palm outward, and one (or possibly two) fingers extended. The left hand, which is covered by the drapery, holds a large book (not roll). The circular nimbus, with three rays at each side and above, has a diameter more than twice as great as that of the head including the hair, which falls to the shoulders. Christ is bearded, and wears a tunic, which leaves the upper part of the breast bare, and falls in straight heavy folds nearly to the ankle, leaving the feet, so far as they are visible, apparently bare. His mantle leaves the right forearm bare, and falls at his right side nearly to the head of the woman and the bottom of his tunic, and is gathered up in heavy folds by his left hand to support the book, falling at his left not quite so low as at his right. The woman who was a sinner is seen in profile. Her hair falls on her right shoulder, and is extended to cover the extremity of the Saviour's left foot, being held in position by her right hand—the right forearm, which is bare, being nearly parallel to the coil of hair. Her fingers are about one-third the length of the whole hand and forearm. The hair seems to extend beyond her hand, and to be recurved to the left and downward for a distance about equal to that from her shoulder to the foot. Another strand of hair, faintly seen, falls directly downward, on the further (inner) side of her face. The inscription above, in Roman capitals, is

ATTULIT . . . BA

which is continued down at the spectator's right as

STRUMVNGVENTI&STANSRETROSECUSPEDES;

then crosses to the spectator's left, and reads downward:

EIVSLACRIMIS . COEPITRIGAREPEDESEIVS . CAPILLIS

and ends below as:

CAPITISSVITERGEBĀ;

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that is: *attulit . [ala] bastrum unguenti: et stans retro secus pedes eius lacrimis cœpit rigare pedes eius, et capillis capitis sui tergebat.*

4. *Christ's Healing of the Blind Man* (John 9. 1 ff.).

Christ at the left, distinguishable by his rayed nimbus, this time of two rays each, instead of three, faces a man dressed like himself in tunic and mantle. Christ is bearded, and is turned slightly towards the spectator, while the man is in nearly full profile. The hair of both falls to the shoulders. The right hand of the Saviour is extended toward the man, and seems to hold a small rod, the end of which is near the man's chin (this apparent rod, however, may perhaps represent Christ's forearm, broken off save for this trace); Christ's left hand is passed in front of himself, and touches the drapery which falls from his right forearm. The inscription reads downward at the spectator's left, as:

ET . PRAETERIENS . VIDI . . . . [here mutilated]; then downwards at the spectator's right, ANATIBITATEETSA . . . . [mutilation] BINFI [these doubtful] RMITATE [the last four are only possible].

This may stand for: *et prœteriens vidi[t hominem cœcum] a nativitate, et sa[navit eum a]b infirmitate.*

5. *The Annunciation, or (Angelic) Salutation.*

The angel, who wears the plain nimbus, and is winged to the height of his shoulders, is facing outward, slightly in the direction of the Virgin. A ringlet falls behind his right shoulder. His right arm, which is bent at the elbow at less than a right angle, seems to be bare, and his two hands appear to be clasped. The advancement of his left foot and the fall of his drapery indicate motion toward Mary, as she, in turn, seems to be advancing toward him. She also wears the plain nimbus. Her hair falls over her shoulders, one tress falling over her right shoulder as a ringlet. She faces the angel, but turns somewhat toward the spectator. Her head is slightly inclined toward the angel.

The inscription begins above:

INGRESSVS . . . . . .

That at the right is so mutilated as to be illegible, but at the left we read:

TE . . . BE . . .

This stands, no doubt, for: *Ingressus angelus ad eam dixit: Ave, gratia plena, dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus.*

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Fig. 6. **Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Anointing of Christ's Feet, and Healing of the Blind Man.**

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Fig. 7. **Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Annunciation.**

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Fig. 8. **Ruthwell Cross, South Face, Crucifixion.**

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6. *The Crucifixion.*

This is much defaced, but the following points are clear. The cross is of Latin form, with the upright fairly broad, but the cross-beam narrower. The head of Christ inclines toward his right. His left shoulder, with part of the upper arm, is visible and bare. His legs are bare from above the knee downward, and the feet are manifestly nailed side by side. Whether he wears the nimbus or not it is impossible to determine. A large circular object above the arm of the cross at the spectator's right may be intended for the moon, which is sometimes found in representations of the Crucifixion after the 9th century; and there is a faint indication of a corresponding object over the other arm. At the spectator's right and below, there appears to be something like a crouching, naked figure; and below the cross-beam, on either side, there may be traces of two smaller crosses, as if of the two thieves. These last, however, are quite conjectural.

West Face.[1]

A vine-scroll starts in the middle of the base, and curves alternately to right and left, touching the right border four times, the left one three times. Above each contact it throws off a branch which curves in the opposite direction to the course of the vine. On each of these branches rests a bird or animal facing alternately right and left, first bird, then beast, then two birds and two beasts. The creature at the bottom, a bird, as well as the two top creatures, has its tail lengthened and recurved on itself, to simulate another offshoot. Each branch ends in a bunch of fruit, which the corresponding animal devours. Both the main vine and its branches freely throw off small shoots ending in leaves or bunches of fruit. The border contains the runes which begin above with *Christ wæs on*, and continue down the right edge, another set beginning on the left edge.[2]

The lower monolith supports two pieces of new hewn stone, which

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[1] See Figs. 3, 9, 10, 11.

[2] The runes may be found:

1) Transliterated in horizontal lines: Zupitza-MacLean, *Old and Middle English Reader*, pp. 2-3; my article, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 381-2 (from the Grein-Wülker *Bibliothek*); my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. 3-5;

2) Printed in horizontal lines, and afterwards transliterated: Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie* 2. 111-6;

3) Printed in vertical lines, as on the cross, and transliterated: Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 446-7;

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form the bottom of the upper monolith. The remaining portion of the carving consists of the top of the new vine, which appears first in contact at the left, curves to contact at the right, and finally, recurving on itself, makes a spiral which contains an animal. After the first contact it throws off a branch which contains a bird. Both of the monoliths grow narrower at the top. There are runes on the upper stone, also, but illegible.

North Face.[1]

1. *Subject doubtful.*

Two defaced figures, with hair reaching to the shoulders, stand side by side, and face outward. They are visible only to the waist, or a little lower. There is no inscription legible.

2. *John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei.*

The man wears a nimbus, is bearded, and is of venerable aspect. His hair reaches to his shoulders. He stands with each foot resting on a ball-shaped stone, and is clothed in a talaric tunic and mantle. The heavy drapery of the latter falls from the right arm, of which the outline is not clear. The left hand and arm, apparently wrapped in the mantle, support the figure of a lamb wearing a nimbus. The right fore leg of the lamb is raised, the left fore and hind legs are worn away. The lamb is facing the man's right, its nimbus nearly touching his chin. Its hind quarters touch the right border. The panel is broken in two, and rejoined with plaster. It is possible that several inches of carving are missing at the joint. The right-hand border of the lower half of the broken panel is composed of two pieces of new hewn stone cemented together. There are traces of an inscription on the border of the upper half. That on the lower half, reading down the left side, is:

(A ?)D◊RAMVS.

The letters on the lower border are illegible.

4) Transliterated in vertical lines, with comments on the legibility of the individual runes, and accompanied by reproductions of photographs: Vietor, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, pp. 6 ff.

Older and less critical readings may be found in the *Archæologia Scotica*, Vol. 4, 1833 (by Duncan), and, reposing upon this, in *Archæologia*, Vol. 28 (Kemble's article); then in Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, Vol. 2, the reprint from it, entitled *The Ruthwell Cross*, and the reproduction of his plate in Hammerich's *Aelteste Christliche Epik*; etc.

For the history of opinion concerning the runes on the cross, reference may be made to Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur*, pp. 134-8; Vietor (as above), pp. 2-4.

[1] See Figs. 12, 13, 13 *a*, 14.

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Fig. 9. **Ruthwell Cross, West Face, near top.**

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Fig. 10. Ruthwell Cross, West Face, middle.

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Fig. 11. **Ruthwell Cross, West Face, near bottom.**

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Fig. 12. **Ruthwell Cross, North Face, John the Baptist.**

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3. *The Figure of Christ.*

His right hand and arm, much mutilated, are raised as if in benediction. The left hand, emerging from a fold of his mantle, which is in the form of a sling, grasps a roll. The left arm slants down across the body, causing the end of the roll to touch the right elbow. He wears a three-rayed wide nimbus, and is bearded. His hair reaches nearly to the shoulder. The heavy folds of the tunic reach almost to the ankle. Each foot, perhaps bare, rests on the head of an animal. These animals, visible only to the shoulder, have their heads bent toward each other, the snouts touching. The raised right forefoot of the left one covers the left forefoot of the right one. The heads are abnormally long, the ears small.

This panel has a top border, separate from the lower border of the upper panel. Between these two borders is the evidence of the cementing of the two monoliths, this lower panel being the top of the lower monolith.

The inscription begins, reading from left to right on the top border, with the abbreviation for Jesus Christ, † IHS XRS (RS partly illegible). It continues down the right border, and half way down jumps to the top of the left border, continues the whole length of that border, and, returning to the right border, ends at the bottom of the latter—the whole as illustrated below:

IHS XRS

IVDEX AEQVITATIS SERT◊ SALVA . ◊REM MVNDI

BESTIAE ET DRAC◊NES COGNOVERVNT INDE

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That is: *Iesus Christus, iudex æquitatis; bestiæ et dracon[es] cognoverunt in deserto salva[to]rem mundi.*[1]

4. *St. Anthony and Paul the Hermit.*

Two figures represent Saints Anthony and Paul in the act of breaking a circular loaf of bread. They stand facing each other, the loaf between them being supported by a forearm of each, which is disclosed from the elbow down, as it projects from the mantle. Their hair, instead of covering the ear, is cut close above it, and then falls to the shoulder.

Across the panel, on the line of the shoulder, is the indication of a break, which is continued round the stone, showing that the lower monolith had been broken in two at this point.

The inscription reads from left to right on the top border, then, down the right a few inches, (the rest of the right is mutilated), and continues down the left border. It reads:

SCS PAVLVS ET A . . . . . FREGER . . T PANEM INDESERT◊.

The verb of course represents *fregerunt*.

5. *The Flight into Egypt.*

The legless figure of a horse or ass, the head and tail touching the left and right borders respectively, bears on its back Mary holding the child on one arm. Mary is seated sidewise on the animal, facing the spectator. The child alone wears a nimbus. In the left-hand upper corner of the panel is a portion of a circular object.

The inscription on the upper border reads:

† MARIA ET I◊

This naturally stands for *Maria et Ioseph*.

East Face.[2]

A vine-scroll starts in the middle of the base. It then curves to the spectator's right, touches the border, and passes over to the left margin, throwing off on the way a branch, which curves downward to the left, touches the left margin, and turns toward the right in such a way as to form with the main vine a large arc of an irregular circle.

The main vine continues its meander from one side to the other, touching the right margin four times in all in the height of the main

[1] Clearest in Fig. 13 *a*.

[2] See Figs. 15, 16, 16 *a*, 17.

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Fig. 13. **Ruthwell Cross, North Face, Figure of Christ.**

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Fig. 13 a. Ruthwell Cross, North Face, Figure of Christ.
(From *The Burlington Magazine.*)

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Fig. 14. **Ruthwell Cross, North Face, Paul and Anthony, and Flight into Egypt.**

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Fig. 15. **Ruthwell Cross, East Face, near top.**

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Fig. 16. **Ruthwell Cross, East Face, middle.**

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Fig. 16 a. Ruthwell Cross, East Face, middle.
(From *The Burlington Magazine.*)

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Fig. 17. **Ruthwell Cross, East Face, near bottom.**

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stone, approximately twelve feet, the distances between the points of contact diminishing somewhat in the ascent. After the last contact at the right, the vine divides in such a way that it ends in the opposite upper corners in bunches of fruit. The points of contact on the left side are three in number. Meanwhile the vine throws off branches alternately to the left and right, which, recurving, form with the main vine irregular circles, each, except the lowest, enclosing a bird or animal. When the branch is thrown off to the right, the animal's head is turned to the left; when to the left, the animal's head faces the right. Each animal pecks at a fruit which forms the termination of the branch by which the animal is supported. There are thus five of these creatures on this face of the lower monolith, of which three have their heads turned to the left; the lowest seems to be an animal, the next two, birds, and the last two, animals. This vine ends at an upper border, belonging to the lower monolith.

Here, as on the west face, two fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* are written in runes, one, as there, beginning at the top and continuing down the right margin, and the other extending down the left margin. See pp. 19-20, above.

Above this lower monolith is an upper section, broken into two parts, a large section of the lower part having been replaced in recent times by plain hewn stone.

The vine which originally occupied this lower part may have begun near the middle of the lower margin, had its first contact at the left, and afterwards thrown off a branch to the right, which would then have enclosed a bird or animal facing the right. The upper part has the vine touching the right, and then the left, with an animal under the branch thrown off toward the left, and a bird enclosed in the last coil of the vine, which here makes a return upon itself. Of the carving in the lower part, nothing remains except a bunch of fruit in the lower right-hand corner, above which is a short offshoot of the main vine, and above that the descending curl (apparently) of the first branch (thrown off to the right) at its point of contact with the margin. There would, then, probably, have been a bird or animal in the viny portion of the lower part.

On this upper portion there are, or have been, runes. On the right-hand margin there are, above, runes which have never been deciphered, their uprights being at right angles to the direction of the margin, and the runes to be read from the left. Below, on the right, and written in the same manner, are the runes which have been read *dægisgæf*. On the upper part there seem to be traces of runes on the left margin, and transverse to it.

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The following table of dimensions is taken from Allen[1]:

Height of base	3	feet	8	inches
Height of shaft	10	,,	6	,,
Height of head	2	,,	10	,,
Total height of cross	17	,,	0	,,
Width of base	2	,,	3	,,
Width of shaft at bottom	1	foot	9	,,
Width of shaft at top	1	,,	1	inch
Width across arms of cross	3	feet	1	,,
Width of top arm			9	inches
Thickness of base	1	foot	6	,,
Thickness of shaft at bottom	1	,,	6	,,
Thickness of shaft at top			9	,,

These figures are only approximative, however; for example, it cannot be definitely determined where the base passes into the shaft. The width across the arms of the cross is of no value, since these arms are modern.

II. THE BEWCASTLE CROSS

The Bewcastle Cross has not been so frequently and accurately described as that at Ruthwell. The following account reposes upon personal examination and photographs specially made for the purpose.[2]

West Face.[3]

This face has three carved figures, the spaces between them being occupied by runes.

1. *John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei.*

The upper figure, supposed that of John the Baptist, closely resembles the figure on the Ruthwell Cross. The man, wearing beard and moustache, clothed in tunic and mantle, supports a lamb on his left arm, which is concealed by the draped mantle. His right arm, over which an end of the cloak falls, is indistinct. The man appears to hold the lamb by its forelegs; the hind legs seem doubled beneath it. The animal wears a nimbus, and is facing the man's right. The essential difference between this and

[1] *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 442.

[2] By Messrs. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham, and F. W. Tassell, of Carlisle.

[3] See Figs. 2, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

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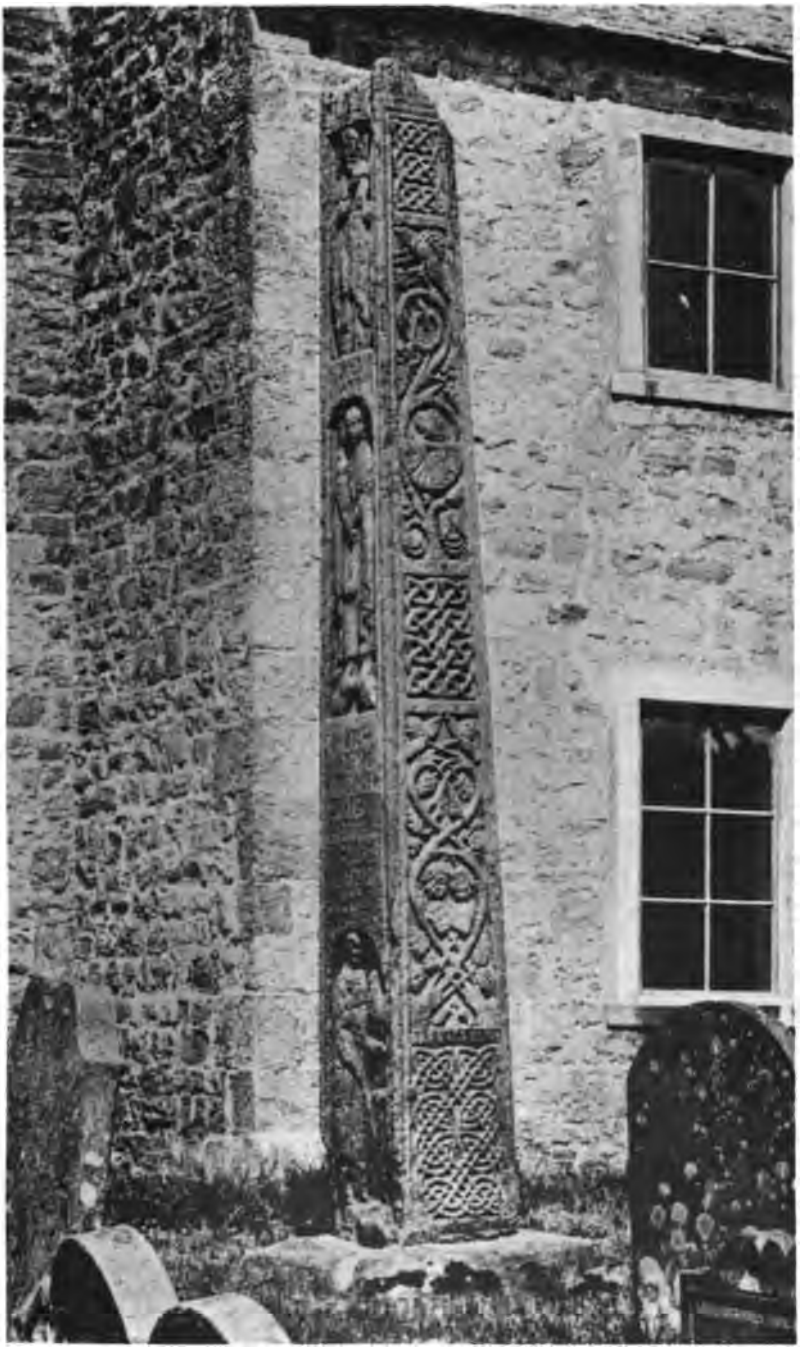

Fig. 18. **Bewcastle Cross, South and West Faces.**

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Fig. 19. Bewcastle Cross, West Face.

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Fig. 20. **Bewcastle Cross, West Face, John the Baptist, Figure of Christ, and Runes.**

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Fig. 21. **Bewcastle Cross, West Face, Runes.**

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Fig. 22. **Collingwood's Plate of Runes.** (From *Early Sculptured Crosses.*)

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Fig. 23. **Bewcastle Cross, West Face, Falconer.**

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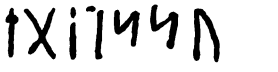
the Ruthwell figure is the lack of nimbus in this case, and also of visible feet—the hem of the gown reaches the base of the panel.

Beneath the panel are these runes[1]:



2. *The Figure of Christ.*

The central figure stands in a niche, like the others, except that the top is curved, not square. The figure, that of Christ, stands facing the spectator, his feet placed on the long heads of two animals which emerge diagonally from the lower corners. The noses of the creatures are touching, their ears are small, and what may possibly be a foot of each appears just above its head, on the left and right respectively. The head of Christ, wearing a cruciform nimbus, has parted hair which falls to his shoulders. The face appears to be without beard or moustache. He is clothed in a tunic, reaching to the ankles, and a mantle, which, V-shaped at the neck, has its heavy folds caught up, and draped over each arm. The right arm, bent upward from the elbow, from which the drapery hangs, is topped by a mutilated hand, in the attitude of benediction. The left hand holds across the front a roll, an end of which touches the right elbow. At each side the folds of the mantle reach the hem of the tunic; the curved fold falling between the arms reaches only to the knee.

Between this figure and the lowest one there is a long space, filled by nine horizontal lines of runes, now mostly illegible.[2]

3. *The Falconer.*

The lowest figure, also in a round-arched niche, is that of a falconer, with a bird of prey on his wrist. The main body, placed in the left of the panel, is turned sidewise, the right shoulder being presented to the spectator. The head is turned nearly full face outward. Parted hair falls to the shoulders, and the face has beard and moustache. The left forearm is extended horizontally toward the right border of the panel, and the bird perches on it, facing outward. Though the claws are worn away, it is just above the hand in the conventional position of a trained falcon. Its beak is turned toward the man's left shoulder. Beneath it, standing higher than the falconer's knee, is the perch, shaped like a crutch or T. The man holds in his right hand a rod, which slants downward in front of him. His garment seems to resemble a plaid of heavy cloth, which, draped across his chest, is

[1] See p. 37.

[2] See pp. 38, 41-43.

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drawn over the left shoulder and upper arm and across the back, the long end falling down over the right shoulder and reaching nearly to the ankle.

North Face.[1]

This face of the shaft is divided into five panels of varying heights, which are separated from one another by narrow borders.

1. The top panel is filled by a vine-scroll. From a thick stem, which starts in the middle of the base, the main vine curves first to the right border, throwing off a spiral branch to the left, then to the left border, making a spiral to the right; and, recurving to the right border, forms a finishing spiral to the left. Of the three spirals the lowest is the largest and most elaborate, and is separated from the others by a longer space than lies between the two upper ones. At the foot of the vine on either side hangs a short-stemmed bunch of fruit. From below each of the spirals stretches a shoot from the main vine, which, twined across the spiral, emerges above it, and ends in fruit or foliage. The spiral branches also end in fruit and foliage, which fill the interstices of the other carving.

2. The next panel is quite small, and filled with an intricate pattern of interlacing.

3. A long panel, nearly the height of the first, is entirely filled with chequer-work, every other division being in relief. There are eight square spaces between side and side, four of which are in relief; and there are twenty-five from top to bottom.

4. This panel is small, and filled with another pattern of interlacing.

5. The lowest panel is of the same height as the top one. From the two lower corners emerge two vines, which come into contact with each other twice, forming a symmetrical figure resembling an urn, with two spirals at its base, and two at the top. The right vine curves toward and touches the left vine, then curves to the right border. After again touching the left vine, it ends in a spiral and a bunch of fruit in the right upper corner. The left vine repeats this in the opposite direction.

The borders between the panels originally contained runes, now mostly undecipherable. The lowest, however, appears to bear the word *Cynnburug*.[2]

East Face.[3]

In the panel runs a vine-scroll from bottom to top. The main vine starts in the middle of the base, and curves alternately to

[1] See Figs. 24, 25, 26.

[2] See p. 43, and Vietor, p. 16.

[3] See Figs. 27 28, 29.

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Fig. 24. **Bewcastle Cross, North and West Faces.**

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Fig. 25. **Bewcastle Cross, North Face, upper.**

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Fig. 26. **Bewcastle Cross, North Face, lower.**

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Fig. 27. **Bewcastle Cross, East Face.**

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Fig. 28. Bewcastle Cross, East Face, upper.

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Fig. 29. **Bewcastle Cross, East Face, lower.**

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right and left, touching the right border five times, the left one four times. Above each contact it throws off a spiral branch, which curves in the opposite direction to the course of the vine, touching the border in so doing. In each curled branch there rests a bird or animal, devouring the bunch of fruit in which the branch ends. They face alternately right and left. The two creatures at the top closely resemble squirrels with bushy tails over their backs; the next two are somewhat like crows; the next two are animals with small ears and no hind legs, only a tail which is curved to resemble an offshoot. The lowest creature is somewhat hard to make out. At the juncture of each spiral branch save the lowest two with the main vine, there issues a small shoot, ending in a leaf or a bunch of fruit, which fills up an empty space at the border. The top of the vine is divided into two shoots, which end in two bunches of fruit, side by side. touching the top border.

South Face.[1]

The south face is divided into five panels, three short and two long ones. They contain, beginning at the top:

1. A pattern of interlaced bands, forming a piece of knotwork just fitting the oblong panel.

2. A vine-scroll. This, starting at the middle of the base, curves first to the left, then to the right, and ends in a bunch of fruit at the upper right-hand corner. Above each contact it throws off a branch, which curves in the opposite direction to the course of the vine, and forms a spiral ending in a bunch of fruit. Several small shoots from the main vine are interlaced with the two large branches, and two bunches of fruit hang beside the base of the stem. Across the lower half of the oval space formed by the first spiral branch there is a dial-face, resembling an outstretched fan upside down, reaching from border to border. Lines are drawn to its circumference from a hole near the centre of its upper side.

3. Another pattern of interlaced bands, filling a somewhat larger panel than the first.

4. Two vine-scrolls. These, starting obliquely from the lower corners of the base, form a symmetrical design resembling a figure eight. The left vine, crossing the other, curves first to the right, then, crossing again, bends to the left. Its end is divided into three shoots tipped with fruit, one of which fills the upper right corner, after crossing a similar shoot from the other vine which fills the left corner.

[1] See Figs. 18. 30, 31, 32.

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The other two ends bend down into the upper half of the figure eight, and one, continuing, ends in a space outside the figure. The right vine is developed in exactly the same way, in the opposite direction. The two halves of the figure eight are made somewhat heart-shaped by the offshoots which bend in, and, crossing, fill the space with fruit. The upper half has two bunches, the lower four, two depending from above, two springing from shoots below. The outside triangular spaces left by the figure eight are filled with bunches of fruit, which tip the ends of shoots.

5. Still another design of interlaced bands, taller than either of the preceding.

At the edge of each face of the shaft there runs a border, inside of which is a narrower molding. Runes, now illegible, once occupied the spaces between successive panels.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE CROSSES

OUTLINE

In dealing with the crosses, we have to consider:

I. The Inscriptions.
II. The Figure-Sculpture.
III. The Decorative Sculpture.

I. The Inscriptions. These are:
1. Runic.
2. Latin.

The runic inscriptions on the Ruthwell Cross, so far as they are intelligible, embody fragments of an Old English poem, *The Dream of the Rood*. At least one short one on the Bewcastle Cross appears to spell a proper name. The longest inscription is practically illegible, but the two or three words which perhaps can be made out seem to point to a possible memorial purpose.

The Latin inscriptions (found only on the Ruthwell Cross) are extracts from the Gospels, or other phrases and short sentences, descriptive of the figure-sculpture with which they are associated.

An examination of both the runic and the Latin inscriptions with reference to their date would have reference to:

A. The forms of the letters.

Here it must be remembered that early forms of letters might be found on a comparatively late monument, but not *vice versa*.

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Fig. 30. **Bewcastle Cross, South Face.**

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Fig. 31. Bewcastle Cross, South Face, upper.

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Fig. 32. Bewcastle Cross, South Face, lower.

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B. The language.

This would include the forms of words, their inflections, their meanings, and their constructions. In the case of the fragments of *The Dream of the Rood*, an examination of the language would imply comparison, particularly with the other specimens of that Old English dialect, the Northumbrian, to which the fragments belong.

C. Metrical peculiarities.

These would be found, if at all, only in the fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* on the Ruthwell Cross.

D. Historical subject-matter, if any.

II. The Figure-Sculpture.

Here are included:

1. Single figures or groups belonging to the Gospel story, sometimes with symbolical accessories. These include (all Ruthwell but the first and last):
   - John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei (Ruthwell and Bewcastle).
   - The Annunciation.
   - The Visitation.
   - The Flight into Egypt.
   - Christ's Healing of the Blind Man.
   - The Anointing of Christ's Feet.
   - The Crucifixion.
   - The Figure of Christ alone (Ruthwell and Bewcastle).
2. Groups belonging to Christian legend. The single example of these is the group of Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony.
3. *Genre*-subjects. Here would apparently belong the man with the hawk of the Bewcastle Cross, and perhaps the archer of the Ruthwell Cross.

III. The Decorative Sculpture.

Here belong:

1. The vines or foliage-scrolls of both the Ruthwell and the Bewcastle Crosses.
2. The chequers of the Bewcastle Cross.
3. The interlacings or knots of the Bewcastle Cross.
4. The sundial of the Bewcastle Cross (unless this be regarded as purely utilitarian).

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I. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1. RUNIC

A. Forms of Letters.

If, now, we take up the subject in this order, we shall first consider the runic inscriptions with regard to the forms of the letters. These letters are commonly said to be Anglian runes, of presumably the 7th century. Here 'Anglian' might be used (1) in contradistinction to Scandinavian or German, or (2) in contradistinction to Saxon. To say that they are Anglian merely because they are found in the North of England, in territory probably or conjecturally Anglian, is to add nothing to our knowledge. Are they unlike any runic letters regarded by competent runologists as Scandinavian? Are they unlike any runic letters regarded by competent runologists as Saxon? Furthermore, can it be shown, by comparison with other authentically dated specimens, that these runic letters must be dated as early as the 7th century?[1] This is what it imports us to know. For myself, I know too little of the history of runes in detail to attempt to deal with this question at the present time. I will therefore limit myself to the remark that, even were it fully established that such runic letters as these were employed in England in the 7th century, I should not feel compelled to assume that these inscriptions belonged to the 7th century, since the history of Greek, Latin, and runic inscriptions demonstrates that earlier forms of letters not only may be found, but actually are found, on later monuments.

Boeckh has classified the different kinds of Greek inscriptions which may easily deceive the unwary as to their age.[2] A well-known example of a genuine Latin inscription renewed a couple of hundred years later, is on the Columna Rostrata,[3] discovered in 1565.

> Prima est *fictorum antiquitus*, qui seu vera seu falsa continentes posteriore ætate exarati sunt, ut prius extitisse viderentur. Tales olim fuere multi; tales habendi essent n. 43-69 nisi Petrizzopulum et Fourmontum satis teneremus convictos; tale est Delphicum quoddam apud Cyriacum oraculum, Byzantina cusum ætate.[4]

[1] Evidently not, if Sievers is right in thinking all Anglian runes, with one exception, to be as late as the 8th century (see p. 11, note 6).

[2] Cf. Franz, *Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ* (1840), pp. 73 ff.; Larfeld, *Handbuch der Griechischen Epigraphik* 1. 431 (cf. Müller's *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft* 1. 492-3).

[3] *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* 1. 37-40; cf. Wölfflin in *Sitzber. der K. Bay. Akad. der Wiss., Philos.-Philol. Classe*, 1890, 1. 293-321.

[4] Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 1. xxx.

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Alteram classem constituunt *affectati* tituli, nec priori tributi ætati ab iis, qui eos composuerunt, neque omnino falsi, sed per lusum, vel ut antiquitatis quadam quasi robigine inducta maior iis accederet auctoritas, ea forma vel scripturæ vel orationis vel utriusque facti, quæ tum non fuit usitata. Ex quo genere sunt columnæ Herodis, sæculi post Christum secundi; sed iam Praxiteles hunc secutus morem est, insigneque exemplum accessit n. 25 circa Olymp. 102 scriptum.[1]

Postremo tertia est classis titulorum falsi quadam specie interiore affectorum, sed omni fraudis suspicione liberandorum; eos dico, qui *instauratione* antiqui monumenti in priscorum successerunt locum, ut Megarici n. 1050-1051. . . . Nec poemata ex libris petita, quæ quidem iam antiquitus coniecta in lapides sint, ut n. 511. 1724. vel sententiæ scriptoribus excerptæ, ut ex Bacchylide et Platone, recte sollicitabuntur, si et scripturæ forma refert antiquitatem, et titulum aut idonei tradiderunt auctores aut monumentum continet nulla ex parte suspectum.[2]

Veri sunt tituli, *sed aliunde petiti* et in lapides coniecti, in Kempianis plures, n. 372. 614. 652. 1105*b*. ita ut hæc Kempiana monumenta sint quidem ipsa falsa, sed continent veras inscriptiones. . . . *Aliena inscriptio* ex libro petita imposita est sepulcro Homeri, quod vocatur, *antiqua antiquo monumento*, et sic permultæ ex Anthologia et aliis vetustis libris coniectæ in antiqua anaglypha sunt.[3]

With regard to the occurrence of the earlier forms of runes on later Danish monuments, the words of Wimmer are authoritative.

De ældre formen ikke sjælden genfindes på nogle af de yngste mindesmærker.[4]

As to the reproduction of earlier forms at a comparatively late date on the Bewcastle Cross, Sievers expressed his opinion in 1891.

Die Inschrift dieses Steines [Bewcastle Cross] bietet so vieles Rätselhafte, dass man sich zu der Annahme gezwungen sieht, dass wir es mit einer jungen Kopie einer alten, nicht verstandenen Inschrift zu tun haben. Das uralte *Olwſwolþu* neben Novitäten wie *Kyneswiþa*, *Wulfhere* statt *Kyni-*, *-heri*; *kyninges*, *rices* statt *-æs*; *gebid* . . . st. *gibid* . . . wäre bei einer Originalschrift doch ein zu starker Anachronismus. Und wie wäre sonst das unsinnige *gebid heo sinna sowhula* statt *gibiddæþ sinræ sawlæ* zu erklären ?[5]

[1] Boeckh 1. xxx. [2] *Ibid.* 1. xxxi. [3] *Ibid.* 1. xxx.

[4] Wimmer, *De Danske Runemindesmærker*, 1[1]. clxxxi; cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 5. 614: 'It appears certain that in Oldnamic writings stereotyped forms were used long after they had disappeared in ordinary speech.'

[5] *Anglia* 13. 12, note; otherwise Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, pp. 212-3.

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Henry Rousseau tells[1] of certain sepulchral slabs in Belgium which bear inscriptions evidently copied from earlier ones, thus substantiating the foregoing statements.

That runic inscriptions were carved in England in the 12th century[2] is generally admitted. Such are those on a tympanum at Perrington (1150 or later),[3] the so-called Dolfin runes[4] at Carlisle Cathedral (doubtful), those on the Bridekirk font,[5] and those on the Adam grave-slab at Dearham.[6] Of the 11th century is the Danish stone found in St. Paul's churchyard, London.[7]

The oldest runic inscriptions of Denmark date from the 9th century.[8] Those referring to historic personages are not found earlier than 935–940.[9] According to Allen, the runic inscriptions of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark date from the 10th to the 16th century.[10] The oldest Icelandic ones belong to the 13th century.[11] The Old Norwegian ones, according to Noreen,[12] are but little, if any, older than the written documents, and of these only two are found so early as 900–1100.

B. Language.

We shall next consider the language of the runic inscriptions. So far as the Ruthwell fragments of *The Dream of the Rood* are concerned, I made a comparison in 1901 between their linguistic forms and those of the other Northumbrian documents which could be approximately dated, and came to the same conclusion as already

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[1] *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 70.

[2] For the Isle of Man, see p. 38, note 4.

[3] See Keyser, *List of Early Norman Tympana*, pp. xxvi, lxix, and Fig. 137; *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, N. S. 3. 373.

[4] *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 6. 308; *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 93.

[5] *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 68 ff. Vietor calls the runes essentially Norse, and the language Middle English (*Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16, note 2).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 123. Vietor says (*ibid.*): 'Das nord. Runen-M (früher "R") ergab . . . sofort den nichtenglischen Charakter der Inschrift.'

[7] Wimmer, *De Danske Runemindesmærker* 1[1]. cxxxvi-vii; Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, p. xxvi.

[8] Wimmer 1[1]. lxvi; cf. 2. 317.

[9] Wimmer 1[1]. clxxix.

[10] *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 207.

[11] Noreen, *Altisländ. und Altnorw. Gram.*, 3d ed., p. 8.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

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in 1890[1] that, in spite of certain forms apparently early, the fragments must be dated as late as, or later than, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* of about 950.

> On the basis of this phonological examination [conducted at some length] we have found that, while the general aspect of the inscription has led many persons to refer it to an early period, it lacks some of the marks of antiquity; every real mark of antiquity can be paralleled from the latest documents; some of the phenomena point to a period subsequent to that of *Lind.* and *Rit.* [*Lindisfarne Gospels* and *Durham Ritual*, ca. 950], and none flatly contradicts such an assumption. If to this we add that a comparison with *The Dream of the Rood* indicates that the Ruthwell inscription is later than that poem; that certain of the forms of the poem seem to have been inadvertently retained; and that at least one word, *dorstæ*, is, in its radical vowel, not Northumbrian at all, while it is of the dialect of the *Rood*, we shall not hesitate, I believe, to assume that the Ruthwell inscription is at least as late as the tenth century.[2]

One word, not treated at length in my article of 1901, is here dealt with more fully, because of the importance attached to it by the brilliant scholar, Kemble.

Ungget.

Kemble called the word, which appears on the east side of the Ruthwell Cross, on the left margin, a little more than halfway down, an ' incontrovertible proof of extreme antiquity, having,' as he added, ' to the best of my knowledge, never been found but in this passage.'

That Kemble had found the word nowhere else was, of course, no proof whatever of its extreme antiquity. As a matter of fact, it occurs neither in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* (save here) nor in the writings of Alfred. Had Kemble lived a few years longer, he could, however, have found another example of it. The article[3] from which the above extract is taken was published in 1840; Kemble died in 1857; and between 1864 and 1869 Oswald Cockayne published a set of occasional papers under the title of *The Shrine*, in No. 7 of which, a life of Malchus, our word occurs as *uncet*, in the following sentence: ' Hēr wit habbað hǣlo, gif Drihten unc wile fultumian; and gif hē forhigeð uncet fyrenfulle, þonne habbað wit hēr byrgene in þissum eorðscræfe.' Here it stands, parallel with

[1] *Academy* (London) 37. 153-4.

[2] *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 389-90. A better reading of one of the words of the *Leiden Riddle*, *cnyissan* for *cnyssa* (Schlutter, *Anglia* 32. 387), only confirms my general conclusion. Brandl (see p. 14, above) speaks of the lines as being ' partly in metrical confusion ' (p. 139).

[3] *Archæologia* 28. 359.

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unc,[1] in a text which has some northern peculiarities (*gesēgon for gesāwon, cēgan* for *cīegan, in* for *on*), but also some which are as clearly Late West Saxon (*specan* for *sprecan, gȳt* for *gīet, drihten* for *dryhten, þinceð* for *þynceð, gehȳrde* for *gehīerde, miccle* for *micle, næddran* for *nædran*).[2]

In like manner, *incit* occurs in the poetical *Genesis A* (2732, 2880), side by side with *unc* (2504).

As neither *incit* nor *uncet* appears in any other Germanic tongue, we have no means of determining whether *-it* or *-et* is earlier, save on the basis of Old English alone. Now as the *Genesis A* is presumably earlier than the *Malchus*, and as the former has *-it* (twice), while the latter has *-et*, it would seem, though the evidence is scanty, that *-it* is the older ending ; and this appears to be the view of Sievers, who writes[3] *incit* and *uncit* (*?*). Accordingly, the form on the Ruthwell Cross, with its ending *-et*, would, by this test, be rather late.

Again, the spelling of the runic form is very peculiar. It is usually transliterated as *ungket* or *ungcet*. Now the substitution of the rune *ng* (a single letter) for *n* is sufficiently remarkable ; but, in addition to this, I am convinced that the next following letter is not *c* (or *k*), as in the *cwomu*[4] of the west side, right border, but rather *g* (the rune X). Hence we have the extraordinary form, *ungget*, which looks as though the sculptor had carved a word whose spelling was unfamiliar to him, and had done it bunglingly.[5]

Inc and *unc*, the much more usual forms of the dual dative and accusative, continue on into Middle English, occurring as late as

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[1] *Shrine*, p. 42. [2] All on p. 42.

[3] *Old English Grammar*, tr. Cook, § 332.

[4] The comparison with the first letter of *cwomu* may be conveniently made on the basis of the photograph of the Edinburgh cast (reproduced by Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 447), by counting down the right border to the eleventh line, not including the upper margin. The first three letters, CWO, are just above the bunch of fruit over the bird whose head is turned to the left ; the rune for C looks something like a trident.

[5] The word can be made out by any one who has access to a good photograph of this side (see Vietor's Fig. 1, for example ; much less clear in my Fig. 13 *a*) ; it is situated on the left border of the east side, nearly opposite the hand of Christ in the group with the blind man, and also nearly opposite the foot of the bird whose head is turned to the left. The word is divided between two lines, thus :

UUN͡G (three letters)
GET

the first U belonging to the preceding word.

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1250, and sporadically even later. Since the dual of the first and second personal pronouns is thus recognized for about two hundred years after the Norman Conquest, it is not surprising that a dual form should occur on the Ruthwell Cross at a late period ; and, as we have seen above, the evidence favors a late period rather than an earlier, (1) because the only other occurrence of the word is in a text with late spellings, (2) because *-et*, the ending in both examples of the word, seems late, as if due to lack of stress, and (3) because the sculptor makes two blunders in the one word, showing perhaps that it was specially unfamiliar when he worked.

From *The Dream of the Rood* is taken a much briefer inscription, occurring on a reliquary at Brussels, reputed to contain a fragment of the True Cross. The inscription was engraved on a strip of silver which formerly encircled the reliquary, and which was found when the latter was taken to pieces at the instance of Professor Logeman.[1] In order to understand its relation to the corresponding fragments on the Ruthwell Cross, I give first the adapted lines of *The Dream of the Rood* (42 (beginning), 44, 45, 48) :

Bifode ic. . . .
. . . . . .
Rōd wæs ic ārǣred ; āhōf ic rīcne Cyning,
heofona Hlāford ; hyldan mē ne dorste.
. . . . . .
Bysmeredon hīe unc būtū ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blōde bestēmed.

Here the Ruthwell Cross has (Vietor's readings) :

ic riicnæ Kyning,
heafunæs Hlāfard ; hælda ic ni dorstæ.
Bismærædu ungget[2] men bā ætgad[r]e.
Ic . . . . miþ blōdæ bistēmid.

It is evident that the monumental inscription omits lines and hemistichs, and substitutes one word or form for another.

The Brussels inscription is not continuous on the silver plate of the reliquary, but divided as follows :

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[1] See his brochure, *L'Inscription Anglo-Saxonne du Reliquaire de la Vraie Croix*, 1891, pp. 3, 6.

[2] Vietor, *ungket*; see p. 34, above.

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†RODISMINNAMAGEOICRICNECYNINGBÆRBYFIGYNDEB
LODEBESTEMED
ÞA
SRODEHETÆÞLMÆR
WYRICAN7
AD[1]ELWOLDHYSBEROÞO
CRISTETOLOFEFORÆLFRICESSAVLEHYRABEROÞOR[2]

This gives us :

> ' Rōd is mīn nama ; gēo ic rīcne Cyning bær,
> byfigynde, blōde bestēmed. Þās rōde hēt
> Æþlmær wyrican, and Adelwold hys berōþo[r],
> Crīste tō lofe, for Ælfrices sāule hyra berōþor ;'

which may be thus translated :

> ' Rood is my name ; of old I bore the mighty King, trembling, bedewed with blood. This rood had Æthelmær made, and Æthelwold his brother, to the glory of Christ, for the soul of Ælfric their brother.'

The Brussels inscription thus proceeds with at least as much freedom as that of the Ruthwell Cross. The *byfigynde* is a transposed adaptation of *Bifode* (42) ; 44 is materially changed ; and the phrase from 48, while remaining unaltered, is moved up several lines ; so that the effect of the whole is that of extreme condensation, with line 44, retaining *ic rīcne Cyning* as its core, becoming dominant.

As to its bearing upon the date of the Ruthwell Cross inscription, Logeman[3] assigns the Brussels inscription to about the year 1100, and this can hardly be far from the truth. In any case, I presume that no expert, in view of the phonology, would date it earlier than 1000. To the words cited as proof by Logeman might be added the Late West Saxon *gēo*[4] and *wyrican* ; the latter may be compared with the *wyrican* of the *Blickling Homilies*[5], commonly referred to A. D. 971, and the *wyrihta*, *-e* of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (ca. 950). The

[1] Logeman reads Ð, but the facsimile does not seem to bear him out. We clearly have a Latinized form such as is often found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; this is borne out by the *A* of *Adelwold*, for *Æ*.

[2] On the back of the reliquary is the Old English sentence :

DRAHMALMEWORHTE ;

which resolves itself into :

' Drahmal mē worhte.'

This, in modern English, means : ' Drahmal made me.'

[3] P. 10.

[4] Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 298.

[5] 75. 13.

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Brussels inscription, then, indicates that *The Dream of the Rood* was drawn upon in the 11th or 12th century for epigraphic purposes, and therefore tends to confirm any independent presumption that the Ruthwell Cross inscription is to be assigned to a late period, or at least does nothing to invalidate such a presumption.

With reference to the runic inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross which can be read with any certainty, these are limited by Vietor[1] to *Cyniburug* and *(Ge)ssu(s)*, on the north face; *Gessus Cristtus* [*Kristtus*], on the west above the figure of Christ; with *Hwætr(e)d* (l. 2) . . . *gar* (l. 4), *Alcfripu* (ll. 5–6, very probably), *cyning* (l. 6), and *Osw[iu]ng* (l. 7, very probably), in the main inscription. Of *æft Al* he says (p. 15): 'Alle beschädigt, aber, wie ich glaube, vorhanden,' so that he would also read *æft*.

I will limit my examination here to two words, the name *Gessus Kristtus* and the preposition *æft*, reserving a consideration of *Alcfripu* for a later place.

Gessus Kristtus.

Above the figure of Christ on the west face of the Bewcastle Cross are the runic letters spelling †*Gessu*[*s*] *Kristtus*.[2] The only perfect parallels to this with which I am acquainted are to be found on the censers from Hesselager and Kullerup, in Denmark. The former reads in runes, *Gesus Krist*, and the latter, †*Gesus Krt*. The former, and perhaps the latter, was made by one Jacob the Red. The spelling *Gesus*, according to the highest authority on the subject, Professor Wimmer, was a customary spelling at this period, the latest years of the 13th century.

> **Gesus er en almindelig skrivenmåde på denne tid ved siden af iesus.[3] Sprog og runeformen viser at de må henføres til sidste halvdel af det 13 årh., nærmest det's slutning.[4]**

The only English parallel to this use of *g* for *j* which I know of is on the Hawkswell Cross, where the inscription reads:

HAEC EST CRUX SCI ȝACOBI[5]

This must, of course, be comparatively late, unless the ȝ be I, as one copyist read it.[6]

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[1] *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16.

[2] See p. 25.

[3] Wimmer 4[1]. 115.

[4] Wimmer 4[1]. 136-7.

[5] Cf. Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 129, 218; Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, pp. 215-6.

[6] See Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 217.

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Æft.

Of the whole long inscription on the west face of the Bewcastle Cross, the word *aft*, or *æft*, can be read at least as certainly as anything else. It is not elsewhere to be found in English in the sense it bears here, 'to the memory of,' though *æfter* (*-ær*, *-ar*, *-e*) occurs, according to the customary readings, on the Dewsbury, Collingham, Yarm, and Thornhill stones in Yorkshire, and the Falstone stone in Northumberland, very near Bewcastle.[1] The lapidary inscriptions excepted, neither Old English, nor English of any later period, knows either *æft* or *æfter* in this sense.[2] On the other hand, these words, in a great variety of forms, are common in the commemorative runic stones of the Continent, and in those reared by Scandinavians in the Northern and Western Islands,[3] and especially the Isle of Man.[4] It is natural, then, to assume Scandinavian influence from the West as accounting for the use of *æft* in this sense on the Bewcastle Cross. Now as the Isle of Man approaches to within about 33 miles of the Cumberland coast, and its northern point is distant only about 70 miles from Bewcastle (55 or so from Ruthwell), it is from there that the influence is likely

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[1] Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 127, 128, 129; Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine*, pp. 17, 19, 22; Plates 4. 10; 5. 13, 14; 7. 17-19; Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 211-2, 218; Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 205; Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 162. The inscription on the Yarm stone must, at least in its present form, be late, if the *y* of *ysetae* is correctly read (see the last reference); Canon Greenwell, however (*Catalogue*, pp. 112-5), following Skeat, reads *gi*, but says the character is indistinct.

[2] Neither the Bosworth-Toller nor the *New English Dictionary* recognizes this meaning.

[3] Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. in Scotland*, p. xxviii; Allen, *ibid.* 3. 19, 37; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* 2. 227 ff.; cf. Noreen, *Altisländ. und Altnorw. Gram.*, pp. 15-16.

[4] These stones are as follows: Andreas I (Kermode, *Catalogue of the Manks Crosses*, 2d ed., p. 35), Andreas III (p. 36), Andreas V (p. 37), Ballaugh (p. 37), Braddan I (p. 38), Braddan III (p. 40), Braddan IV (p. 41), Bride (p. 42), Conchan (p. 43), German II (p. 45), Michael I (p. 47), Michael III (p. 49), Michael IV (p. 51), Michael V (p. 52). Two typical inscriptions are these: Andreas III: 'Sontulf hin Suarti raisti krus þona aftir Arinbiaurk kuinu sina' (*Sandulf the Black erected this cross to the memory of Arinbjörg his wife*); Michael V: '† Iualfir sunr Þurulfs hins Rauþa risti krus þono aft Friþu muþur sino †' (*Joalf, son of Thorolf the Red, raised this cross to the memory of Fritha, his mother*). Cf. Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, pp. 195, 201.

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to have come.[1] The Manx stones in question are assigned to the years 1050–1100, or later.[2] Hence we gain an important *terminus a quo* for all the English stones bearing *æft* or *æfter* in this sense.

Æft Alkfripu is plain, but the words following are a little doubtful.[3]

ÆFTAL alle beschädigt, aber, wie ich glaube, vorhanden; CFRI (dies mit Nebenstrichen rechts ? und vielleicht noch: = ᚦ ? auf der Grenze) . . . ᚦᚢ . . . (U ? mit Querstrichen).[4]

IFTIR, *after*, preposition governing the accusative. The word is found with numerous variations on the Swedish, Danish, and Manx stones—*after, aft, auft, eft, aftir, eftir, oftir, aiftir*, and *iftir* as in the present case.[5]

I samme Betydning forekommer *aft* i mange Runeindskrifter især fra 9de og 10de Aarh.[6]

The Northmen would seem to have made their way into western Yorkshire by way of Cumberland.[7]

Before the Normans came, our district [the diocese of Carlisle] was Scandinavian. . . . There is reason to believe . . . that Norse began to settle the western parts not much later [than 876], coming in from the Isle of Man and Ireland. . . . In the course of 200 years their descendants became leading landowners, as we see from Norse names in twelfth century records. The map (over leaf) sketches the probable distribution of races. Naturally, the art of the district must have been influenced by such people. . . . We have then remains in Man of a kindred race to ours in the age before the Normans came; and we find resemblances between the Manx crosses and some of ours both in subject and in style.[8]

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[1] Cf. p. 102. Rousseau (*Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 71) even conjectures, in allusion to the local tradition that the Ruthwell Cross had come by sea, that it may have been carved in the Isle of Man.

[2] Noreen (*Gram.*, p. 16) assigns the date 1050-1100; Kermode (p. 1) says: ' The greater number appear to belong to the early part of the 12th century '; in the *Saga-book of the Viking Club* 1. 369, he says 1050-1150.

[3] Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 45.

[4] Vietor, p. 15. I may add that *æft* seemed to me, on an inspection of the stone on August 26, 1909, to be, if anything, the plainest word in the inscription.

[5] Goudie, in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, N. S. 1. 152.

[6] Bugge, *Norges Indskrifter med de Ældre Runer*, p. 33. See also Stephens, *Old-North. Runic Mon.*, passim.

[7] E. A. Freeman, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 8. 283, note.

[8] Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 290-1, and map on pp. 292-3.

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> They [runic monuments] are restricted in Scotland to the area which was conquered and colonised by the Norsemen in the eighth and ninth centuries, comprehending the Isles of Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides, and Man.[1]

According to the testimony of this word,[2] then, the form, if not Scandinavian, seems at least to point to Scandinavian influence, and to be late rather than early.[3]

C. Metrical Peculiarities.

We next come to the metre of the poetic fragments found on the Ruthwell Cross. This I have discussed, in comparison with the metre of the standard version of the poem excerpted (see p. 23), in the paper referred to above,[4] with the result here summarized:

1. The poetic fragments have long lines, while the earliest Old English poetry—*Cædmon's Hymn*, *Bede's Death-Song*, the *Leiden Riddle*, and the *Bonifatian Proverb*—has only short lines.

2. The portions corresponding to lines 39–42 of *The Dream of the Rood* cannot be made to scan or alliterate properly, while the corresponding lines of *The Dream of the Rood* are unexceptionable in this respect, thus confirming in a general way the view of Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, p. 125): 'The sculptor or designer of the Ruthwell stone, having only a limited space at his command, selected from the poem such verses as he thought most appropriate, and engraved them wherever he had room for them.'

D. Historical Subject-Matter.

Finally, we may consider the runic inscriptions with reference to historical subject-matter, premising that as the memorial high crosses of Ireland do not antedate the 12th century,[5] as the

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[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 226-7.

[2] The word *Alcfripu* points in the same direction; cf. pp. 42-43.

[3] The two words, *ricæs Dryhtnæs*, which were read in 1615 on the head of a cross found at Bewcastle, were not necessarily on *our* cross (see p. 122, below); if they were, the only mark of age is *-æs*, and this, as I have shown (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 388), is no binding proof of early dates, Kluge quotes *lī/æs* twice, and *dōmæs* once, from a brief MS. of 1050-1100, *Eng. Stud.* 8. 477), even if we disregard the possibility of copying from an earlier inscription (see above, pp. 11, 31).

[4] *Op. cit.* 17. 375-381.

[5] Cf. p. 54, note 3.

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MAUGHAN'S

+ [TH] I S S I G : B [E A] C N :
[T H U] N : S E T T O N : H
W [Æ T] R E D : W [Æ T H]
G A R : A L W F W O L
[T H U] : A F T : A L C F R I
[T H U] : E A N : C Y N I [I N G] :
E A C : O S W I U [I N G] :
+ G E B I D : H E
O : S I N N A : S A W [H U] L A.

HAIGH'S

+ [TH] I S : S I G B E C
U N : S E T T Æ : H
W Æ T R E D : W I T
G Æ R : F L W O L D
U : R O E T B [E R] T :
U M Æ : C Y N [I N G] :
A L C F R I [T H] Æ : G
E G I D Æ D :
H I S S U M : S A U L E.

(From Maughan, *Memoir*, p. 33.)

(From Haigh, *Conquest of Britain.*)

Fig. 33.

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Danish memorial stones are of the 9th century and later,[1] and as those of the Isle of Man probably lie between 1050 and 1100, or later,[2] it is antecedently improbable that there should be such a memorial cross in the England of the 7th century.

First, as to the Ruthwell Cross. For some time it was supposed, on the testimony of George Stephens,[3] that words which might be translated, *Cædmon me made*, were to be found near the top of the cross; but this was completely disproved by Vietor[4] in 1885, had it not been sufficiently discredited already by the impossibility of making any sense of the words supposed to stand there.

Next, as to the Bewcastle Cross. In 1857, Rev. John Maughan, who had previously[5] come to quite a different result, interpreted the long inscription to mean[6]: '†Hwætred, Wæthgar, and Alwfwold set up this slender pillar in memory of Alcfrid, *ane* king, and son of Oswy. †Pray thou for them, their sins, their souls.'

About the same time, Rev. Daniel H. Haigh, an antiquary of somewhat similar standing, rendered the same inscription thus: 'Hwætred, Witgær, Felwold, and Roetbert set up this beacon of victory in memory of Alcfrid. Pray for his soul.'[7] This he afterwards revised to read: 'This memorial set Hwætred in the great pestilence year to Roetbert to King Alcfride. Pray for their souls.'[8] A few years later, Haigh rendered[9]: 'This memorial Hwætred set and carved this monument after the prince, after the King Alcfrid; pray for their souls.'

George Stephens, the runologist, inclined to Maughan's version, and gave this rendering in his large work[10]: 'This spiring sign-pillar set was by Hwætred, Wothgar, Olufwolth, after Alcfrith, sometime king and son of Oswi. †Pray for his soul's great sin.'[11]

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[1] P. 32.
[2] P. 39, note 2.
[3] See my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xii ff.
[4] *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 12.
[5] *Archæological Journal* 11. 131-3.
[6] *Memoir*, p. 18; see Fig. 33.
[7] Maughan, *Memoir*, p. 33; see Fig. 33.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[9] *The Conquest of Britain* (London, 1861), p. 37; see Fig. 33.
[10] *Old-North. Runic Mon.* 1. 402.
[11] Cf. Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 203; Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 278.

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These proper names, combined with others supposed to be read on other parts of the cross,[1] furnished materials for the hypothesis that the cross was erected in memory of Alcfrith, son of Oswy, a personage mentioned by Bede as belonging to the 7th century.[2]

Unfortunately, the readings upon which these interpretations repose will not bear the test of critical investigation, and we accordingly find them largely rejected by Vietor, who has published the most scholarly account of these readings.[3]

The combinations and conjectures of Maughan and Haigh are thus seen, apart from their mutual contradictions, to fall to the ground, except for such support as they may derive from two or three proper names. Of a 7th century Hwætred nothing is known; one of ca. 701 was a nobleman of East Anglia,[4] and another, abbot of Reculver in Kent, belongs to ca. 760. The name to which most importance has been attached is undoubtedly Alcfrithu, and, as Vietor is strongly inclined to believe that it may be read upon the cross, I will examine it at some length.

Alcfriþu.

Alcfriþu, or *Alkfriþu*, seems reasonably clear (see p. 39). If correctly read, it cannot, however, be masculine, as commonly assumed. Following *æft*, it should be an accusative; but the accusative of *Alcfriþ* would be the same as the nominative, unless it were Latinized, when it would be *Alcfridum*, not *Alcfriþu*. It would be much easier to understand it as feminine, especially if we assume

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[1] Thus Maughan says (p. 27) with reference to certain runes that he found on the south side: 'The four lines on this side of the Cross are evidently connected with each other, and are to be read thus:—" fruman gear Ecgfrithu kyninges rices thæs," — *in the first year (of the reign) of Egfrid, king of this kingdom of Northumbria, i. e.*, A. D. 670, in which year we may conclude that this monument was erected.' Here Haigh read (Maughan, p. 37-8): 'Oswu Cyning elt Eanflad Cyniburug Ecgfrid Cyng;' that is: 'Oswy king the elder; Eanflæd; Cyniburug; King Egfrid.' Vietor (pp. 15-16) can make nothing of these traces of letters. Any one who is disposed to verify the above results might attempt it on the basis of the photographs of the south face (see p. 27), reading what he can find on that border, beginning from below; thus above the lowest interlacing: †FRUMANGEAR (Maughan), or OSWUCYNINGELT (Haigh), etc. These runes can be read as well from the photographs as from the stone direct, I should say.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* 3. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28; 5. 19; *Hist. Abb.* 2.

[3] *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 16.

[4] Cf. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 309.

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Norse influence, as we seem bound to do for *æft*. The *aft Friþu* of Kirk Michael V, among the inscriptions of the Isle of Man (see p. 38, note 4), will at once suggest itself. That such a feminine proper noun is not unexampled in the Germanic tongues is shown by Förstemann's[1] 41 Old High German feminines in *-frida* (besides 8 in *-is*), as against 220 masculines, the 3 instances of *Asfriðr* (fem.) which Wimmer finds[2] in Old Danish runic inscriptions, and the 11th century *Ecferð* [for *Ecgfrith*], *Ēadhunes dohter*[3] of Old English. That there is no celebrated historic woman of this name does not militate against the conclusion that *Alcfriþu*, if so we must read, is the name of a woman, and not of a man. All arguments for the 7th century, derived from an identification of the person named on the cross with the under-king of Deira, accordingly fall to the ground.

As the border between the two lowest panels on the north side of the Bewcastle Cross has been generally assumed to bear the name *Cynnburug* (or *Cyniburug*), I will touch briefly upon this name.

Cynnburug.[4]

Nicolson's letter in 1685 already records the form. Vietor is certain that he can read *Cyniburug* ; but any one can see from the photograph that the letter just before the (angular) B is a vertical crossed by a bar, and not a mere vertical—hence an N, and not an I. *Cynnburug* is compounded of *cynn* and *burug*, and each of these may be examined separately.

As the first element of a compound, *Cyni-* is the predominant early form, followed by *Cyne-* and *Cyn-*. Thus in the early part of the *Liber Vitæ* (ca. 800) there are 114 instances of *Cyni-*, and only 7 of *Cyn-*, *Cyniburg* occurring three times (once also in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*). As to *Cyne-*, it appears as early as 692, but is much less frequent than *Cyni-* for a generation or so after this. *Cyn-* (in *Cynulfus*) is found in 758, but occurs far less frequently in the early period than the other two forms[5]. On the other hand, *cynn* is not only the prevailing form for the simple word in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* of ca. 950, but occurs three times in that text as the first element of compounds, while *cyn-* is found but once.

[1] *Althochdeutsches Namenbuch*, 2d ed., col. 527.

[2] Wimmer 1. 35, 57, 63, 66; 4². xxxix.

[3] Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 925 (4. 263), Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 621; Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 275.

[4] See p. 26.

[5] Cf. F. Tupper, Jr., ' The Philological Legend of Cynewulf,' *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 26. 240 ff.

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Cynn and *kynn* then occur, along with other forms, until the 16th century.[1]

With *-burug* the case is even clearer. In the period covered by Sweet's *Oldest English Texts* it does not occur, save for a very few instances in the Namur manuscript of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in a Continental hand, with many later corrections, and, as Plummer[2] tells us, quite worthless for the settlement of the text. *Burug*, moreover, does not occur in the writings of Alfred. But again in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* it is the predominant form, occurring no fewer than 22 times. Afterward it continues, as *burug* and *buruh*, to appear down the centuries till the 14th, and finally becomes our modern *borough*.

It is evident, then, that both *cynn* and *burug* are comparatively late forms, which do not flourish till the 10th century, and persist long after that. Hence the form *Cynnburug* could not be expected till the 10th century at earliest, and then, if at all, in the North of England rather than the South.

2. LATIN

A. Forms of Letters.

If now we turn to the Latin inscriptions, we are to consider first the forms of the letters. Only C, G, O, and S call for any particular remark.

> In the Latin inscriptions on the front and back of the Ruthwell Cross all the letters are capitals, with the exception of the G, which is of the minuscule form. The letters C, O, and S are of the angular shape; and the M is of the double H pattern, which occurs on the crosses at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire, and in the early Hiberno-Saxon MSS.[3]

The lozenge-shaped, or diamond-shaped, O has sometimes been thought to indicate an early date. That it is found in manuscripts at a comparatively early period cannot be denied[4]; but Dr. G. F. Warner, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, refers me to an instance in the Leabhar na hUidhre, or Book of the Dun Cow, written by a man who died in 1106[5]; and other examples occur (the

[1] *New Eng. Dict.*

[2] *Bædæ Opera Historica* 1. lxxxvii.

[3] Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. 448. The *Burlington Magazine* of June 15, 1912 has a plate (p. 145) of all the forms of Latin letters occurring on the Ruthwell Cross.

[4] See Lethaby's remarks in *Burl. Mag.*, as above.

[5] Cf. *Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, Part 1, No. xxxvii.

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square C also at Piacenza) on panels in the cathedral of Piacenza (1122),[1] and on the gate of the monastery of St. Ursin at Bourges (ça. 1150).[2] The inscription on the Brussels reliquary, which Logeman[3] assigns to about 1100, has various examples of the angular C, G, and O. There is therefore no necessity of postulating an earlier date on account of this peculiar O. In fact, according to Caumont, the lozenge-shaped O becomes more frequent in lapidary inscriptions the later the date within this period in France.

> Plus tard, quelques altérations seulement s'introduisirent dans la forme de certaines lettres. Les c devinrent quelquefois carrés ; les o approchèrent de la forme d'un losange.[4]

B. Language. — C. Metrical Peculiarities. D. Historical Subject-Matter.

As to the language, metrical peculiarities, or subject-matter of the Latin inscriptions, there is almost nothing to be said. The spelling *natibitate*, for *nativitate*, occurs, but I do not know what bearing, if any, this has upon the question of date. There is no Latin verse ; and the subject-matter is taken from the Gospel history or from early Christian legend, and so affords no clue.

II. THE FIGURE-SCULPTURE

The figure-sculpture embraces, as we have seen, figures or groups whose subjects are taken from the New Testament, one from early Christian legend, and two of the nature of *genre*. These need to be treated somewhat fully, and accordingly I have endeavored to show the relation of these figures or groups (with the exception of the healing of the blind man) to others which represent the same subject in the earliest Occidental sculpture with which I am acquainted.

The figure of Christ by himself has so much in common with that which is known as the ' Majesty,' that I deal with it under that head.

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[1] Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana* 3. 176-7. There are square C's in the inscription on the Church of St. James of the Rialto, Venice. Ruskin, who figures the inscription in his *Works* (Library Edition) 21. 269, wavers as to date (1073 in 24. 236-7 : *St. Mark's Rest*, §§ 35, 36 ; elsewhere (29. 98) he says 9th century, deferring to a Venetian antiquary.

[2] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française* 8. 204.

[3] *L'Inscription Anglo-Saxonne du Reliquaire de la Vraie Croix*, pp. 10, 11 ; cf. the facsimiles at the end of his volume.

[4] *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 59.

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1. SINGLE FIGURES OR GROUPS BELONGING TO THE GOSPEL STORY

A. John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei.

On the north face of the Ruthwell Cross is a figure of John the Baptist,[1] nimbed, wearing a long tunic and a mantle, and carrying a lamb, also nimbed; the similar figure on the Bewcastle Cross is without a nimbus.

Among the statues of the north porch of Chartres (before 1275) is one of John the Baptist with a lamb completely aureoled.[2] There is a similar one belonging to the 13th century in the west porch of the Cathedral of Rheims.[3]

The talaric tunic and the mantle are of assistance in determining the date. According to Bulteau, they are not found on figures of John the Baptist before the 10th century.

The nimbus is not, according to Didron, uniformly given to saints before the 11th century, and, beginning with the 12th, becomes a rude disk, instead of being 'fine and attenuate.'

> Dans les monuments du Ve au Xe siècle Saint Jean-Baptiste n'apparait que couvert d'un peau brute affectant la forme d'une tunique courte, jetée négligemment sur les épaules. Depuis le Xe siècle jusqu'au XVIe Saint Jean est toujours vêtu de la tunique et du manteau selon le costume dit *apostolique*.[4]

> The nimbus is not constantly figured around the head of saints, in monuments belonging to a period earlier than the eleventh century.... The nimbus, up to the twelfth century, was fine and attenuate.... During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the nimbus became more dense, narrower, and extending less beyond the head.... It was nothing more thenceforth than a rude disk, a kind of plate or sort of circular pillow painted or sculptured behind the head. It was a thick wall, not transparent glass.[5]

Allen attributes to the 13th and 14th centuries a somewhat similar figure of the Baptist.

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[1] See p. 20; cf. p. 24.

[2] Bulteau, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres* 2. 182-3; Marriage, *The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, p. 166.

[3] Didron, *Christian Iconography* 1. 321-2.

[4] Bulteau 2. 183-4, note.

[5] Didron 1. 99-100.

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St. John the Baptist is frequently represented in the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, carrying a book or circular medallion with the Lamb of God upon it, to which he points.[1]

Very significant is the statue on the trumeau belonging to the central doorway leading from the narthex into the abbey church of Vézelay, where the Baptist bears the lamb upon a medallion.

Sur la pile cannelée de ce trumeau se dresse la statue de saint Jean-Baptiste. . . . La tête nimbée du saint. . . . Devant lui le précurseur porte un disque où se voyait autrefois l'agneau pascal, image du Christ, et l'index de sa main droite, appuyée au rebord du médaillon, semble désigner cette image, comme l'indique l'inscription gravée sur le socle de la statue:

Agnoscant omnes quia dicitur iste Iohannes,
[Qui reti]net populum, demonstrans indice Christum.[2]

The date of the relief on the Ruthwell Cross can hardly, then, according to the indications, be earlier than the 12th century.

B. The Annunciation and the Visitation.[3]

The Annunciation and the Visitation are found, now together and now separate, in various 12th century buildings.

For the two at Moissac, in connection with other scenes from the Infancy, see p. 51. There is another Annunciation in the cloister, capital No. 39 (ca. 1140–60).

L'ange se tient debout [this is on the west face] devant Marie, vêtue d'une longue robe, d'une guimpe et d'un voile. Face sud; la Vierge se levant de son siège, fait un geste d'étonnement; un élégant édifice sépare cette scène de la Visitation.[4]

In the tympanum of the southern doorway leading from the narthex into the abbey church of Vézelay, the rectangular lower panel contains an Annunciation (the winged angel at the left); next, at the right, follows a house with a tower (interpreted by Porée as the residence of Zacharias at Hebron), and then the Visitation (the figure nearest the house, and facing to the right, is probably Elizabeth); then come the Shepherds and the Nativity; above,

[1] *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 257.

[2] Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 42. The trumeau belongs to a date earlier than 1135, probably (*ibid.*, p. 15).

[3] See pp. 16, 18.

[4] Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*, p. 72; cf. pp. 36, 61.

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in the semicircular space, is the Adoration of the Magi.[1] This is the portal which has, on the capitals of the pilasters at the right, the archer shooting at the demon.[2] There seems to have been an Annunciation on the right hand pilaster of the central outer doorway of Vézelay.

> L'inscription SANCTA MARIA ET ANGELUS se voyait en lettres romanes sur le pilastre de droite, ce qui a autorisé Viollet-le-Duc à y représenter une Annonciation.[3]

In the central lancet of the 12th century window at Chartres there are an Annunciation and a Visitation.[4] They are also to be found among the statues of the north porch, but these date, according to Viollet-le-Duc, from 1245 to 1270. Then there is an upper window of the nave (Bulteau's No. 17) which has both the Annunciation and the Visitation.[5] In the Visitation, Mary is seen opening her arms to receive Elizabeth, who places her right hand on Mary's shoulder, while her left expresses admiration mingled with astonishment.[6] Still another Visitation is to be found among the capitals at the right of the left doorway of the west front, where, beginning at the right, there occur in succession the Visitation, the Nativity, the Awakening of the Shepherds, the Wise Men before Herod, and the Adoration of the Magi.[7] But the most interesting, for our purpose, are another Annunciation and Visitation of the west front. These are found in the tympanum of the right doorway. This consists of two parallel rectangular panels, or lintels, with an arched panel, or tympanum proper, above. The lower lintel contains, from left to right, the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Announcement to the Shepherds; the upper lintel has the Presentation in the Temple; while the tympanum proper has a Madonna of Byzantine type, holding the Child on her lap, with an angel censing on either side.[8] Here, as at Vézelay,[9] the series begins with a winged

[1] Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, pp. 38, 39; cf. Viollet-le-Duc 7. 437.

[2] See p. 61.

[3] Porée, p. 22.

[4] Bulteau, *Monographie* 3. 212.

[5] 13th century, but before 1240 (Merlet, *La Cathédrale de Chartres*, pp. 48, 53).

[6] According to Bulteau (3. 224-5).

[7] Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, pp. 52-3.

[8] See the pictures in Marriage, pp. 69, 71; A. K. Porter, *Mediæval Architecture*, Ill. 215, Vol. 2; and cf. Bulteau 2. 72. For the Annunciation and the Visitation at Amiens, see Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 147; for that at Rheims, see Porter 2. 303.

[9] Note that Chartres, like Vézelay, formerly had a narthex (Marriage, p. 14).

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angel at the left, facing the Virgin. In the Visitation, the Virgin is at the right, wearing a royal crown, and with a nimbus. The left arm of Elizabeth is passed round the Virgin, and the hand clasps Mary's arm above the elbow, while her right hand clasps the Virgin's left wrist, the latter's right hand being invisible. These statues must probably be dated ca. 1150–60.[1]

Perhaps more important for the dating of the Ruthwell Visitation is that, or rather those, at St. Benoît-sur-Loire. At the left, just as one passes through the doorway leading from the narthex, the capital of the pillar bears an Annunciation, a Visitation, and a figure of Christ wearing a cruciform nimbus, and blessing with the right hand, while with the left he holds a book resting on his thigh.[2] Here, as at Chartres, the Annunciation is at the left of the spectator. In the Visitation, as in that at Ruthwell, the figure at the left has her right forearm extended horizontally, with the hand touching the other figure near the waist, while the left forearm of the figure at the right is nearly parallel to the other's, but above. The right arm of the figure at the right is passed round the figure at the left, and the hand clasps the other's right shoulder, whence I conclude that the figure at the right is Elizabeth, who would naturally be extending a welcome to Mary (see the Visitation of the west front of Chartres, above). Mary's sleeve is very wide above the wrist, and both Mary and Elizabeth wear long tunics and veils (compare Moissac and Chartres). This capital, it will be remembered, is to be dated by the narthex of which it forms a part—about 1170, according to Marignan.[3] There is another Visitation on the capital of the last pillar of the choir at the left, as one faces the west.[4] The two figures seem to be kissing, and the face of Mary, in particular, is therefore much more nearly in profile than in the Visitation of the narthex. The arms of Elizabeth (for so I interpret the figure at the left) are passed about the waist of Mary, with the hands nearly touching (in the other they approach each other at Mary's shoulder), while the left forearm of Mary is

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[1] Cf. Marriage, pp. 14, 70.

[2] Cf. *Bulletin Monumental* 22. 115-6.

[3] 'Une Visite à l'Abbaye de Fleury à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire,' *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 45 (1902). 84, note 2. For an engraving of this Visitation, see *Bull. Mon.* 22. 116.

[4] Cf. *Bull. Mon.* 22. 130; and Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 176. Baum, *Romanesque Architecture in France*, p. 231, would date this and the preceding from about the beginning of the 12th century.

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nearly parallel to Elizabeth's, but above it. The bodies are represented as very short, one might say squatty, and the knees project somewhat.[1]

The analogies between the treatment of these 12th century groups and that of the corresponding subject on the Ruthwell Cross are too evident to be insisted on.[2]

According to Venturi's reproductions,[3] the type of the Visitation at St. Benoît and Ruthwell occurs at least seven times in Italy, all the examples presumably belonging to the 12th century, besides three others in which the attitudes are different. The seven are respectively at Piacenza (Cathedral, architrave of left side-door of the façade),[4] Ferrara (Cathedral, lintel of main portal),[5] Fano (Archiepiscopal Palace, fragment),[6] Padua (Santa Giustina, architrave of portal of the old monastery, now in sacristy),[7] Alatri (Santa Maria Maggiore, sacristy),[8] Monreale (Cloister, capital at north-east angle),[9] and Gaeta (Cathedral, panel of candelabrum).[10] Of these, that at Piacenza is, according to Venturi, by Wiligelmus[11]; that at Ferrara, by Nicholas[12]; that at Fano, perhaps of the school of Nicholas; while those at Padua, Alatri, Monreale, and Gaeta are probably later. The three other examples are that at Nonantola (San Silvestro, jamb at right of portal),[13] by Wiligelmus, that at Verona (San Giovanni in Fonte, font),[14] and that at Benevento (Cathedral, bronze door dating from end of thirteenth century).[15]

C. The Flight into Egypt.[16]

The Flight into Egypt is not known in Christian art till the 10th century at earliest, and does not appear in the monuments before the 11th century.

> The Flight into Egypt . . . belongs . . . to the regular series of the Life of Christ, which first make their appearance in Christian art in about the tenth or eleventh century. . . . The sculpture shows the Virgin and Child seated upon an ass, which is being led by Joseph. . . .

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[1] The descriptions are from personal inspection on July 26, 1911, and from sketches made by my wife on the same day.

[2] If we may trust Bulteau (3. 163), Mary is always seated in the Annunciation till the end of the 12th century, while from 1150 to 1350 Mary and the angel are both standing. This is important in its bearing on the date of the Ruthwell Annunciation.

[3] *Storia dell'Arte Ital.*, Vol. 3. [4] P. 175. [5] P. 190. [6] P. 276. [7] P. 339. [8] P. 385. [9] P. 629. [10] P. 649. [11] See p. 144. [12] See p. 144. [13] P. 169. [14] P. 228. [15] P. 687. [16] See p. 22.

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I do not know of any miniature of the Flight into Egypt in the Irish or Celtic MSS., but the subject occurs in MSS., sculptured details of churches, and on ivories, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1]

La fuite en Egypte ne parait pas avoir été figurée dans les monuments avant le XIe siècle.[2]

Italian representations of the 12th century occur at Aosta (Sant' Orso, cloister), Piacenza (Cathedral, architrave of right side-door of façade), Como (Civic Museum, capital), Verona (San Giovanni in Fonte, font), Fano (Archiepiscopal Palace, fragment from Cathedral), Parma (Baptistery, bas-relief), Alatri (S. Maria Maggiore, sacristy door), Gaeta (Cathedral, candelabrum), Benevento (Cathedral, door-panel), all figured by Venturi,[3] except that at Aosta. Of these, none are of particular interest in this connection except those at Piacenza, Fano, and Gaeta, that at Piacenza being especially significant on account of its having been sculptured by Nicholas.[4]

There is a Flight into Egypt (and a representation of the fall of the idols in Egypt,[5] as told in the apocryphal gospels) at the abbey of Moissac. This is found in connection with an Annunciation (the head of the angel is a bad modern restoration), a Visitation, an Adoration of the Magi, a Presentation at the Temple, and a Vision of Joseph, all dating from about 1180.[6] It is also found sculptured

[1] Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 220, 222 ; he pictures the Flight on the Moone Abbey cross (p. 221), probably of the 12th century (cf. Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 255-7). Of manuscripts, Allen mentions Nero C. IV of the British Museum; of sculptured details, the capital of a column at St. Benoît-sur-Loire (see below); St. Maire a Toscanella, Italy, for which see Gailhabaud's *Architecture*, Vol. 2, Part 1 ; and the pulpit of San Michele at Groppoli, for which see *The Builder*, Dec. 10, 1881. Allen (p. 297) instances the font at Walton-on-the-Hill, near Liverpool, and one at Clonard Abbey in Ireland.

[2] Rohault de Fleury, *L'Evangile* (Tours, 1874) 1. 76.

[3] *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 175, 207, 235, 277, 291, 385, 653, 687 ; cf. 3. 73, 204, 242, 243, 275, 316, 692.

[4] See p. 144. [5] Cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 221.

[6] Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*, pp. 37, 41 ; cf. pp. 33, 34, 35 ; Viollet-le-Duc 7. 391. Anglès (p. 38) attributes to the Languedocian school of Moissac and Toulouse, in connection with the Burgundian school of Vézelay and Autun, an influence on the portals of St. Denis and Chartres (west front). This seems not improbable, in view of the fact that the 12th century stained glass of the middle lancet of the west front of Chartres has, according to Bulteau (*Monographie* 3. 212), the same scenes as those enumerated above, with the addition of the Nativity, the Awakening of the Shepherds, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Return to Nazareth.

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at St. Lazare d'Autun.[1] That at St. Benoît-sur-Loire is found in the third row of the narthex, and is the third from the left, as one faces the west front. It dates from about 1170, according to Marignan (see p. 49, note 3), who thus describes it: 'The Virgin is seated on a horse, and holds the child Jesus, whose feet rest on a footstool, and whose head is surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. It is no longer the representation of the child placed in his mother's lap; he is turned toward the left, and stands erect, extending his little hand toward Mary's right [really placing it, with two fingers in the act of blessing, and with palm opened outward, against her right shoulder], a gesture which only appears in the second half of the 12th century.'[2] The local guide-book,[3] which is sometimes incorrect, interprets the animal as an ass, and adds that Joseph holds the reins with one hand (the left), and has a stick in the other.

On one of the storied capitals of the left doorway of the west front of Chartres Cathedral[4] there is a Flight into Egypt which considerably resembles that at Ruthwell, so far as the position of the Virgin and the Child is concerned.

These are the nearest analogues I have been able to find to the representation of the same subject on the Ruthwell Cross. There, too, the Virgin faces outward; there, too, she is without a nimbus, while the child has one; and there, too, Joseph must have been originally figured, as is shown by the inscription, MARIA ET IO. The evidence, therefore, points to the 12th century for this panel, and to the second half of the century rather than the first.

D. The Anointing of Christ's Feet.[5]

The earliest representation of this subject, according to Rohault de Fleury,[6] is in a manuscript of the 9th century, and the next in

[1] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1². 643. The tympanum dates from about 1132 (Anglès, p. 38).

[2] *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 45 (1902). 297.

[3] *Guide à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* (Orléans, Imprimerie Paul Girardot, 1886). Here we are also told (*Guide du Pélerin*, p. 15); 'En face [to the right], le roi Hérode, ou plutôt un de ses satellites, tenant un glaive nu à la main droite et une hallebarde sur l'épaule gauche, cherche l'enfant Jésus pour le faire mourir; et derrière ce groupe, l'archange Saint Michel terrasse le dragon infernal.' The group is figured (though not with perfect accuracy) in Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 175; cf. *Bull. Mon.* 22 (1856). 117.

[4] Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 48; Bulteau 2. 43-44. For that at Amiens, see Ruskin, *Works* 33. 168 (plate).

[5] See p. 17. [6] *L'Evangile* 2. 122.

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one of the 11th century. Both of these show Christ seated at table, and both are of Byzantine origin.

The restored abbey church of Vézelay, dedicated to Mary Magdalen, has, on the lintel of the central doorway of the west front, the scene where she washes the feet of Christ.

> A gauche, c'est la résurrection de son frère Lazare, puis c'est la visite chez Simon le lépreux où la pécheresse, étendue à terre devant lui, répand des parfums sur les pieds du Christ et les essuie de ses cheveux.[1]

To be sure, this may be a restoration, but, if so, it is a restoration by Viollet-le-Duc, and according to indications afforded by the original sculpture.[2]

This is the only mediæval sculptured representation of the scene that I know of, besides that on the Ruthwell Cross, and this at Vézelay belongs to the years 1120–1135.

E. The Crucifixion.[3]

The first representation of the crucifixion in Roman painting belongs to the 7th century. It is rarely figured in sculpture in the 10th century, and does not become at all common till the 13th.

> On peut attribuer au VIIe siècle . . . les peintures de la petite basilique cimitériale de Saint-Valentin. . . . La plus importante de ces fresques, pour l'iconographie chrétienne, est un grand Crucifix, jadis publié par Bosio. . . . Voilà, dans l'art chrétien romain, le premier exemple de l'image émouvante.[4]

> In the tenth century crucifixes are occasionally seen.[5]

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[1] Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 22.

[2] I cannot make out whether the lintel has been restored or not. Porée says of the tympanum (p. 20): 'L'ancien tympan est maintenant déposé en dehors de l'église, contre le mur méridional. Au moment de la restauration, il était recouvert d'une épaisse couche de plâtre qui cachait la trace des bas-reliefs ravalés au nu de la pierre. Grâce à la teinte plus claire de la pierre, on put cependant en deviner quelques sujets qui ont inspiré la reconstitution de Viollet-le-Duc.' The author then describes, in a paragraph, the Last Judgment of the tympanum. He then proceeds (p. 22): 'Sur le linteau se déroulent des épisodes de la vie de la Madeleine.' The question is whether he reckons the lintel as part of the tympanum, which, of course, strictly speaking, it is not.

[3] See p. 19.

[4] Pératé, in Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1[1]. 76; cf. Bréhier, *Les Origines du Crucifix dans l'Art Religieux*, pp. 57 ff.

[5] Didron, *Christian Iconography* 1. 259.

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On avait figuré très rarement le Christ en croix du VIe siècle au Xe ; on le rencontre encore rarement dans les sculptures antérieures au XIIIe.[1]

On dut, au XIIe siècle, sculpter le Christ sur quelques croix en pierre.[2]

There is no evidence whatever to prove that such sculpture as we find upon these High Crosses in Ireland was executed here before the tenth [rather, twelfth] century.[3]

The crucifixion . . . did not become common in sculpture—in Britain, at least—until after the eleventh century.[4]

[1] Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 173.

[2] Caumont 1. 232.

[3] Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 124. Miss Stokes shows (pp. 134-9) that, out of sixteen crosses whose iconography had been deciphered when she wrote, fourteen bore the image of the Crucifixion. She, however, dates the high crosses too early. Rivoira (*Lomb. Arch.* 2. 255 ff.) shows that none of the principal ones antedates the second half of the 12th century. He says (2. 257): 'They were the result of a national artistic revival produced by the renewal of relations with Western Europe after the long period of isolation in which Danish invasions and struggles, and disastrous internal conflicts, had plunged the unfortunate country. This revival, accordingly, was a reflex of the potent influence exercised by the art of Italy and by the Papacy, in the era following the epoch of 1000, on so many countries of both East and West. . . . So far as carving is concerned this revival cannot have become effective till considerably after the beginning of the XIth century.' Again he says (p. 256): 'The representations on the Cross of Muredach of pairs of animals facing one another and holding some creature or bird between their paws are undoubtedly due to Lombardic influence. Now this motive, of Etruscan origin, did not make a start in Italy before the XIth century. The date of the cross must therefore be put at the beginning of the second half of the XIIth century. To the same period and school belongs the other and more imposing cross at Monasterboice, about 27 ft. high, wrongly assigned to the Xth century.' As to the Tuam Cross, this was set up by Archbishop O'Hoisin, 1150-1161 (p. 256).

[4] Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. lxvi. Rivoira recognizes a Cornish crucifixion of ca. 925-940 (2. 148); one from Durham as belonging to the 10th or 11th century (2. 162 ; cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 82); one at Langford as of the last quarter of the 11th century (2. 193); and one at Romsey as belonging to the end of the 12th century (2. 193). Keyser (*List of Norman Tympana*, p. liii) mentions those at Langford and Romsey, which Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 202-3) unhesitatingly ascribes to the 12th century.

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Anderson has shown that the Crucifixion, when occurring on Scottish crosses, is always late, belonging to his Class III. The appearance of the sun and moon, as on the Ruthwell Cross, indicates a date later than the 9th century.

> The crucifixion occurs but rarely on the Scottish monuments with Celtic ornamentation, though it is a general feature of the high crosses of Ireland, and common on the later crosses of the West Highlands. It is a remarkable fact that the symbolism of the monuments of Class II., which always includes the cross itself in a decorated or glorified form, never includes the crucifixion, which only appears on a few of the later monuments of Class III. . . . From the ninth century the sun and moon usually accompanied the representations of the crucifixion, the sun being placed on the right and the moon on the left over the arms of the cross. . . . On the lower panel of the Ruthwell cross and at Craignarget in Wigtownshire the sun and moon appear as two orbs over the arms of the cross.[1]

An important criterion of the age of a sculptured crucifix is the length of the tunic.

> In the tenth century crucifixes are occasionally seen, but the countenance of the crucified Lord is gentle and benevolent; he is also clad in a long robe with sleeves, the extremities of the arms and legs only being uncovered. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the robe becomes shorter, the sleeves disappear, and the breast is already uncovered in some instances, the robe being scarcely more than a tunic. In the thirteenth century the tunic is as short as possible.[2]

Now on the Ruthwell Cross the left shoulder and part of the upper arm are bare, and the legs are bare from above the knee. Other characters point to the later period—the head inclined to the right, and the feet nailed separately.[3] The 12th century, then, seems a probable date for this Crucifixion.

[1] Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, pp. xlviii-xlix. In his earlier work, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* (1881), Anderson had not recognized that the Ruthwell Cross bore the Crucifixion. He says (2. 234): 'The first panel contains a simple cross of plain Latin form.' Browne recognized it in his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, where he says (p. 245): 'At the bottom it is possible to see the crucifixion.'

[2] Didron 1. 259, 260; cf. Caumont 1. 173, 232-3, 241.

[3] Cf. the Crucifixion of the 12th century, from the church of Lillers, figured in Caumont 1. 173, and that in Lacroix, *Arts in the Middle Ages*, p. 474. Among paintings, the fresco of the lower church of San Clemente, at Rome, attributed to the 9th century, agrees in several important respects; it lacks the sun and moon, and has well defined figures of the Virgin and St. John, rising nearly to the arms of the cross.

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F. The Majesty.[1]

A figure of Christ, common in the 12th century, though also found at earlier and later periods, is called the Majesty. This is based upon Rev. 4. 2–8; 5. 1: 'Behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne. . . . And there was a rainbow round about the throne. . . . And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting. . . . And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne. . . . And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him. . . . And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.'

Certain early representations also make use of Rev. 5. 6, 7: 'Lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb. . . . And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.'

The representations at various periods are sometimes fuller, sometimes modified or simplified. In the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (526–530) all these features appear: The Lamb; the book (roll) of seven seals open below; the seven lamps, or candlesticks; four angels; four beasts; twenty-four elders.[2]

A typical example may be found in the 12th century tympanum of the west front of Chartres (central doorway).

> This is a 'Majestas Domini' or Glorification of Christ. . . . In the centre of the tympanum is Christ, with the Dove of the Spirit over His head; He is surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists: on the left the angel of St. Matthew and the winged lion of St. Mark, on the right the eagle of St. John and the winged bull of St. Luke. The waved band enclosing the group represents clouds. On the lintel are the twelve Apostles arranged in groups of three. . . . In the first order of the arch are twelve angels, and in the two other orders the twenty-four elders.

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[1] See pp. (17), 21, 25.

[2] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1[1]. 71-2. Other early examples are: Basilica of St. Pudentiana, end of 4th century (Michel 1[1]. 44, 45; cf. 41, 43); St. Paul fuori le Mura, 440-461 (1[1]. 51); Catacomb of Generosa, 6th century (1[1]. 74); Basilica of St. Valentine, 7th century (1[1]. 76; cf. 1[1]. 78).

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At the top of the third order, two angels hold a crown over the head of Christ. There are faint traces of color in the tympanum; Durand in 1881 could perceive, near the border of clouds, parallel bands of color representing the rainbow (Rev. IV. 3) surrounding the throne of God.[1]

Le Sauveur est vêtu de la tunique talaire et du manteau de l'antiquité; il a la barbe courte et les cheveux longs et plats. La tête, quoique endommagée, porte le caractère d'une douce gravité; elle est entourée du nimbe divin ou crucifère. . . . De sa main droite, il bénit les fidèles qui entrent dans le temple.[2]

The book is sometimes interpreted as that of the Gospels.[3] At other times it is called the Book of Life.[4] At St. Sophia, Constantinople, the open book bears the inscription : *Enter, I am the light of the world ;* and similarly at Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome : *Ego sum lux mundi ;* while at St. Peter's it has : *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita; qui credit in me, vivet*[5].

In the north porch at Chartres, the tympanum of the central doorway bears a Coronation of the Virgin, in which Christ is represented in the same attitude, and with the same attributes.[6]

Sometimes the infant Christ, in the lap of his mother, blesses with his right hand, and holds the book with his left.[7]

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[1] Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 56; cf. Porter, Ill. 215, Vol. 2.

[2] Bulteau, *Monographie* 2. 57-8. Durand (*Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, p. 43) says that Christ is blessing the world, and that the book is that of the Gospels. Other examples of about the same period are at Moissac (Viollet-le-Duc 7. 391); St. Genest at Nevers, ca. 1150 (7. 395-6); Notre Dame du Port at Clermont (7. 400-401); St. Urbain at Troyes (7. 428); St. Pierre at Mella (7. 401); St. Trophime at Arles (7. 418); Cahors (8. 132); Bourges (Porter, Ill. 267, Vol. 2). Several examples are noted by Michel (1^2. 517, 614, 619, 871; cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 141, and Plate A), and Keyser (*List of Norman Tympana*, pp. LX-LXVII) counts twenty-one examples, of which nineteen are figured in his book, one of the earliest being at Castor, in a church dedicated in 1124. The tympana with the Majesty at Ely, at Barfreston, and at Rochester, are, according to Enlart (Michel 2. 204), works parallel to those of the French portals, and themselves proceed from a Continental inspiration.

[3] Cf. note 2, and Viollet-le-Duc 9. 365-6. [4] Cf. Marriage, p. 238.

[5] Bulteau 2. 58. [6] Marriage, p. 152; Bulteau 2. 189.

[7] Thus in the Oratory of John VII, 705-7 (Michel 1^1. 77); the Baptistery of St. Valerian at Rome, 9th century (Viollet-le-Duc 9. 365); Santa Maria in Domnica, 9th century (Michel 1^1. 84); Notre Dame at Paris, ca. 1140 (Viollet-le-Duc 9. 365-6); Fownhope, England (Keyser, p. l, and Fig. 89).

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Finally, Christ, with the same attributes and in the same attitude, is sometimes found as an isolated figure (designated by some as Christ-Man, or Christ teaching). Typical figures of this sort are those on the trumeau of the central door of the south porch at Chartres, and the corresponding Beau Dieu of Amiens—a type not fully adopted till the 13th century.[1] Marriage thus describes the figure at Chartres : ' On the trumeau is a magnificent statue of Christ (plate 109) ; His right hand is raised in blessing, His left holds the Book of Life. He is standing on a lion and a dragon—the two usually selected from the four animals of Ps. XCI. 13 : ' Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem.'[2] The earliest example of this seems to be an ivory statuette of the 10th century.[3]

There are three Christs, of the general type last described, on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, one of them being in the panel which depicts the anointing of Christ's feet. In the group of the anointing, Christ carries a book in his left hand ; in the other case, a roll. The Bewcastle figure has a roll. The faces of the Ruthwell Cross are bearded ; that of the Bewcastle beardless. All the heads have the cruciform nimbus, and the hair is long in all three, but the arrangement of the drapery differs. The beasts seem somewhat better defined on the Bewcastle Cross ; they have been called swine in both cases, but may they not be rude animal-heads, intended to represent those of Ps. 91. 13, but not well wrought, and further defaced by exposure to the elements ? The type of the isolated figure can hardly have been created in monumental sculpture before the 12th century.

2. GROUPS BELONGING TO CHRISTIAN LEGEND

Christian legend is represented by the one group of Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony.

Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony.[4]

On two capitals of the abbey of Vézelay were sculptured, about the year 1135, scenes from the life of Paul, the first hermit (228–345), and Anthony, the father of monachism (251–356). On one, a pillar of the narthex, is depicted what is believed to be the meeting of the

[1] Viollet-le-Duc 3. 246; cf. p. 240.

[2] At Amiens all four animals are shown ; cf. Ruskin, *Works* 33. 146.

[3] Didron, *Christian Iconography* 1. 298. Allen finds a Norman one on a slab built into the tower of New Malton Church, Yorkshire (*Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 275).

[4] See p. 22, and cf. p. 131, note 7, end.

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two, according to the account given by St. Jerome in his *Lives of Saints*.[1] Two persons, facing each other, are pulling with both hands at a sort of flat slab, supposed to represent the cover of the cavern where Paul dwells. In a sort of cupboard below are vases and jugs, which suggest the scanty furniture of the grotto.[2] This is the interpretation of Porée, but the supposed slab is much more likely to be a flat cake of bread, such as is figured on the Ruthwell Cross, where the words of the inscription, SCS PAULUS ET A . . . FREGER . . T PANEM IN DESERTO, make the interpretation of the circular disk clear and conclusive. On any other hypothesis it is hard to see why the two men should be pulling in opposite directions, as Porée writes : ' D'un geste semblable, deux personnages qui se font face tirent à eux, à deux mains, une sorte de dalle plate. Ce serait la pierre fermant la caverne de Saint Paul.'

On the seventh pillar of the northern side of the nave is represented the death of Paul. The legend recounts that lions dug his grave, and here they are depicted as scratching the ground with their paws. Above them is the corpse of the hermit, nearly invisible in a sort of mummy-case, and Anthony, near, is in the attitude of prayer.[3]

Besides these, where both men figure, Anthony alone is represented, on both the north and the east faces of the eighth pillar (next to the one just described), as suffering various torments at the hands of demons.[4]

The scene depicted on the pillar of the narthex represents the same act as that depicted on the Ruthwell Cross (see above), and it is significant that the former belongs to about 1135.[5] The influence of Vézelay may have been transmitted, through one or another channel, to Ruthwell ; it is inconceivable that the Ruthwell Cross should have influenced Vézelay ; and the representations on the Irish and Scottish stones are much ruder.[6]

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 23. 17.

[2] Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 37.

[3] Porée, p. 60, where a picture is given.

[4] Porée, p. 61.

[5] The narthex was constructed after the nave (Porée, p. 15)—the nave by 1110, the narthex between 1120 and 1135; but the capitals of the nave were sculptured at the same time as those of the narthex (Porée, p. 56).

[6] Irish: on the cross in the street, Kells ; on the cross of St. Patrick and St. Columba, Kells ; on the south-east cross, Monasterboice; on the Moone Abbey cross ; on the cross of Castle Dermot ; and on the cross at Ardboe (Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. liv, note 4; cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, pp. 224-5).

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3. *GENRE*-SUBJECTS

Under *genre*-subjects we may class the archer of the Ruthwell Cross and the falconer of the Bewcastle Cross, though the former should perhaps rather be considered as a Biblical subject, since it appears to have been introduced with symbolical intent, and to represent the slayer of an evil power.[1] The falconer with his hawk incidentally raises the question of the date at which this sport was introduced into England.

A. The Archer.[2]

The archer, not to speak of the Sagittarius, is sometimes found in France and England,[3] in the architectural sculpture of the 11th and 12th centuries. Thus in the southern doorway leading inwards from the narthex (1120–1135) of the Cluniac abbey church of Vézelay, there is, on one pilaster, a serpent with a woman's head, emerging from foliage, and on the other an archer taking aim at her with his bow. The serpent is interpreted by Viollet-le-Duc[4]

Scotch: Nigg; Kirriemuir; St. Vigeans (Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, pp. 224-5; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. liv; Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, 3. 76, 227, 268). Anderson says (p. lv.): 'It is not difficult to account for the special veneration of St. Paul, the first hermit, and St. Anthony, the father of monasticism, in the Scottish and Irish Churches, in whose constitution the eremitical and monastic modes of ecclesiastical life were so closely interwoven.' To this explanation may be added the fact that the story of the two is contained in the present Roman Breviary under January 15. The earlier day for Paul was January 10, and this assignment is found as early as Bede's *Martyrologium Poeticum* (*Misc. Works*, ed. Giles, 1. 50; cf. 4. 21); also in the *Old English Martyrology* (ed. Herzfeld, E. E. T. S. 116. 17), and in the calendars printed by Hampson in his *Medii Aevi Kalendarium* (pp. 397, 422, 435, 449), all not far from the year 1000. None of these, however, except the *Old English Martyrology*, refers to the meeting of Paul and Anthony. Cf. p. 131, note 7, end.

[1] The falconer is sometimes introduced into the labors of the months associated with the representations of the zodiac, so common in mediæval cathedrals. Thus on the west front of Chartres, on the left side of the arch of the left doorway (Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 32), where May is represented by 'a horseman holding his horse by the bridle, and having a hawk on his wrist.' See also on the left side of the arch of the right bay of the north porch (Marriage, p. 176), 'a man with a hawk on his wrist.'

[2] See p. 16.

[3] A capital of about 1150, from the church of San Salvatore at Brescia, is figured by Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 217.

[4] 7. 438; cf. Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, p. 40, and see also pp. 37, 44, 48, 69.

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as the devil ; and the archer must accordingly represent an agent of good, engaged in slaying the power of evil.

One of the capitals of the narthex of the Benedictine abbey church of St. Benoît-sur-Loire, or Fleury, exhibits an archer riding on a horse, and bending his bow at the figure of a man. This is interpreted by Crosnier[1] as referring to Rev. 6. 2 : '. And I saw, and behold a white horse : and he that sat on him had a bow ; and a crown was given unto him : and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.' This archer, again, must be conceived as an agent of good. According to Marignan, this is proved to be of the second half of the 12th century by the form of the bow.

> Puis, ce sont des chapiteaux où se trouvent des cavaliers : l'un d'eux tient à la main un arc dont la forme, ainsi que celle de l'épée de ses compagnons, correspond à la même époque.[2]

In the tympanum of the north doorway of Ribbesford Church, Worcestershire, is ' an archer shooting an arrow at a monster from which a fawn is escaping.' [3] Finally, there is an archer, a youthful, naked figure, on a wall-slab from Hexham, which Greenwell thinks[4] ' may possibly have proceeded from the artists whose handicraft or influence is shown on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses.'

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[1] *Bull. Mon.* 22 (1856). 123-5 ; see the engraving on p. 123, and Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 177.

[2] Marignan, in *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 45 (1902). 300. Marignan maintains that no part of the narthex can be of the 11th century, and that the evidence points to the second half of the 12th century. Thus he argues that the costume (' cotte courte descendant jusqu'aux genoux, serrée à la taille par une ceinture,' p. 295) points to this epoch. Then the monks wear a tunic and a mantle provided with a hood, the priests are clad as in the seals of the period, a knight is dressed as on the Bayeux tapestry (p. 295). The same is true of the costume of the Virgin in the Annunciation and the Visitation of the pillar on the left as you leave the narthex for the church. That in the Visitation resembles those worn by the women of the nobility on seals of the second half of the 12th century (p. 297). One pillar, the next to the left-hand corner on the western face, bears the inscription : *Umbertus me fecit* ; this is another important indication of the date, since such signatures belong only to the period mentioned, as witness the façade of St. Giles, the chapter-house door (*porte capitulaire*) of St. Stephen at Toulouse, etc. Still another indication is the inclusion of scenes from everyday life, in place of confining the representations to purely religious subjects (pp. 303, 305). Everything, according to Marignan, points to a date not far from 1170.

[3] Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, p. 37 ; cf. p. XLIII, and Fig. 68.

[4] *Catalogue*, p. 46, note 1 ; p. 64.

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The Sagittarius is sometimes found in the tympana and archivolts of French churches of the period,[1] as well as in the zodiacs rather frequently employed for ornamental purposes. He also appears on various tympana of Norman churches in England. Thus at Kencott, Oxfordshire, he is 'discharging an arrow into the jaws of a dragon.'[2] At Stoke-sub-Hamden, Somersetshire, he is shooting an arrow at a lion.[3] 'On the font at Dareuth, Kent, Sagittarius is facing a dragon, and on the point of discharging his arrow, while on a capital of the chancel arch at Adel, Yorkshire, he is aiming at the head of a similar monster, and a smaller dragon is attacking him from behind. On two stones let into the south wall of the nave of Eastham Church, Worcestershire, are sculptured representations of Sagittarius and Leo. On the font at West Rounton, Yorkshire, Sagittarius is discharging his arrow at the head of the "savage man," according to the interpretation of Mr. J. Romilly Allen, "Early Christian Symbolism," p. 361.'[4]

On the edge of a panel of the Halton Cross, Lancaster, is a figure of an archer, 'shooting upwards toward the cross-head'[5]; and there is a Sagittarius on the Camuston stone in Scotland, shooting obliquely upwards to the right, and above him a Crucifixion. On the other side is Christ in Majesty, with two angels, and below four saints, probably the Evangelists, with books.[6]

[1] Caumont 1. 185, 189.

[2] Keyser, p. 23; cf. p. XL, and Fig. 70.

[3] Keyser, p. 46; cf. p. XL, and Fig. 69.

[4] Keyser, p. XL. Cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, pp. 362-364: 'In the deserts of India there are savages who have one horn in the middle of the forehead. . . . The savages make war on the Sagittarii, and the Sagittarii on them. The war between the savages and the Sagittarii signifies the contest between the soul and the flesh. . . . Sagittarius is represented in the illustrations of the bestiary, as on the signs of the Zodiac, half horse, half man, shooting with a bow and arrow at a savage clothed in a lion's skin, having a horn on the top of his head. . . . In other cases Sagittarius is contending with a lion, or a dragon. . . . On the tympanum of the west doorway of Ault Hacknall Church in Derbyshire is a very remarkable figure of a centaur with a nimbus round the head, holding a branch in its right hand and a cross in the left. Facing the centaur is a huge beast followed by a small animal.' There are illustrations of the Sagittarius on pp. 229, 234, 255, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365. On the centaur cf. Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland*, p. XLV.

[5] *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 189-90.

[6] Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 252.

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'The great cross in Bakewell Churchyard has at the bottom of all a man with a bow, taking aim at the little creature nibbling the fruit at the top. At Bradbourne in Derbyshire there are the fragments of a cross equally noble with that at Bakewell; and there again on more than one side is a man at the foot taking aim at the squirrels or little foxes in the tree or vine. The great cross shaft at Sheffield has remarkable examples of the same kind.'[1] The cross at Auckland (see p. 82) has 'the upper part of a human figure, the upraised hands of which hold a bow and arrow, pointed at one of the animals.'[2]

Everything would seem to indicate, then, that both archer and Sagittarius[3] are represented as in conflict with the powers of evil; that on the Ruthwell Cross, as well as on those at Bakewell and Bradbourne, the archers are aiming at the animals (not the birds) in the vines (probably with reference to Song of Sol. 2. 15, 'Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines'); and that all these examples of the archer, like those of the Sagittarius, belong to the 11th and 12th centuries.

B. The Falconer.[4]

Authorities are now agreed that falconry was introduced into Europe from the East.[5] Accordingly, as may be supposed, it was introduced into England from the Continent. There is no mention of falcons in England before the second third of the 8th century. At this time, and even in the middle of the century, there were very few trained hawks even in Kent, the part of England most accessible from the Continent, while there they must have been comparatively numerous, as shown by the mention of them in the Germanic laws of even the 5th to the 7th century,[6] and by the decree of the Germanic Council in 742 that priests were not to possess hawks or falcons.[7] Somewhere between 732 and 751, Boniface, the apostle

[1] Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 192. [2] *Victoria Hist. Durham* 1. 218.

[3] Not, of course, as a sign of the zodiac; on representations of this see Fowler, 'Mediæval Representations of the Months and Seasons,' *Archæologia* 44. 137-224; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle en France*, pp. 89-103; and cf. *Un Manuscrit Chartrain du XIe Siècle* (Chartres, 1893), p. 9 where one of the 11th century is described (these being rare). There are five zodiacs figured at Chartres alone.

[4] See p. 25. Cf. the birds on the top-stone of the Ruthwell Cross.

[5] Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*, p. xiii.

[6] Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon*, 14th ed., 2. 652.

[7] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 89. 807: 'et ut accipitres et falcones non habeant.'

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of Germany, sends a hawk and two falcons as a present to Æthelbald of Mercia ; and between 748 and 755, Æthelbert of Kent begs Boniface to send him two falcons that could bring down cranes, since there are very few in Kent which produce young fit for this purpose, or that are trained to be at once swift and bold.

> Interea pro signo veri amoris et devotæ amicitiæ direximus tibi accipitrem unum et duos valcones (*var.* falcones), duo scuta et duas lances (*var.* lanceas).[1]

> His itaque breviter summatimque prelibatis, unam rem preterea a vobis desidero mihi exhiberi, quam vobis adquirere valde difficile esse, juxta quod mihi indicatum est, nullatenus reor ; hoc est duos falcones, quorum ars et artis audatia sit : grues velle libenter captando arripere et arripiendo consternere solo. Ob hanc etenim causam de harum adquisitione et transmittendarum ad nos avium vos rogamus, quia videlicet perpauci hujus generis accipitres in nostris regionibus, hoc est in Cantia, repperiuntur, qui tam bonos producant fœtus et ad supradictam artem animo agiles ac bellicosi educantur ac doceantur.[2]

In the *Confessional* of Egbert, Archbishop of York (d. 766), there is a passage in which he includes among birds that may not be eaten such as have been bitten by a hawk (*nē þēah hafucfugel ābīte*).[3]

In the poem of *Beowulf* (2263), there is a reference to the hawk : ' There is no joy of harp, no mirth of the gleewood, *no good hawk swinging through the hall*, no swift horse beating with his hoof the courts about the hall.' [4]

The date of the *Fates of Men* is conjectural, but it cannot be earlier than 800. It has a passage of eight lines (85–92) on the taming of a hawk : ' One shall tame a wild, proud bird, a hawk in the hand, until this swallow of fight becomes gentle; he puts jesses on, and so feeds in bonds the proud of pinion, enfeebles with small morsels the wind-swift one, until the peregrine becomes docile to its feeder in furnishings and deeds, and wonted to the young man's hand.' There is a single line about the hawk in the *Crafts of Men* (80–81).

The next mention is by Cœnwulf of Mercia, who in 821, after reciting his gifts of lands to the monastery of Abingdon, forbids any proud man or king, having under him men with hawks or falcons, horses or dogs, to molest the monks in any way.

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[1] Boniface to Æthelbald of Mercia, 732-751 ; Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.* 3. 213.

[2] Æthelbert of Kent to Boniface, 748-755 : Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.* 3. 256.

[3] Thorpe, *Anc. Laws and Inst.*, folio ed., p. 358.

[4] *Beowulf*, tr. Tinker, rev. ed., p. 105.

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> Et mandatum mandamus . . . ut nullus superveniat hominum superbia inflatus, nec rex suum pastum requirat, vel habentes homines quos nos dicamus festi[n]gmen, nec eos qui accipitres portant vel falcones, vel cavallos ducunt sive canes nec pœnam mittere super eos quoquomodo audeat.[1]

Of Alfred we are told that, during his reign (871–901), he was wont to instruct his hawkers and falconers in their business.

> Interea tamen rex . . . omnem venandi artem agere, aurifices et artifices suos omnes et falconarios et accipitrarios canicularios quoque docere . . . non desinebat.[2]

In the 10th century, notices are more numerous. Thus King Æthelstan (d. 940) procures from North Wales 'birds that know how to hunt the prey of other birds through the void'; Byrhtric and Ælfswith, of Meopham in Kent (ca. 980), give to their 'natural lord' two hawks and all their hunting-dogs; and Æthelwine, the founder of Ramsey Abbey, in Huntingdonshire, gives the monks (ca. 974) the island which he had found convenient for his favorite sports of hunting and fowling (hawking not expressly mentioned, but probable).

> Ipse in effectum formavit, ut ei nomine vectigalis annuatim . . . annumerarent . . . volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari nossent.[3]

> Ærest his cynehlāforde ænne bēah on hundeahtotigum mancysum goldes; and ān handsecs on eal swā miclum; and fēower hors, twā gerǣdede; and twā sword gefetelsode; and twēgen hafocas; and ealle his hēahdēor-hundas.[4]

> Primo scilicet [he gave to the church of Ramsey] Insulam ipsam, ubi Xenodochium constructum est, cum adjacentibus maris et stagnis. . . .

[1] *Cod. Dipl.*, ed. Kemble, 1. 270.

[2] Asser, *Life of King Alfred* 76 (ed. Stevenson, p. 59); cf. my translation, p. 38. There are representations of hawking-scenes in certain Old English manuscripts. Strutt figures one in his *Sports and Pastimes* (1801), opp. p. 32, and a scene from a calendar of the months in *Horda Angelcynnan*; the manuscript from which the former is derived (Cott. Julius A. VI) is assigned by Strutt to about 900.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* 2. 134 (ed. Stubbs, 1. 148).

[4] *Cod. Dipl.*, ed. Kemble, 2. 380; cf. 6. 53.

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> **Quia enim locus et nemoribus consitus et mariscorum paludibus erat vicinus, frequenter ibi in venatu et aucupatione [vel aucupio] spatium morabatur.**[1]

About the same date a priest was forbidden by the Canons of Edgar to be a hunter or a hawker (*hunta nē hafecere*).

In the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (ca. 1000), there is a conversation between the teacher and a falconer, in which the latter says that he knows how to tame a hawk, that he will give one in exchange for a swift dog, that they feed themselves and him in the winter, that he lets them escape in the spring and catches nestlings in the autumn, and that he will not follow the example of those who feed their hawks the summer through, since he finds it easier to catch them as he needs them.[2]

Of Edward the Confessor (d. 1066) we are told that he delighted in the coursing of swift dogs, whose barkings he would cheer on, and also in the flight of birds whose nature it is to make prey of their kindred birds. In the Bayeux Tapestry, Harold is depicted as riding to meet William the Conqueror with hawk on wrist.

> **Unum erat quo in seculo animum oblectaret suum, cursus canum velocium quorum circa saltus latratibus solebat lætus applaudere; volatus volucrum quorum natura est de cognitis avibus prædas agere.**[3]

With the coming of the Normans, hawking, like all forms of hunting, grew to be a passion with kings and the highest nobility, and so continued for several centuries. So fully was it reserved for them that hawks 'were considered as ensigns of nobility; and no action could be reckoned more dishonourable to a man of rank than to give up his hawk.' 'Persons of high rank rarely appeared without their dogs and their hawks; the latter they carried with them when they journeyed from one country to another, and sometimes when they went to battle, and would not part with them to procure their own liberty when taken prisoners.'[4]

Ecclesiastics were not averse to either the sport or the distinction. As we have seen above, they had to be enjoined at intervals to have nothing to do with falconry. Nevertheless, we are told that when

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[1] *Chron. Abb. Rames.*, ed. Macray (Rolls Series), p. 52.

[2] Wright's *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, ed. Wülker, 1. 95-96; tr. in *Select Trans. from Old Engl. Prose*, ed. Cook and Tinker, pp. 181-2. The word for 'hawk' occurs here and there in the Old English glossaries.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg. Angl.* 2. 220 (ed. Stubbs, 1. 271).

[4] Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 18; cf. *Piers Plowman* B 6. 33.

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Thomas à Becket (d. 1170) was sent from Henry II as ambassador to France, he assumed the state of a secular potentate, and took with him dogs and hawks of various sorts, such as were used by kings and princes.[1] It is not surprising, then, that when Walter, the Steward, in the time of Alexander II of Scotland (1214–1249), is enlarging the grant of forest on the banks of the Water of Ayr to the monks of Melrose, he gives them all forest-rights with the express exception of hunting or taking falcons in the forest, because, as he says, that is neither becoming for their order nor expedient for them.[2]

Among the appurtenances of the falconer was a stout pole. As it was the custom to carry the falcon upon the left hand, the pole was usually carried in the right.[3] The use of this pole is thus described by Strutt: 'In following the hawk on foot, it was usual for the sportsman to have a stout pole with him, to assist him in leaping over little rivulets and ditches, which might otherwise prevent him in his progress.'[4] The pole, as I am informed by Mr.

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[1] William Fitz Stephen, quoted by Strutt, p. 9. Falconers are sometimes found represented under May in the labors of the months (see p. 60, note 1, above). Thus at Chartres, on the left side of the left arch of the left doorway of the west front, there is a horseman holding his horse by the bridle, and having a hawk on his wrist (Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 32); and on the left side of the arch of the right bay of the north porch, there is a man with a hawk on his wrist (Marriage, p. 176). At Amiens, on the plinth of the northernmost doorway of the west front, there is a gentleman standing with a hawk upon his fist (Fowler, p. 160). In the floor of one of the chapels of the abbey church of St. Denis there is a man on horseback, with a hawk on his fist (Fowler, p. 167; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire*, article *Dallage*). At Padua, in the great hall, there is a man holding by the left hand the trunk of a tree, and by the right a hawk or other bird (Fowler, p. 176). Other representations are on a leaden Norman font at Brookland, Kent (Fowler, p. 145), and on a misericord in the choir of Worcester Cathedral (Fowler, p. 164). Cf. p. 70, note 1.

[2] Veitch, *History and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 170, who quotes *National MSS.* 1. liii.

[3] Thus we see it figured in the pictures of Peter Ballantine (1798-1884), 'the last of the old Scotch falconers' (opp. p. 42 of Harting's *Bibliotheca Accipitraria*; opp. p. 217 of Cox and Lascelles' *Coursing and Falconry*; in the 'English Falconers of the XVII Century' (opp. p. 26 of Harting); and perhaps in the 'Heron-hawking at the Loo in 1717' (Harting, opp. p. 48).

[4] *Sports and Pastimes*, pp. 23-4. Cf. the following passage from Hall's *Chronicle*, under the 16th year of Henry VIII, s. f. (ed. of 1809, p. 697): 'In this yere the kyng folowing of his hauke lept ouer a diche beside Hychyn,

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J. E. Harting, the authority on falconry, would also be used ' for beating the flags and sedges round pools where wild fowl are expected to be lurking. In that case, the pole would be somewhat shorter and lighter than would otherwise be required.' Such a pole is figured on the Bewcastle Cross, and is contributory proof that the bird is intended for a falcon.

A T-shaped perch—known as a crutch-perch—though not now commonly used, is occasionally found.[1] Michell says (p. 48) : ' Probably for an eagle it is the best resting-place that could be provided ' (cf. p. 37). If this is true, it may be inferred that the bird of the Bewcastle Cross is one of the larger kind, probably a gerfalcon.

The peregrine falcon is even now to be found in Cumberland. Says H. A. Macpherson (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 195) : ' The bird itself is not excessively rare. On the contrary, it is often to be seen by any one who can identify a highflying hawk in the distance. . . . The female feeds partly on grouse.' [2]

As to falconry in Cumberland, we are told that ' scattered references to the sport are met with in the old registers and rolls.' Thus,

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with a pole and the pole brake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, and lift up his hed, whiche was fast in the clay, he had been drouned.' To a similar effect is Drayton's *Polyolbion* 20. 239-242:

> But when the Falconers take their hawking-poles in hand,
> And crossing of the brook, do put it over land,
> The hawk gives it a souse, that makes it to rebound,
> Well-near the height of man, sometime above the ground.

Holland, in his translation of Pliny 16. 36 (66), misunderstands the Latin, but his use of the term ' hawking-pole ' seems to bear out Strutt's view : ' Now during the ninth year . . . these canes prove so bigge and strong with all that they serve for hawking-poles, and fowlers pearches.'

[1] See Michell, *Art and Practice of Hawking*, No. 22, opp. p. 46. From about 1260 dates the *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* of the Emperor Frederick II, and among its miniatures are three representations of T-shaped perches braced at the ends (seven perches in all). These are figured by Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 762-4.

[2] Black grouse is ' a resident species, very local in the north and west of the county, but fairly plentiful in the east and north-east between Alston and Brampton ' (*ibid.*, p. 204). Red grouse is ' a resident in small numbers on mosses near the coast, becoming more abundant when the fells are reached. . . . An old hen shot near Bewcastle on October 5th, 1895, has the usual markings ' (*ibid.*). ' The fells of the Pennine range . . . present even greater attractions to red grouse (*Lagopus Scoticus*) and black grouse (*Tetrao tetrix*) ' (*ibid.*, p. 179).

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' " while Sir William Lenglis, knight, was hunting in the neighborhood of Brunstock, in the autumn of 1360, he set his falcon to flight, but the bird disappeared from view and did not return.". . . Raughton near Dalston was a celebrated eyry in the twelfth century. . . . " The vill of Ratton [Raughton] is a serjeanty to keep the hawks' eyries of the lord the King, and is worth 100s. a year." ' [1] Ailred says that when Hexham was renovated about the beginning of the twelfth century, the whole place and neighborhood were deserted, and the re-founder of the church maintained himself and his family for two years by hunting and hawking. [2]

Since there were almost no trained falcons in Kent about 750, it is not likely that they were sufficiently common in Northern Cumberland in the preceding century to admit of a falconer, with his hawk and appurtenances, forming the theme of a piece of sculpture. The later the period to which the cross can be assigned, the greater the probability that the sport was familiar in this sequestered part of the country. As the Normans were passionate devotees of the sport, it would not be unreasonable to assume that this panel was executed when Norman landowners had secured influential positions in Northern England and Southern Scotland.

As to the identity of the figure, it is evident that no sculptor would have commemorated a mere professional falconer on such a cross, and that it may well have been a royal or noble personage who is thus depicted.[3] It is conceivable that if such a royal or noble personage had been responsible for the erection of the cross, he might have been portrayed upon it, either at his own instance, or as a compliment on the part of the sculptor or of some ecclesiastical body

[1] *Ibid.*, 2. 420-1.

[2] Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 8, note. Ailred's words are (*ibid.*, p. 191): ' Erat autem talis terræ illius desolatio, ut fere bienno ex sole venatu et aucupio se suamque familiam sustineret.' Hexham is only some 24 miles distant from Bewcastle.

[3] Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 163-4) is disinclined to entertain any such theory for the Scottish stones. He says: ' The custom of presenting in monumental sculpture historical representations of secular scenes derived from the life or times of the persons commemorated, was not only extremely rare and exceptional everywhere throughout the whole period of early Christian art, but was absolutely unknown in this country as far as any positive evidence exists. No monument is known to bear any commemorative reference, sculptured or inscribed, to any historical event occurring within the country in early Christian times.' But see p. 70, note 2. On equestrian statues in religious architecture bearing the names of Constantine and Charlemagne, see Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 366.

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interested in the monument and its purposes.[1] It might occur to some one to attribute the figure to a later date than the rest of the cross ; but against this it may be observed (1) that no part of the monument is more weathered and defaced than this ; (2) that the curved head of the niche resembles that over the figure of Christ, on the same face ; (3) and that a ruler of later date would hardly have ventured to incur the reproach of thus desecrating the monument, whereas a beneficent and trusted leader, high in favor with the monks and clergy, might have been pardoned for allowing himself to be portrayed on a monument erected by his orders or under his patronage.

A kind of parallel to such a representation of a historical personage may possibly be found in a relief wrought by the sculptor Nicholas (see pp. 50-51, 144) at the right of the central door of San Zeno at Verona. This represents a horseman, with a quiver at his back, and his cloak blowing in the wind, pursuing a stag which his dog has overtaken. The horseman, depicted in the act of blowing a horn, has been identified with the semi-mythical King Theodoric.[2] At the left of the doorway are panels containing the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Kiss of Judas, the Adoration of the Shepherds, Herod, the Purification,

[1] An argument against this view might perhaps be drawn from the falconer on horseback, with a hawk on his left wrist, on the tympanum of the 12th century church of Parthenay-le-Vieux (Deux-Sèvres), north portal, west front (Baum, *Romanesque Arch. in France*, p. 44). Cf. p. 67, above, note 1.

[2] Venturi 3. 192-4 ; Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1². 698-9. Anderson (*Scotland in Early Christian Times*, p. 166) refers to this scene, but adds : ' We find the chase of the stag included among the subjects from Scripture which are considered suitable for the symbolic decoration of the portal of a church.' Again (*ibid.*, note 1) : ' This is not a solitary instance. A stag, chased by two dogs, followed by a man blowing a horn, is carved in wood on the door of the Church of Rogslosa in Sweden. It is a common subject in mosaic, as at Cremona, Djemila, Carthage, and Sour.' ' The stag (p. 165) became part of a traditional allegory which represented the soul driven to take refuge in the bosom of the Church.' However this may be, mythical heroes are sometimes found in church-sculpture of the 12th century. Thus Arthur and other heroes of his cycle, recognizable by inscriptions, occur on the archivolt of the Peschiera doorway of the Cathedral of Modena (Venturi 3. 164 ; Michel 1¹. 698), while on the portal of San Zeno of Verona, Nicholas (see p. 144) represented Roland, with his sword inscribed *Durindarda*, and Oliver opposite (Venturi 3. 196 ; Michel 1². 698). Even two episodes of the *Roman de Renard* occur on the lintel of the doorway of the cathedral of Modena (Michel 1². 698).

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the Baptism, and the Crucifixion, besides two horsemen in mortal combat, and, in another place, two men on foot engaged in a duel.[1] Hence we have here a similar collocation of *genre* and Scriptural subjects to that on the Bewcastle Cross.

II. THE DECORATIVE SCULPTURE

The decorative sculpture comprises (p. 29, above) vines, chequers, interlacings, and the sundial.

1. THE VINES[2]

The vine is the most ancient subject of Christian art,[3] since it is figured as early as the beginning of the 2d century in the catacomb of Domitilla.

> There is a vaulted roof, over which a vine trails with all the freedom of nature, laden with clusters at which birds are pecking, while winged boys are gathering or pressing out the grapes.[4]

Another example occurs in the catacomb of Callistus,[5] of the 3d century, and there is a mosaic with vintage-scenes, birds, and genii[6] in the circular aisle of S. Costanza (4th century).

Whether or not such vines and grapes, with or without birds, were intended to be symbolical in the earliest Christian art, they were soon invested with a meaning. The vine was associated with Christ (John 15. 1 ff.), and is thus sometimes wreathed around the Good Shepherd or the monogram of Christ, and employed as a decoration on crosses. By an identification of the Promised Land, from which the cluster of grapes was brought back (Num. 13. 23), with the Heavenly Paradise, grapes were regarded as emblematical of the joys of heaven ; and the doves that fed upon the grapes were interpreted

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[1] Venturi 3. 190; Michel 1[2]. 698.

[2] See pp. 19-20, 22-23, 26-28.

[3] Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Christ. Antiqq.* 2. 2018.

[4] *Ibid.* 1. 693; cf. Tuker and Malleson, *Handbook of Christian and Eccles. Rome* 1. 509: 'The painting is exquisite as art, and has been compared by De Rossi with that of the Villa of Livia, and with that of the most perfect columbaria of the time of Augustus.'

[5] Smith and Cheetham 1. 698.

[6] *Handbook* 1. 157; Smith and Cheetham 1. 694; *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 16. 852.

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as the souls of the blessed.[1] Much later, the grapes, sometimes associated with ears of wheat, represented the Eucharist, by which the souls of Christians were refreshed on earth.[2]

As for the animals sometimes interspersed with the birds, they perhaps were originally intended to represent 'the little foxes that spoil the vines,'[3] the evil agencies which are intent upon destroying Christianity—not in all innocence, like the birds, enjoying the fruits of it. Of course in many instances the vine, with or without its birds or animals, must have been used as a merely decorative feature, with no thought of symbolism. The frequency with which birds are introduced as architectural decorations has been noted by Ruskin.

> Half the ornament, at least, in Byzantine architecture, and a third of that of Lombardic, is composed of birds, either pecking at fruit or flowers, or standing on either side of a flower or vase, or alone, as generally the symbolical peacock.[4]

The vine itself is not always distinctly recognizable as a grapevine, and for this reason writers sometimes speak of it merely as a 'scroll of foliage.' Occasionally it is replaced by the acanthus.

> The vine-leaf [is] used constantly both by Byzantines and Lombards, but by the latter with especial frequency, though at this time they were hardly able to indicate what they meant. It forms the most remarkable generality of the St. Michele decoration; though, had it not luckily been carved on the façade, twining round a stake, and with grapes, I should never have known what it was meant for, its general form being a succession of sharp lobes, with incised furrows to the point of each. But it is thrown about in endless change; four or five varieties of it might be found on every cluster of capitals: and not content with this, the Lombards hint the same form even in their griffin wings. They love the vine very heartily.[5]

[1] Martigny, *Dict. des Antiqq. Chrét.*, pp. 796 ff.; Kraus, *Realencyclopädie der Christl. Alterthümer* 2. 982; *Handbook* 1. 394; cf. pp. 402, 404, 439.

[2] *Handbook* 1. 394.

[3] Song of Sol. 2. 15; cf. p. 63, above.

[4] *Stones of Venice* 1. 20. 35.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, App. 8. In the preceding paragraph Ruskin says: 'The Lombard animals are all *alive*, and fiercely alive too, all impatience and spring: the Byzantine birds peck idly at the fruit, and the animals hardly touch it with their noses. The cinque cento birds in Venice hold it up daintily, like train-bearers; the birds in the earlier Gothic peck at it hungrily

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> The Byzantine formalism reduced it to a mere running scroll, and in this conventional form it always appears on the monuments of this country.[1]

> Le rinceau d'acanthe, par l'effet d'un très fréquent emploi, a fini par changer de caractère. Déjà, à Spalato [303], il s'enroule autour de fleurons d'où sortent les têtes d'animaux ; plus tard, à Saint-Nicolas de Myra, à Saint-Jean-Stoudite [465], des fleurs et des fruits se sont attachés au bout de ses volutes, des oiseaux mêmes se sont logés dans ses méandres.[2]

From the 4th century there are sarcophagi with vintage-scenes.[3] From the 5th is the so-called sarcophagus of Galla Placidia (ca. 450), in the church of San Lorenzo at Milan, which exhibits a vine, with doves pecking at the grapes[4] ; and of about the same date is the carved door of S. Sabina at Rome, having panels bordered with highly conventionalized vine-scrolls.[5] Of the 6th century are two in S. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna,[6] one of which (that of St. Theodore) has three birds and one animal pecking at grapes.

Vines having not only small birds and animals, but peacocks and large animals, are on the front of the episcopal throne usually known as that of Maximian, an Oriental or Egyptian work of the 5th or 6th century ; and still others are found on the back.[7]

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and naturally ; but the Lombard beasts gripe at it like tigers, and tear it off with writhing lips and glaring eyes.' Cf. Browne, *Conv. Hept.* p. 192, for a similar contrast between earlier and later representations in England.

[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 238.

[2] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1[1]. 151-2 ; cf. also p. 153.

[3] Michel 1[1]. 64 : one in the Lateran, and one in the Vatican. There is another in the vestibule of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, at Rome.

[4] Martigny, *Dict. des Antiqq. Chrét.*, p. 796 ; Allegranza, *Spiegazioni e Riflessioni sopra Alcuni Sacri Monumenti Antichi di Milano*, tav. II.

[5] Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 1. 33 ff., 475.

[6] Ricci, *Ravenna*, pp. 35, 104 ; Michel 1[1]. 385 ; Venturi 1[1]. 221, 225. There is another at Toulouse (Michel 1[1]. 69, 70). These latter are all executed under Oriental influence, according to Michel. See also the 5th century specimen from the Cairo Museum (*Burl. Mag.* 21. 195).

[7] Goetz, *Ravenna*, pp. 97-9 ; Ricci, *Ravenna*, p. 105 ; Michel 1[1]. 264-5 ; 2. 200 ; Venturi 1. 295-9 ; cf. Du Sommerard, *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, Vol. 1, pl. XI ; Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 53, note. G. F. Browne, Bishop of Bristol, has expressed the ' feeling that on the upright on either side of the front of the chair you have the secret of the original of this most beautiful side [east] of the Bewcastle Cross.' Unfortunately for this theory, it has been shown that the throne was not sent to Ravenna till the year 1001. Cf. Ricci, pp. 33-4 : ' La cattedra detta di S. Massimiano fu portata a Ravenna soltanto nel 1001,

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Either in 687, when he died, or in 698, when his body was exhumed, the body of St. Cuthbert was wrapped, over his other robes, in a linen sheet almost nine cubits in length and three and a half in breadth, having an embroidered border of an inch in width, with a design in raised figures. The design was of 'birds and beasts, so arranged that invariably between every two pairs of birds and beasts there was interwoven the representation of a branching tree, which distinguished and divided the figures. This representation of the tree, so tastefully depicted, appeared to be putting forth its leaves, although small, on both sides ; under which, upon the adjacent compartment, the interwoven figures of animals again appeared, and this ornamental border of trees and animals was equally visible upon the extreme parts of the sheet. This sheet was removed from his holy body at the time of his translation [1104], and... was long preserved entire in the church.' [1]

To the time of Wilfrith (d. 709) may be assigned a fragment with vine-foliage from Hexham, executed in low relief,[2] with a somewhat similar fragment at Jarrow.[3]

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quando invece Massimiano era stato arcivescovo di quella città quattro secoli e mezzo prima. E la notizia ci viene pel mezzo della persona stessa che condusse a Ravenna il prezioso mobile: da Giovanni Diacono che la scrisse nella cronaca veneziana, edita già ben tre volte e che nessuno più contesta a lui. Le sue parole tradotte in chiaro italiano, dicono: " In quel tempo (dicembre del 1001) l'imperatore Ottone III per mezzo di Giovanni Diacono mandò al Doge Pietro II Orseolo, due ornamenti imperiali d'oro fatti con mirabile lavoro, uno da Pavia e l'altro da Ravenna. Ad Ottone, per ricompensa, il Doge mandò a Ravenna una cattedra maestrevolmente scolpita in tavole d'avorio, che Ottone, accettata con vivo desiderio, lasciò in quella città perche vi fosse conservata." . . . È certo che nel suo complesso la cattedra appare opera orientale, provenga essa da Bisanzio, da Alessandria o da Antiochia.' See also Goetz, *Ravenna*, p. 89. Carotti, *History of Art* 2[1]. 110, calls it 'an Alexandrian work of the sixth century,' and adds: 'It was first taken from Alexandria to Grado, and then in 1001 to Ravenna, sent as a gift from Doge Pietro Orseolo II. to the Emperor Otto, but Otto left it there to ensure its preservation.' Venturi thinks it to have been named after Bishop Maximian of Constantinople (1. 468).

[1] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, chap. 42 (quoted in Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, App., p. 5), as translated by Raine, pp. 90-91 ; I have merely changed certain present tenses to past. Reginald wrote after 1173.

[2] Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 143 (illustration on p. 142); cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 59 ff.

[3] Rivoira 2. 139.

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The tomb of Theodota, about 720 (Museum of Pavia) has graceful vine-sprays ;[1] cf. the tomb of Theodechildis (d. 660), at Jouarre.

The Hexham cross, generally regarded as the headstone for the grave of Bishop Acca, who died in 740, now exists in four pieces in the Library of Durham Cathedral. It lacks almost all the head and a portion of the shaft 2½ feet high, and was nearly 14 feet high when complete. The base is 14 inches by 11, and the top 11 inches by 7½, this piece being 11 feet high. 'The design upon one face consists of two vine plants, to a great extent naturally treated, intertwining, forming nine slightly-pointed oval panels, filled with varied combinations of grape bunches, vine leaves and tendrils, in which the grapes predominate.'[2]

In the attribution of these fragments to the memorial of Acca, the chief weight attaches to a passage from Pseudo-Simeon of Durham : 'Corpus vero ejus ad orientalem plagam extra parietem ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis [Hexham] . . sepultum est. Duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili cælatura decoratæ positæ sunt, una ad caput, alia ad pedes ejus.'[3] The largest of the fragments remaining 'was found in the earth' 'while making the chancel of the present church, in the position that the memorial must have originally occupied.'[4] Of the inscription, which originally filled the whole of one face of the cross, very little remains. 'The commencing letter is certainly A, and at the end of the line are some remains which may be resolved into Ω, in which case the inscription would begin with Alpha and Omega, not an unlikely heading. The name ACCA has, however, been suggested, and some traces of the last three letters of the name have been thought to be still visible. The second line commences with SC, and nothing more can be made out until about the middle of the shaft, where the words VNIGENITO FILIO DEO, from the Nicene Creed, can be read with almost absolute certainty.'[5] However, the authorities seem to be agreed that the fragments belong to Acca's cross—the

[1] Rivoira, *Burlington Magazine*, April 15, 1912, p. 25.

[2] Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 53, where three plates are given. Other descriptions, with illustrations, are in Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. xxxiv; Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* 2. 47, 48, plates xcii, xciii; Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, pp. 257-261; *History of Northumberland* 3. 181; Rivoira 2. 143. Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 200) regards the decoration of the Acca cross as strikingly similar to that of the throne of Maximian.

[3] Raine 1. 204.

[4] *Ibid.* 1. xxxiv; cf. Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 57-8.

[5] Greenwell, p. 57.

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one which stood at the head of his grave.[1] Greenwell attributes the work to ' the Italian craftsmen whom St. Wilfrid brought over[2]

[1] Greenwell, p. 58; Enlart, in Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 199 (Enlart makes the mistake of saying that the cross bears the name of Acca); Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 143.

[2] Too much has been made of Wilfrith's importation of foreign workmen into England. He may, indeed, have brought artisans from the Continent, but the evidence that he did so is too late to be of any value. The facts are these (dates from Plummer's edition of Bede's *Opera Hist.* 2. 316 ff.). Wilfrith was on the Continent twice before he began his building operations at York, Ripon, and Hexham. His first journey was at the age of 19, on which occasion he proceeded to Rome by way of Lyons, in company with Benedict Biscop, who was perhaps half a dozen years his senior; after remaining at Rome several months, he returned to Lyons, and stayed there three years, reaching England after an absence of five years. On the second occasion he went to France, in order to be consecrated as bishop at Compiègne. This time he was abroad for two years, and after his return spent three years at Ripon, varied by the discharge of episcopal duties in Mercia and Kent. This brings us to 669, and his constructions at Ripon did not begin for at least two years (perhaps considerably longer). The church at Hexham was probably not begun till 674, or eight years after his return from France. Now the only passage in Eddi, the one supreme authority for Wilfrith's life, which contains any direct mention of mechanics, is most naturally referred to 669; it is as follows (chap. 14 : *Historians of the Church of York* 1. 22): ' Ideo autem venerabiliter vivens, omnibus carus, episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum cantoribus Ædde et Eonan, et cæmentariis, omnisque pæne artis institoribus, regionem suam rediens cum regula Sancti Benedicti, instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.' This Ædde, or Eddi, was the same that wrote his life, and him Wilfrith took from Kent after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore in 669 (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 4. 2). Accordingly, it must have been in this same year that the builders and artisans accompanied him on his return to Northumbria (*regionem suam rediens*). It will be remembered that he had then been back three years from his second visit to the Continent; in the period just before him he was to have sufficient employment for his workmen—first of all, probably, in the repair of the church at York—whereas in the previous three years he had not, so far as we know, any important operations in which to employ them. On the face of it, then, it looks as though he had found his workmen where he found his singers—in Kent, at that time a centre of learning and the arts. Moreover, there is no proof that he needed the superior abilities of a foreign architect (the young man, probably one of the masons, who fell from the roof of the Hexham church while it was building (Eddi, chap. 22) was a monk (*ex servis Dei*) with an English name, Bothelm), for Eddi (chap. 22), while he says that the church of St. Andrew at Hexham surpassed any building of which he had ever heard north of the Alps (*neque enim ullam domum citra*

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to build his church at Hexham, but if not the produce of their hands, then sculptured by artists, possibly native, educated in their school and emulous of their achievements.' [1] Rivoira takes issue squarely with Greenwell concerning the provenience of the craftsmen : ' It

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Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus), expressly gives Wilfrith the credit for the plan (*Spiritu Dei doctus, opera facere excogitavit*).

Four centuries or so after Eddi wrote, his statements in these two places became expanded and embellished by writers who can have had no information on the subject save what he furnished them. Thus William of Malmesbury, writing in the first quarter of the 12th century (*Gesta Pontificum* 3. 117: ed. Hamilton, p. 255), although he expressly says that he is following Eddi (Prol. to Bk. 3: p. 210), observes, with respect to Wilfrith's building at Hexham, *arbitratu quidem multa proprio, sed et cæmentariorum, quos ex Roma spes munificentiæ attraxerat, magisterio*; and to this he was perhaps led by his desire to amplify Eddi's statement by appending to it the second of the two following sentences : ' Ferebaturque tunc in populo celebre, scriptisque etiam est inditum, nusquam citra Alpes tale esse edifitium. Nunc qui Roma veniunt idem allegant, ut qui Haugustaldensem fabricam vident ambitionem Romanam se imaginari jurent.' Later in the century (after 1140) Richard of Hexham seeks to improve upon Eddi's statement in chapter 14 by paraphrasing his *omnisque pæne artis institoribus*, and by having Wilfrith bring his workmen from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries (what ones ?) into England, instead of from the South of England to the North (Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 20): ' De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris, ubicumque invenire poterat, cæmentarios, et quoslibet alios industrios [*sic*] artifices, secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat.' Finally, Ailred of Rievaulx, writing after 1154, and describing the church at Hexham, brings the artificers from foreign parts in general, without specification of the country (Raine 1. 175): ' Verum ubi eam beatissimus præsul Wilfridus, adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, miro lapideo tabulatu, ut inpræsentiarium cernitis, renovavit, et, ad devotionem rudis adhuc plebis conciliandam, picturis et cælaturis multiphariam decoravit.' These later writers may possibly, considering the friendship and association between Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop, have been influenced by Bede's statement concerning the latter with reference to his journey into Gaul in 675 (*Hist. Abb.* 5): ' Nec plusquam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interiecto, Benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, cementarios qui lapideam sibi æcclesiam iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent, postulauit, accepit, adtulit.' Or they may have been influenced by their knowledge of the importation of Continental workmen into England in their own time.

[1] *Catalogue*, p. 59; he also says: ' It appears to have been the model from which, in various developments, a class of monuments spread from Hexham and enriched the cemeteries of many and even distant places.'

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is clear that the carving belongs to a period which, if not that of Wilfrid, is not far removed from it ; and it is equally clear that it comes from a French hand.[1] I say this because the carvers of Rome and Ravenna, at that date the best in Italy, did not produce such complicated interlacings ; and those of Lombardy, though very fond of employing them, were unable to treat them with the grace shown by the cross from Hexham.'[2]

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[1] Elsewhere Rivoira is undecided between 'some artist of the school of Ravenna' and a 'French sculptor' (*Burl. Mag.*, April 15, 1912, p. 25).

[2] Cf. *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 143. Neither Greenwell nor Rivoira will allow any connection between the Acca cross and those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. On this point Canon Greenwell remarks (pp. 45-6): 'Though they [the Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses] possess some features in common with the vine pattern on the cross of Acca and on others apparently developed from it, there is distinctly another motive introduced, and another school than that of Hexham appears to have produced the artists who conceived and executed them. They belong to a school of the highest excellence, the centre of which it is not at present possible to localize, and are, both in design and workmanship, far in advance of those of ordinary Anglian manufacture. It is true that great skill has been exercised and refined taste is manifested on the cross of Acca, yet the relief on these two crosses is higher and bolder, and they exhibit a greater and more inventive power in the representation of natural objects, translated into stone, than is shown in that beautiful work. The way in which tree forms and foliage have been made to adapt themselves to the requirements of the general scheme and to the material used in its production, as well as the artistic sculpturing of branches and leaves and fruits, quite apart from a slavish copy, gives evidence of an educated and well-practised craftsman. The manner also in which the human figure is treated, and the knowledge displayed in the modelling of limbs and drapery, is so different and so superior to the other work of the same time, that it seems to point to an origin beyond the limits of England, and which came from a country where art had for long flourished, and where it had not altogether died away.' He adds (p. 47) with respect to Acca's cross that it is 'a monument which, having regard to its greater simplicity of design and the absence of any interlacing ornament upon it, such as occurs on the Bewcastle cross, might be thought to belong to an earlier time than that of these two memorials.' On the supposition, however, that the Bewcastle Cross is to be assigned to the 7th century, Canon Greenwell is fain to assume that two artists, or two companies of artists, worked contemporaneously at Hexham and at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. Rivoira asserts (2. 143): 'All this carving in relief [of Acca's cross, etc.] is quite different, both in composition, design, and technique, from that of the well-known tall cross at Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, . . . which cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the XIIth century.' Raine (2. xxviii-xxxi) had been

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Two shafts from the ruined eighth-century church of Aurona at Milan, which are now in the Brera museum, have oval scrolls containing leaf-ornaments, the tendrils ending in vine-leaves, grapes, etc. They have not birds and animals in them, but in one case there is a single bird at the top, and in the other case a single quadruped.[1] We need not dwell upon the peacock-screen of the museum of Brescia, said to have come from the eighth-century church of San Salvatore, and containing a kind of vine-pattern.[2]

The baptistery of Calixtus, at Cividale in Friuli, belongs to the first half of the 8th century. On the archivolts are vines, with birds pecking at the grapes.[3] A vine-scroll, with grapes but no birds, executed in stucco, ornaments the arch over a door in the church of Santa Maria in Valle, also at Cividale (762–776).[4]

The iconoclasts (8th and 9th centuries) are credited with a predilection for this species of ornament.[5]

A piece of ornament from the church of St. Samson-sur-Rille (Eure) exhibits a vine with grapes and fruit. This dates from before the end of the 9th century, at latest.[6]

The jamb of the north opening into Britford church (Wiltshire) is decorated with a vine of rather rude workmanship, which Rivoira would date anywhere from the 8th to the 10th century[7]; the trees

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inclined to assume a connection. For example, he says: 'It seems to me that Wilfrid was the originator of the beautiful forms that appear at Hexham and other places, and which overran Northumbria.'

For other Hexham work of this general character, see Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland* 2, Pl. 88, 94; Rivoira 2. 142-4; Michel 2. 200; Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 59 ff.

[1] Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 225; Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, pp. 138, 140.

[2] Figured in Michel 1[1]. 390; cf. Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 222; Venturi 2. 134; Cattaneo, p. 151.

[3] Dartein, *Etudes sur l'Architecture Lombarde*, p. 20, and pp. 11, 12, 13; cf. Michel 1[1]. 386 ff.

[4] Dartein, pp. 31, 33; Rivoira 1. 97-9; Venturi 2. 127, 129. Carotti (*Hist. Art* 2[1]. 173) is sure that this is after 1000, 'being altogether in the style of the Byzantine Renaissance.'

[5] See Michel 1[1]. 152-3.

[6] Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 26; cf. p. 8. See also the design on p. 86. Note the example from Coire (*Burl. Mag.* 21. 195).

[7] *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 180; see also Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 49; Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, pp. 291-2; Michel 1[1]. 120.

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with branches of scroll-work in the tower of Barnack church (Northamptonshire) are of the earlier 11th century.[1]

In the cathedral of Torcello (ca. 1008), on the parapets (*transennæ*) of the choir, the whole surface is covered with volutes, in which birds and little animals disport, as on the Brescia screen.[2]

At Jedburgh there is a slab of sandstone in the north transept of the abbey, thus described by Allen[3] : ' Of nearly rectangular shape (but fractured along one edge), 2 feet 7 inches high by 2 feet wide, sculptured in relief on one face thus (fig. 454) : . . . the lower part of a panel of scroll foliage with winged dragons, birds and beasts involved in the branches and eating the fruit ; and (on the right) a panel of interlaced-work.' This stone Professor Howard Crosby Butler figures in his *Ruined Abbeys of Scotland* (p. 71), and entitles it, ' Fragment of Romanesque altar-piece ' ; elsewhere he compares it, in general style and technique, with Lombard work of the 11th century, with which he regards it as very closely allied.[4]

Of the 11th century is reported to be a foliage-scroll found in a copy of the Gospels in the National Library of Paris.[5]

At Flaa and Sauland, in Norway, the doorways of the churches are decorated with a vine-scroll, winding about animals. These are of the 11th century.[6]

Of the 12th century are the foliage-scrolls with figures of the west door of Lincoln Cathedral.[7]

Vines are to be found in France, in the 12th century, at Chartres,[8] Vézelay,[9] St. Denis,[10] Notre-Dame de Paris (1190–1215),[11] Arles,[12]

[1] Rivoira 2. 181.

[2] Michel 1[1]. 389; Cattaneo, *Arch. in Italy*, pp. 332-3; Venturi 2. 161.

[3] *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 433-4; cf. 1. lxii; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 233. Also described and illustrated in Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland*, Vol. 2, Pl. 118, No. 1; *Catholic Encyc.* 1. 509.

[4] Letter of Jan. 17, 1910. Cf., however, Enlart, in Michel 2. 200. Prior and Gardner, ' Med. Figure-Sculpture in England,' *Architectural Review*, July, 1902, p. 11, refer it to ca. 700.

[5] Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 53, note; Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, Vol. 1, pl. 4.

[6] Henry Rousseau, *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 70. So at Aal and Tuft (Michel 1[1]. 524).

[7] Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 44.

[8] Marriage, pp. 44-5; cf. pp. 200-1; Viollet-le-Duc 8. 210-1. Cf. p. 129, below.

[9] Porée, *L'Abbage de Vézelay*, pp. 38-9; Viollet-le-Duc 8. 213-5.

[10] Viollet-le-Duc 8. 222.

[11] *Ibid.* 8. 230.

[12] Venturi 3. 281.

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Sens,[1] and St. Ursin at Bourges (1150).[2] Enlart, after saying that they (*rinceaux*) are favorite motives with Romanesque sculptors,[3] gives several instances: Mantes (door-jamb), Vézelay, Aulnay, Dalbades (Cloister), Fontevrault (Abbey, church), Bayeux (Cathedral).[4] Baum gives several examples: Maguelonne (St. Pierre), Aulnay (St. Pierre, window of apse, and porch of south transept), Toulouse (Museum), Angoulême (St. Pierre), Le Puy (Chapel of St. Michel), Arles (St. Trophime), Avallon (St. Lazare), Lichères, St. Benoît-sur-Loire, La Charité-sur-Loire (St. Croix), Mantes.[5] These vary from classical to the more extravagant Lombard types.

There is a vine, with animals, on the door-jamb of St. Gertrude at Nivelles.[6]

Vines were frequently used as a sculptural ornament in Italy during the 12th century. Grape-vines with both birds and animals among their branches, these latter often eating the fruit, are to be seen at Como (Museo Civico, relief),[7] Milan (Museo Arch., ornaments of pilasters, by Nicholas),[8] Nonantola (San Silvestro, portal, by Wiligelmus),[9] Salerno (Cathedral, architrave of door of atrium),[10] Benevento (Cathedral, door-jamb),[11] Bitonto (Cathedral, portal),[12] and Pavia (San Michele, various doorways).[13] There is a vine with one bird among its branches at Capua (Cathedral, candelabrum),[14] and, in the same city, one with apparently only animal forms (San Marcello, door-jamb).[15] Vines with human figures as well as animals among

[1] Venturi 3. 362 ff.

[2] Viollet-le-Duc 8. 204-5.

[3] *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 350.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 363, 385, 388, 464 (Fig. 222).

[5] *Romanesque Arch. in France*, pp. 11, 13, 14, 74, 101, 109, 126, 144, 147, 162, 176, 222.

[6] Rousseau, 'La Ruthwell Cross,' *Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16 (1902). 65, 70.

[7] Venturi 3. 146.

[8] *Ibid.* 3. 162.

[9] *Ibid.* 3. 170.

[10] *Ibid.* 3. 540.

[11] *Ibid.* 3. 623; Leader Scott (Mrs. Baxter), *Cathedral Builders*, p. 246.

[12] Venturi 3. 665.

[13] Dartein, *Etudes sur l'Arch. Lomb.*, Atlas des Planches, pl. 54, 58, 60, 61; Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 1. 236; Cummings, *History of Architecture in Italy* 1. 127, 188-9; Ruprich-Robert, *L'Architecture Normande aux XIe et XIIe Siècles* 1. 75; Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^2. 541, 695; Venturi 2. 153-7.

[14] Venturi 3. 607.

[15] *Ibid.* 3. 533.

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the branches (or sometimes merely human figures, and these occasionally of grotesque appearance) are found at Modena (Duomo, portal dei Principi, by Wiligelmus),[1] Parma (Baptistery, tympana and door-jamb),[2] Traù (San Lorenzo, bas-relief on door),[3] Sessa Aurunca (Cathedral, ambo),[4] and Monreale (Duomo, door-jamb and pillars of cloister).[5] It is also interesting to note that on the door of the cathedral at Spalato, dating from the early years of the 13th century (1214), there are vines with birds, animals, and human heads among their branches, in the near neighborhood of interlacing or knotwork.[6] A vine of conventional pattern is found closely associated with chequer-work on the font in the baptistery at Pisa.[7] Besides these more interesting examples of vine-sculpture, more than forty other vine-ornaments carved in Italy in the 12th century are pictured by Venturi.[8]

Of the 13th century is the Peridexion, or tree of life, of S. Urbain at Troyes and of Rheims Cathedral, with birds in its branches,[9] and the foliage-scrolls of S. Séverin at Bordeaux.[10]

Foliage-scrolls are found on various crosses in the British Isles which need only be named here. Such are those at Bakewell, Eyam, Ilkley, Sheffield, Bishop Auckland, Monasterboice, Kells, and Clonmacnois[11]; then at Croft,[12] Abercorn,[13] Aberlady,[14] Closeburn,[15]

[1] Venturi 3. 155.

[2] *Ibid.* 3. 296-7, 305.

[3] *Ibid.* 3. 352.

[4] *Ibid.* 3. 581.

[5] *Ibid.* 3. 621, 627

[6] *Ibid.* 3. 105-113.

[7] *Ibid.* 3. 931; see also Ruskin, *Works*, Library Edition 23. 17, where it is figured.

[8] *Ibid.* 3. 13, 72, 92, 101, 119, 122, 163, 187, 190, 193, 195, 225, 250, 283, 286, 287, 293, 295, 333, 288-9, 395, 539, 559, 561, 609, 667, 707, 718, 773, 817, 826, 893, 895, 898, 899, 912, 916, 919, 934, 935, 936, 937, 947, 950, 951, 952-3; 1. 49.

[9] Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle*, p. 63; cf. Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 388; Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 192.

[10] Viollet-le-Duc 9. 335-6.

[11] All mentioned by Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 158-9 (the last three probably of the 12th century; see p. 54, note 3).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 154 (plate opposite).

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 158; *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 418; 1. lxii.

[14] *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 428; 1. lxii.

[15] *Ibid.* 3. 436; 1. lxii.

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St. Vigeans (ca. 900 ?),[1] Hilton of Cadboll,[2] Nigg,[3] Tarbet,[4] Crieff,[5] Barfreston,[6] Mugdrum,[7] Forres(?),[8] Camuston,[9] Dupplin,[10] Haversham,[11] Keils and Kilarrow,[12] Kildroman (on Islay),[13] and Oronsay.[14]

According to Anderson, the foliage-scroll, ' though it is an exceptional feature of the monuments [in Scotland] previous to the twelfth century, becomes the prevailing and dominant feature of the West Highland monuments of a later period ranging from the thirteenth century to the Reformation.' [15]

Iona has a cross erected to the memory of Lauchlan McFingon, and bearing the date of 1489, which has a foliage-scroll, but without birds or animals.[16]

Numerous other instances of the vine- or foliage-scroll might be cited, but the object of the foregoing is to show that this decoration may be found in practically any century from the second to the fifteenth, and that hence it is not safe to place too much dependence upon this feature in an attempt to date the cross. The conclusion of Rivoira has been quoted above (p. 78, note 2), and deserves peculiar consideration.

2. THE CHEQUERS[17]

Chequers (Fr. *damier, échiquier*) are an ornament belonging especially to Romanesque architecture, and found from the end of the

[1] *Ibid.* 3. 236-8; 1. lxii; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 51, 130, 194; Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland* 2, Pl. 127.

[2] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 130, 233; Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi; Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 62.

[3] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 130.

[4] *Ibid.* 2. 130, 233; Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 3. 73; Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi.

[5] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 130; *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxii; 3. 313-5.

[6] Michel 1^2. 517.

[7] *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi; 3. 367.

[8] *Ibid.* 1. lxii.

[9] *Ibid.* 1. lxii; 3. 254; see the fuller list, *ibid.* 2. 404

[10] *Ibid.* 1. lxii; 3. 321.

[11] Calverley, in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 12. 246.

[12] Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland*, p. 1, Pl. 35.

[13] *Ibid.*, Pl. 34. [14] *Ibid.*, Pl. 38.

[15] *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. lxi.

[16] Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* 2. 247-8; Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones of Scotland* 2, Pl. 47; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 131.

[17] See p. 26.

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11th to the beginning of the 13th century, in the Ile-de-France, the Soissonnais, Normandy, and England. It is frequently found on the tympana of churches, but in Normandy also on the faces of walls, buttresses, etc.

> A form of diaper ornement in which the compartments are uniformly square, as in late Romanesque and in Gothic surface carving.[1]

> Le damier est un ornement d'architecture fréquemment employé pendant le XIIe siècle. . . . C'est surtout dans l'Ile-de-France, le Soissonnais, et en Normandie, qu'on trouve l'emploie des damiers à dater de la fin du XIe siècle jusqu'au commencement du XIIIe. . . . Les damiers couvrent aussi, en Normandie, des parements de murs, des rampants de contre-forts; alors ils figurent des *essentes* ou bardeaux de bois. C'était un moyen peu dispendieux de donner de la richesse aux tympans, aux surfaces des murs.[2]

> Les damiers, carrés alternés en creux et en relief, sont des motifs courants très répandus, connus dès le XIe siècle, abandonnés à la fin du XIIe, et peuvent être d'origine orientale.[3]

> The average craftsman of Norman days had the ideas of interlacing, chequers, and scrolls among his stock-in-trade.[4]

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[1] Sturgis, *Dictionary of Architecture and Building*, s. v. *Checker*.

[2] Viollet-le-Duc 5. 24-5, s. v. *Damier*. For tympana thus ornamented in France, see Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 91, 96, 160, 188.

[3] Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 354; cf. pp. 363, 364 (note 6), 402 (picture); also Baum, *Romanesque Arch. in France*, p. 70 (church of Chauriat, Puy-de-Dôme).

[4] Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 290. Among Norman churches in the diocese of Carlisle which have tympana or capitals ornamented with chequers, Collingwood mentions those of Bromfield (p. 85), Kirk-Bampton (p. 214), Long Marton (p. 229), and Torpenhow (p. 271). Ruprich-Robert (*L'Arch. Norm.* 1. 95) mentions the tympanum over a door at Norwich Cathedral (see his Fig. 56, and compare his Plate XLII, Fig. 2). Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, though professing to consider only the figure- or symbolical sculpture, mentions tympana of the following churches as containing chequers: Wold Newton, Yorkshire (pp. XXX, 31; Fig. 16); Tissington, Derbyshire (pp. XXX, 51; Fig. 22); Findern, Derbyshire (p. XXX: 'a diaper of the chequered pattern'; p. 16: 'a diaper of square billets'; Fig. 23); and, finest of all, Brize Norton, Oxfordshire (pp. XXXIV-V, 32; Fig. 33). These he considers (p. XV) to 'belong to the Norman period of architecture, say 1080-1200.' Cf. p. 127, note 1, below, and the Venetian example in Ruskin, *Works* (Lib. Ed.) 11. 320, Pl. 2.

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The earliest instance of the chequer-pattern in ecclesiastical architecture is to be found in the abbey-church of Jumièges (1040 to 1066).

> Nor should we omit to notice the presence of a decorative form not previously used in ecclesiastical architecture, viz. the bands of chequer pattern [at Jumièges], so frequently reproduced later in Normandy and England, and finally applied by the architect Lanfrancus to the capitals in the cathedral at Modena (1099-1106). This chess-board motive was a favorite one with the Etruscan artists, who often employed it in tomb-paintings (Fig. 459). The Romans applied it specially in mosaics.[1]

Notwithstanding these facts, Collingwood will not allow that the chequers on the Bewcastle Cross necessarily indicate that it was executed in the Norman period.

> The mere fact of the use of a chequer-pattern does not indicate Norman age. The chequers on Bewcastle Cross are a variety of the step-pattern on Irton Cross; chequers also appear at Bromfield, Kirk-Bampton, Torpenhow, and Long Marton, but these are different in treatment, just as Norman interlacing, of which there is plenty, differs from the regulated braids of Anglo-Saxon age.[2]

Whether 'the chequers on Bewcastle Cross are a variety of the step-pattern on Irton Cross' is a matter for professed archæologists to determine. As for me, I can see no such resemblance, judging from the plate facing his page 206. In any case, it is only guess-work that Irton Cross is early. Collingwood says (p. 301): 'The key-patterns and other details of Irton are also not Irish but Anglian, if the Lindisfarne Gospels are—as the names of their artists indicate; and may be as early—dating from the beginning of the eighth century, to judge from the style.' But elsewhere he says (p. 206) of Irton Cross: 'The carving has been all done with the chisel, without drill or pick, and is smooth, highly finished work, very varied in depth.' But if it was all done with the chisel, it must have been as late as the Norman period, if we may trust Parker, *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, p. 77: 'The chisel is only required for deep-cutting and especially under-cutting, and that we do not

[1] Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 2. 83. Venturi (*Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 20) speaks of chequers as among the ornaments of pillars (with knotwork, etc.) which became more and more common in Italy from the 12th century. See also above, p. 82, note 7.

[2] Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 43-44.

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find on any buildings of ascertained date before 1120. The chisel was used for carving in stone in Italy and the south of France at an earlier period, but not in Normandy or the north of France much earlier than in England. After this usage was introduced, the workmen seem to have gloried in it, and revelled in it, and the profusion of rich Norman sculptured ornament in the latter half of the twelfth century is quite wonderful.'[1]

Bishop Browne declares the chequers 'perhaps the most difficult thing to explain on the whole cross, whether as to purpose or as to date'[2]; but with Viollet-le-Duc's statements in mind, it is easy to see that there is no difficulty if we assume that the cross is of the 12th century, and that the purpose of the chequers was merely to serve as a means of ornamentation.

3. THE INTERLACINGS OR KNOTWORK[3]

The interlacings found on the Bewcastle Cross are a characteristically Celtic development of designs which must have been brought to Britain soon after the introduction of Christianity, and which gave birth here to a great variety of intricate and beautiful patterns. These patterns are first found in such manuscripts as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells, and afterwards in metal-work and stone-work.

> The intricate and in some cases involved pattern of interlacing or knot-work occurs not only on the Anglian crosses and grave-covers, but is also found on the memorial stones of Ireland, Scotland, and other parts of the United Kingdom outside Northumbria. It is sometimes formed by a simple riband, at other times by lacertine or serpentine creatures (zoomorphic), or by beasts, more or less naturalistically represented, whose tails, limbs, or tongues are prolonged into ribands. This riband intertwines after the most varied fashion, progressing from a mere overlapping or twisting cord into the most elaborate convolutions, forming designs which, when executed by a well-skilled and deft-handed workman, are marvels of intelligent intricacy, and produce a very charming effect through the gracefulness and accuracy of their curvature and interlacement. The use of the interlacing riband pattern appears to have been introduced into this country, though not altogether directly, from Ireland, where it almost certainly had arrived with the introduction of Christianity. Sufficient proof of this seems to be

[1] Cf. also p. 52; Edith A. Browne, *Norman Architecture* (London, 1907), p. 31; and especially Rivoira 2. 202, 229, 247.

[2] *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 194.

[3] See pp. 26-28.

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afforded by the entire absence of any design at all like it in Ireland during pagan times, though metal weapons and ornaments of that period are richly decorated. The origin of the interlacing principle as an element of ornamental design is a difficult problem to solve. It may, perhaps, be a development of the patterns of the tesselated pavements so common in late Roman work. It appears to have followed the spread of Christianity, and it occurs far beyond European limits, being found as a frequent decoration in early Coptic and Ethiopic manuscripts.[1]

In Ireland, which was the cradle of the art, it is suggestive that these elaborately intricate patterns are not so characteristic of the monuments as of the manuscripts. The earlier Irish monuments are comparatively plain and unadorned; among the earlier manuscripts, on the contrary, there are many that are profusely decorated. It thus appears that it was only when the art had been brought to a high degree of excellence that it began to be generally applied to stone and metal work in Ireland. There is no reason to suppose that the course of its development was different in Scotland. . . . While it is manifest . . . that a national system of art like this of the Scottish monuments is described in correct terms by saying that in all the essential features of its individuality it differs from every other, it does not necessarily follow that its essential elements must have originated in Scotland or in Ireland. . . . When I say, for instance, that interlaced work is one of the special characteristics of the Celtic school of art, I do not mean that the Celts were the only people who have used interlaced work, or that its invention was due to them. . . . For instance, we find interlaced work on Babylonish cylinders, on Mycenian ornaments and sculpture, on Alexandrian manuscripts, on Ethiopic manuscripts and metal-work, and on Pompeian bronzes. . . . We find it on the mosaic pavements of the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, and on Christian mosaics of later time in the early churches of Italy and France. We find it also existing as an architectural decoration applied to the ornamentation of churches, both externally and internally. The jambs of the doorway of San Zeno at San Prassede, in Rome, built by Pope Paschal I., about A. D. 820, are ornamented with a running pattern of interlaced ribbon-work of four strands, which might have appeared on the shaft of a sculptured cross in Scotland or in Ireland. . . . In the church of Chur, in Switzerland, founded in 1178, there were found seventeen fragments of slabs sculptured with designs of complicated interlaced work arranged in panels. Among them is one on which is sculptured a cross of interlaced

[1] Greenwell, *Catalogue*, pp. 48-9. Cf. Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 147-151; *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 2. 143. The varieties of interlaced work are described in detail by Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 2. 140-307, where the Bewcastle patterns will be found.

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work, with two circles above the arms, and two lions below. . . . It was thus a common form of decorative ornament applied to many and various purposes, in many different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, both before and after the time when, in this country and in Ireland, it became one of the prevailing and dominant characteristics of Celtic art. But while it was thus used by other peoples as an occasional element of decoration, or as a style of ornament suitable for special purposes, it was nowhere developed into a systematic style of art, applied alike to manuscripts, metal-work, and stone-work, unless in this country and in Ireland. In other words, it never gave a distinctive character to any art but Celtic art. . . . The variety and beauty of their special adaptations of this system of ornamental design can only be appreciated by those who have closely studied their endless variations, as exhibited in the complicated patterns so frequently met with in the manuscripts and on the monuments.[1]

The most striking characteristic of VIIIth century carving, interlacing, had been used by the Romans not only on vases and domestic utensils, but also in architectural decoration, as also, and more particularly, in mosaics. This may be verified by any one in museums, in the early Christian Catacombs, and in buildings of the Imperial age. And before the Romans it had been used by the Etruscans.[2]

L'entrelacs, en revanche, est d'usage aussi constant que multiple. Moins spécial à l'Irlande peut-être que les deux motifs précédents, qui ne dépassèrent guère la belle époque, il eut dans le milieu britannique toute une vie prolongée à transformations sans nombre. Beaucoup plus compliqué dès l'origine que sur le continent, il a connu les arrangements les plus divers, issus de l'art de la vannerie ou du tisserand, depuis la simple tresse aux anneaux réguliers jusqu'au nattage fait de plusieurs cordes qui s'entrecroisent et se nouent, en carrés, en cercles, en triangles, en boucles de toute forme et de toute grandeur, souvent même de la plus irrégulière fantaisie.[3]

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[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 109-114.

[2] Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 1. 105-6. There are some good specimens from the 8th or early 9th century in the church of S. Sabina, at Rome (Rivoira 1. 128). For interlacing associated with vine-scrolls, see Venturi 3. 105-113, and p. 82, above. Enlart (*Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 363, note 3) refers to St. Michel d'Entraigues (Charente), the Cathedral of Mariana (Corsica), and St. Peter's at Segovia (Spain); Baum (*Romanesque Arch. in France*, p. 136) figures an example from St. Guilhem-du-Désert (Hérault) of the 10th century.

[3] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1[1]. 318; cf. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 352.

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As the best stone- and metal-work containing the Celtic interlacing is late, and 'comes close to the eleventh and twelfth centuries,'[1] and as the knotwork on the Bewcastle Cross is evidently of Celtic pattern, it is clear that, even judged by these considerations alone, the Bewcastle Cross must belong to a comparatively late period.[2]

4. THE SUNDIAL [3]

The sundial on the south face of the Bewcastle Cross is, by common consent, as old as the rest of the carving.

> This dial is a semicircle with hole for the gnomon now lost, and rays marking twelve divisions between sunrise and sunset. It is certainly a part of the original monument.[4]

> The sun-dial, with its rays marking the hours, and the hole for its gnomon, has been cut at the time of the making of the cross, and is part of the original design, so far as we can see.[5]

> It is contemporary with the sculpturing of the scroll of foliage.[6]

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[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christ. Times* 2. 109.

[2] Bishop Browne, who regards the Bewcastle Cross as of the 7th century, finds difficulty here. He says (*Conv. of Hept.*, pp. 197-8): 'As to the interlacing patterns, the question is more difficult. Our Hibernian friends claim that the whole of this art came from them. But they have no stone-work of anything like the date of the Bewcastle Cross with anything like these patterns. Their earliest great cross, too, dates from 920 only [really 12th century; see p. 54, note 3]. . . . If it is claimed that the Irish parchment ornamentation gave the patterns of these panels of interlacing ornament, we have to reply that we are not aware of any MS. of Irish production with these patterns so early as the year 670.' He accordingly finds himself obliged to resort to the hypothesis of an independent Anglian development, and, as an alternative, to that of a borrowing from Lombardy, the peacock screen at Brescia (see p. 79, above) being cited as a crucial example of the Lombardic work (*op. cit.*, pp. 198, 228-9; but cf. his *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 238, where he accounts for the absence of knotwork from the Ruthwell Cross by the desire of its artists 'to shake themselves free from the local associations of Anglian and Scotic interlacements, and to look to more classical decoration'). Rivoira (*Burl. Mag.*, April 15, 1912, pp. 23, 24) will not allow that any British carved interlacing is earlier than the 8th century.

[3] See p. 27.

[4] Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 255.

[5] Calverley, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 41.

[6] Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 194.

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According to Gatty, few sundials in England antedate 1066.[1] Collingwood, who lists several in Cumberland,[2] will not assert that any of them were sculptured before the Norman period.

> There is abundant evidence that our dials are of a 'Saxon' type; but they occur in masonry which, at earliest, is Norman, at latest, as late as the Newbiggin dial, given for its likeness to Bewcastle. . . . The conclusion is that these dials, though of 'Saxon' type, were cut on Norman (and later) buildings by twelfth century (and later) people, who still, however, kept up the pre-Norman manner of marking time.[3]

Some light is thrown upon the Bewcastle sundial by one at the Cistercian abbey of Acquafredda, on Lake Como.[4] It is of white marble, .425 metre in diameter, and bears the date of 1093 above its horizontal diameter. Like the Bewcastle dial, it has twelve divisions, with short pieces of radii, ending in the circumference, in the fifth, eighth, and tenth divisions, counting from the right, marking respectively 10.30 A. M., and 1.30 and 3.30 P. M.; the hours, according to the *Coutumier Cistercien*, denoting the end of manual labor, the end of the siesta, and vespers. Above the date is the Chi Rho monogram, and, on either side, the Alpha and the Omega.

It will be seen that there is absolutely no reason for dating the Bewcastle sundial earlier than the late 11th century, and that the 12th century is more probable.

[1] *Book of Sun-Dials*, ed. Eden and Lloyd, p. 51. Gatty notes those at Weaverthorpe, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, about 943; Old Byland, before the coming of the Cistercian monks in the 12th century; Skelton, early 12th century; Bishopstone, 11th century; Warnford, 12th or 13th century; Bricet, about 1096; St. Sepulchre's church, Northampton, about 1400; besides the famous one at Kirby Moorside, among the moors not far from Whitby. This was erected by Orm, Gamal's son, in the days of Earl Tostig, and is dated by every one within the ten years immediately preceding 1065 (see the inscription in Browne, *Conv. of Hept.*, p. 195, and Gatty, p. 55, for example).

[2] *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 256; *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 57, 92, 99, 132, 178, 208, 226, 237, 239, 263, 270.

[3] *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 288-9; cf. p. 54, and *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 256.

[4] Reported in *Cosmos*, No. 1238, Oct. 17, 1908, by J. L. Benoît, a Benedictine monk; cf. *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 52 (1909). 200, 201.

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THEORY AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE CROSSES

OUTLINE

On the supposition that the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses were produced at about the same time, and under the same general influences, the theory of production must take account of three factors :

I. The power—political, social, or religious—which enabled and suggested the production.

II. The motive or motives—religious, social, or political—which actuated the production.

III. The cultural and artistic antecedents and environment demanded by the production.

I. In the case of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, the power which enabled and suggested the production must have had these characteristics :

1. It must have been a power extending over the whole region which includes both Ruthwell and Bewcastle.

2. It must have been a power which could make itself respected in a rude age ; and, to have been supremely effective, it must have been a power making appeal to all the various nationalities which occupied the region.

II. The motives actuating such a production, whether religious, social, or political, must have been such as can be reasonably assigned to the individual or organization credited with the production. These motives, considering the territory in which the crosses are found, might conceivably be such as these—some or all : To erect a memorial of the Christian faith ; to establish a station for Christian worship ; to commemorate a historic event or individual ; to conciliate the various elements of the population which should view the monument; incidentally to subserve a political end, by reminding the inhabitants of that region of the sway of the organization or individual at whose instance the crosses were erected.

III. In considering the cultural and artistic antecedents and environment, we must remember the variety of features which the crosses exhibit. Among these, none is of more importance with reference to the date than the figure-sculpture, pointing to the 12th century, and to analogues existing upon French and Italian soil, or, if upon English soil, due to Continental, and probably to French

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influence. Some, at least, of these analogues exist in places whence influences might, directly or indirectly, have reached Ruthwell and Bewcastle. These crosses, anomalous when viewed merely in relation to the development of Celtic, Danish, or Saxon sculpture upon English soil, are only explicable on the theory of an art which, borrowing elements from these various nationalities, at once harmonized and transcended them. But the art which thus harmonized and transcended these borrowed elements reposed upon a religious sentiment which gathered new power from the beginning of the 12th century, a sentiment whose warmth and depth evoked potentialities which had been latent in the artistic capabilities of the Middle Ages, at once energizing, refining, humanizing, and co-ordinating what had been nerveless, barbarous, or random in the Byzantine or Lombard sculpture which had preceded.[1]

[1] It is instructive to compare the figure of Christ on St. Cuthbert's coffin, which Canon Greenwell (*Catalogue*, p. 134) is positive was made in 698 (and so Kitchin, *Victoria Hist. Durham* 1. 246), with those on our crosses. Greenwell's description of the carving is as follows (p. 141): 'The lid contains at the middle a figure of our Lord (see Fig. 34) placed between the symbols of the Evangelists arranged in pairs, two over his head and two beneath his feet. The one side has half-length figures of Archangels placed in one row, the other side has similar figures of the Apostles arranged in two rows. The larger end, probably that at the head of the coffin, has two Archangels upon it, the other has a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin holding our Lord on her knees.' Greenwell adds: 'Our Lord is represented on the lid standing fronting (see Fig. 35). He has a cruciferous nimbus, and wears a dress reaching to the feet, which are naked. His right hand is raised in the act of blessing, and a fold of the dress hangs over the arm. In his left hand, which is covered by another fold of the dress, he holds a book (The Gospels).' Other authorities are in substantial agreement with Greenwell. Thus Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 2. 200): 'Une curieuse pièce du même musée [Durham] montre ce qu'était devenue la représentation de la figure humaine dans les dernières années du VIIe siècle. C'est le cercueil de bois de Saint Cuthbert exécuté en 698 par les moines de Lindisfarne. Le Christ entre les quatre Animaux, la Vierge, les Archanges, y sont représentés en simple gravure au trait, avec une médiocre entente des proportions et des formes, et de façon conventionnelle et systématique, mais non sans habileté. La tradition byzantine est encore évidente dans ces curieuses figures.' Rivoira remarks (*Lomb. Arch.* 2. 147) on 'the precious remains of the oak coffin which once held the body of St. Cuthbert, . . . with its representations of Christ between the Emblems of the Evangelists, the Archangels, the Virgin and Child, and the Apostles, poor in drawing but freely cut with the knife or graver, and accompanied by legends in Roman and Runic characters. . . .

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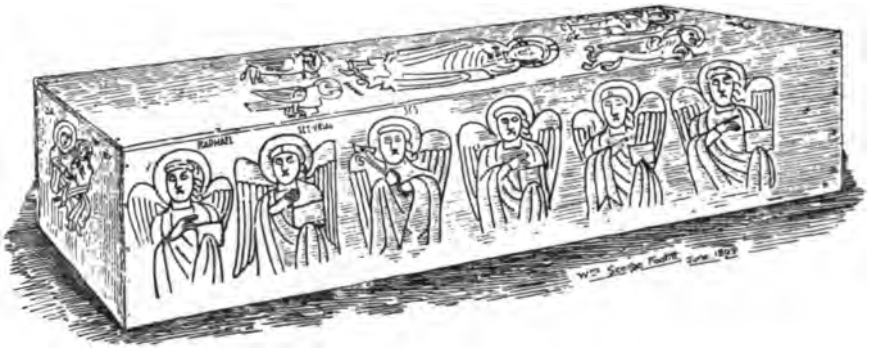

Fig. 34. St. Cuthbert's Coffin. (From Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 138.)

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Fig. 35. St. Cuthbert's Coffin, Figure of Christ. (From Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 143.)

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It is my purpose, in this section, to endeavor to show that no historical character better suits the demands made by these various considerations than David I of Scotland (1080 ?–1153). In order to succeed in this, it will be necessary to take up the above points one by one.

[It] may very well belong to the year 698, or perhaps 696, as has been suggested.'

The contrast with the art of the Ruthwell Cross was suggested by Margaret Stokes (*Early Christian Art in Ireland*, p. 125): 'The reader has only to compare the beautiful art and good drawing of the scrolls and figures on the Ruthwell cross with the rude outlines and letters on the coffin of St. Cuthbert—a work which all authorities allow to be of the seventh century—to realize how unlikely it is that they could be contemporaneous.' To this Henry Bradley rejoined (*Academy* 33. 279): 'The argument from comparison with St. Cuthbert's coffin does not appear to be of great force. There is no reason to suppose that the number of artists capable of producing work like that of the Ruthwell cross was large; and it is quite conceivable that, however anxious the monks of Lindisfarne may have been to do honour to the remains of their master, they may have chosen to employ the services of some members of their own community in preference to importing a more skilful workman from a distant part of the kingdom.' Any force there may seem to be in the argument from the inferiority of the supposed Lindisfarne workman is, however, invalidated by the observations of Dean Kitchin (*Victoria Hist. Durham* 1. 246): 'The carvings are a remarkable example of early Anglian work; they are executed with a freedom and accuracy of stroke which tells us that the artist was a master in his simple art. There is no hesitation in the work, no second cut, no slip over the grain, no sign of weakness in it or note of indecision.'

Various writers have commented on the beauty of the carving on these crosses. Thus Maughan (*Memoir*, p. 13), concerning the Bewcastle Cross: 'The buds, blossoms, and fruit have been so carefully and exquisitely delineated by the chisel of the workman, and are still so faithfully preserved, that they seem as if they were things only just starting into life.' Collingwood (*Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 196) speaks of 'the classic proportion and dignity which must strike even the least critical visitor to Bewcastle or Ruthwell.' Concerning the vine on the Bewcastle Cross, Browne remarks (*Conv. of Hept.*, p. 191): 'The whole is drawn in a very bold and skilful manner, and the animals and birds are full of life. . . . It is quite impossible to see the beautiful sculpture without a wondering surprise. Who could have drawn, who could have executed in high relief, such a work of art as this, at any assignable date in Anglian history?' Later he observes (*ibid.*, pp. 199-200; cf. p. 223): 'Of the figure of our Lord on the west side of the Bewcastle Cross, a figure about three and a half feet high, I can only say that a more dignified simplicity could not be given to such a figure in any age. I have

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I. THE POWER WHICH ENABLED AND SUGGESTED THE PRODUCTION

1. A POWER EXTENDING OVER THE REGION INCLUDING BOTH CROSSES

David became prince of Scottish Cumbria in 1107, and ruled over it until he became king of Scotland in 1124. According to the best authorities, his rule as prince extended over the whole of Dumfriesshire, and would therefore have included Ruthwell ; while the fact that Gilles, son of Boed, or Bueth, from whom Bewcastle derives its name, appears among the witnesses to David's inquest of 1120 or 1121, leads one to suppose that this region, at least, was under his jurisdiction, though so clearly, according to our notions, on the English side of the Border.

> Upon the 8th of January 1107, Edgar sunk into an early grave, with his latest breath bequeathing the appanage of Scottish Cumbria to his youngest brother David; not only as a testimony of personal regard for his favorite brother, but as an acknowledgment of the valuable assistance which he had derived, during his contest for the crown, from the intelligence and sagacity of that able and politic prince.[1]

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had it put on glass, and shewn by lime light on a screen, the full size of life. It never fails to impress deeply an audience of whatever class. Nothing that I have seen of early sculpture in foreign museums has produced the same kind of effect upon myself; and the effort to conceive its being produced in Cumberland 1225 years ago, whether by native, or by Gallican, or by Roman masons, is merely bewildering.' Prior and Gardner ('English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture,' *Architectural Review* 12. 8): 'The draperies have the full foldings and massive modelling of late classic design, and generally the technique shows a practised chisel, as well as the assured methods of a finished school in figure and decorative design. We do not reach such technical attainment again in English work until close upon the thirteenth century.'

On the various elements which enter into the English sculpture of this period, see Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 159, 230; Calverley, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 41; Nanson, 'Bewcastle,' *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 3. 223; Prior and Gardner, 'English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture,' *Architectural Review* 12. 8. For similar phenomena in the Isle of Man, see Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, p. 89. For the composite character of Romanesque sculpture and architecture, see Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^2. 943; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle en France* 1. 68 ff.

[1] Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings* 1. 170.

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After Edgar's death [1107] he served an apprenticeship for the royal office as earl or prince of Cumbria, where his power was little short of regal. He married a Saxon, . . . and his friends and followers were chiefly Norman. . . . In the government of his principality he succeeded in reducing a wild part of Scotland into order, using for this purpose the agency of the church.[1]

The government of Cumbria was a valuable apprenticeship for the royal office. Originally peopled by Celts of the Cymric branch, from whom it derived its name, it had been separated from North Wales by the Northumbrian conquests in the seventh and first part of the eighth century. It had been granted by the English king Edmund in 945 to Malcolm MacDonald on condition that he should be 'his fellow-worker by land and sea,' and since that date remained a dependency of the Scottish crown, although the English monarchs claimed its suzerainty. It included the whole south-western portion of modern Scotland from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway, whence its inhabitants derived their name of Strathclyde Britons, and although it early received an infusion of Norse settlers on the coast, and, after the Norman Conquest, of Norman barons, its population was still predominantly Celtic. It had been christianised, and the see of Glasgow founded in the time of Kentigern [6th century], but no settled government, either ecclesiastical or civil, had been established. Within its borders Celtic customs still contended with Saxon and Norman law for the mastery, and the language of the natives was still probably Celtic. It extended inland beyond the modern counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and part of Dumfries to an indeterminate border line which included the modern counties of Lanark and Peebles, where it met Lothian, to the valley of the Nith, which separated it from the southern counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, but even beyond these limits it preserved, ecclesiastically at least, certain places as subject to the jurisdiction of the see of Glasgow.[2]

The kingdom of Cumbria originally extended from the Firth of Clyde to the river Derwent, including what was afterwards the dioceses of Glasgow, Galloway, and Carlisle. That portion, which extended, however, from the Solway Firth to the river Derwent, and afterwards[3] formed the diocese of Carlisle, was wrested from the Scots by William Rufus in 1092, and was bestowed by Henry the First upon Ranulf de Meschines. David's possessions in Cumbria consisted, therefore, of the counties of Lanark, Ayr, Renfrew, Dumfries, and Peebles, and the inquisition contains lands in these counties.[4]

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[1] *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 21. 482.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 14. 117.

[3] In 1133, the first bishop being Adelulf; see p. 127, note 2.

[4] Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1. 456; cf. Burton, *History of Scotland* 2. 61-2.

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At the revival of the episcopate of Glasgow, under David I, the whole churches of Dumfriesshire were included within its jurisdiction. The authority of the bishops of Glasgow over the parishes of Eskdale, Ewisdale, Dryfesdale, Annandale, Glencairn, and Strathnith, with a part of Cumberland, was confirmed by Pope Alexander in 1178, by Lucius in 1181, and by Urban in 1186 A. D. Several of the churches with their revenues belonged to the bishops of Glasgow, as the property of their see. From the munificence of Robert de Bruce, the bishop of Glasgow acquired, about the year 1174, the property of the churches of Moffat and Kirkpatrick.[1]

Hic Henricus . . . videns Johannem Episcopum Glasguensem per Cumberlandiam ecclesias dedicare, et cetera officia pontificalia secundum morem juris antiqui perficere, etc.[2]

The inquisition made in 1120 or 1121 into the lands belonging to the see of Glasgow by the elders and wise men of Cumbria by command of David, its earl, is a unique and valuable record of his method of procedure. Its preamble bears that disturbances had not only destroyed the church but laid waste the whole region, and that the tribes of different languages now inhabiting it had relapsed into a condition more resembling heathens than christians, and that God had now sent to them David, the brother of the king of Scotland, as their prince. It then recites that David through zeal for religion had ordered an inquest to be made of the possessions formerly belonging to the see of Glasgow that they might be restored to it. The names of the lands of the church thus restored are, as might be expected, chiefly Celtic, and formed, whether they originally belonged to the see of Kentigern or not, the later diocese of Glasgow. The inquest concludes with the names of five witnesses who swore to it and a larger number who were present and heard it read. Their names, a strange medley of Celtic, Saxon, and Norman, afford a pregnant proof of the mixed population even among the class of landowners.[3]

Has vero auxilio et investigatione seniorum hominum et sapientorum totius Cumbrie pro posse suo investigavit, que inferius subscribuntur. . . . Has terras juraverunt fore pertinentes Ecclesie Glasgu, rogatu et imperio supradicti principis, Uchtred filius Waldef, *Gill filius Boed*, Leysyng et Oggo, Cumbrenses judices, Halden filius Eadulf. Hujus rei testes sunt, etc.[4]

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[1] Chalmers, *Caledonia* 5. 148.

[2] Fordun, *Scotichron.* 8. 3.

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 14. 117-8.

[4] David's Inquest, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 18; also in *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne Club) 1. 7.

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Bueth, a name occurring twice among 12th century landholders in North Cumberland, is probably Gaelic *Buidh*, modern *Boyd*, *i. e.*, "yellow-haired." The relatives of the two Bueths bear Gaelic and Norse names, as well as Norman, later on: so that it may be presumed these people, whether one family or not, were originally Gallgael, or Viking who had intermarried with Gaels. Bewcastle, and also Buetholme and Buethby (Norse place-names) are obviously derived from Bueth (Chancellor Prescott's Wetherhal, p. 197). The two Bueths are (a) father of Gilles—not the French Giles, but Gillēs which, like Malise, means "Servant of Jesus" (Giolla-Iosa in full Gaelic spelling). This Gilles was a Cumbrian witness in an inquisition as to the lands of Glasgow Church, 1120-1121, and owned "Gilles-land" to his death, after which it was given to Hubert de Vallibus (1157) (Wetherhal, p. 195-6); (b) Bueth or Bueth-barn (*i. e.*, Bueth "the childe," *junior*; though Chancellor Prescott says "Bueth's child"). He gave land in Bewcastle to Wetherhal Priory, and his son Robert confirmed the grant (1177-8). Robert joined William the Lion (1173-4) and was fined one mark for the act of rebellion (Pipe Rolls, 1177). His name appears in several charters with contemporary lords and clerics. . . . We cannot say that Bueth-barn was descended from Bueth, father of Gillēs, but as it was common to give a grandson his grandfather's name, it is likely that we have four generations:—Bueth, Gillēs, Bueth-barn, Robert.[1]

Bueth, or Buec, or Boed, would seem to have held the district which afterwards formed the Barony of Gilsland, or Gillesland, and the country immediately to the north of it. The name appears here as in the place name Buchastre, Buchcastre, or Buethcastre. . . . In the Pipe Rolls, we find that Robert son of Bueth was fined one marc in 1177, for having been with the enemies of the king. He is witness to several of the charters of Robert de Vallibus and others of the period (*Regist. Lanercost*, MS. i, 6, 8; ii, 9, 12). Robert de Buethcastre is said to have given the Church of Bewcastle to the Priory of Carlisle. . . . The name Bueth appears in other places in Gilsland, as Buetholme and Buethby (*Regist. Lanercost*, MS. iii, 8 *et al.*). . . . The castle, of later date than the time of Gille son of Bueth, probably occupies the site of the castle where the family of Bueth resided, and where Gilles son of Bueth held the district until his death. . . . It was called Bewecastell as early as 1488 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ed. Bain, iv. 345).[2]

Carta Mabiliæ filiæ Adæ filij Richeri de Buchcastre facta monachis de Wederhale de XIV acris terræ in Buchcastre.[3]

[1] Collingwood, quoted by Curwen, *St. Cuthbert's Church, Bewcastle*, in *Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiq. and Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N. S. 2 (1902). 243.

[2] Prescott, *Register of the Priory of Wetherhal* (Elliott Stock, 1897), pp. 195-7.

[3] Prescott, p. 199.

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On the banks of the Irthing close to the Roman wall, in the country which we now associate with the genius of Sir Walter Scott, Robert de Vaux son of Hubert de Vaux, lord of Gillesland, founded the priory of Lanercost for regular canons of the Order of St. Augustine. Tradition places the foundation in 1169, which agrees with the evidence of the earliest charter of the house. . . . The grantor assigned to God and St. Mary Magdalene of Lanercost and to the regular canons there the lawn (*landa*) of Lanercost between the ancient wall and the Irthing and between, etc. . . . certain lawns by bounds as 'Gille son of Bueth' held them. . . .

In several of these charters, when he had occasion to refer to his territorial title, he reverted to the old phrase employed by Henry II in the original enfeoffment of his family and repeated by himself in his foundation charter, 'infra baroniam quam dominus rex Henricus Anglie dedit patri meo et mihi in terra que fuit Gille filii Bueth.' Few of the religious houses founded by subjects in the northern counties can point to a patron more distinguished in personal qualities than Lanercost, for Robert de Vaux, immortalized by Jordan Fantosme, his contemporary, was a valiant soldier, a great judge, a prudent statesman, and a munificent benefactor of his church and country. The example he set was infectious, for his family, kindred and descendants rank foremost among those who contributed to the prosperity and welfare of the priory. . . . In common with the other religious houses of the county, the small proprietors were as forward in making bequests according to their station as the great magnates.[1]

The manor of Buchecastre is mentioned in No. 109. It lies about 7 miles due north of Lanercost and is the northernmost part of the County of Cumberland, touching Scotland on the northwest and Northumberland on the east and northeast. Here was a Roman station, not far from the Maiden Way, and in the church is the famous Saxon Runic Cross. The castle, of later date than the time of Gille son of Bueth, probably occupies the site of the castle where the family of Bueth resided, and where Gille son of Bueth held the district until his death.[2]

[1] *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 152-3.

[2] Prescott, p. 197. The name of Bewcastle is given as Buthecaster in 1249 (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 125), Bothecastre in 1299-1300, 1357-8, castle of Bothe in 1401 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ed. Bain, Vol. 4, nos. 2, 585, 1776), Bewecastell in 1488 (*ibid.*, no. 1542).

The following items with respect to the Bewcastle church are extracted from Curwen's paper (see p. 97, above). Referring to the early period, he says (p. 245): 'The low narrow quaint old church with rude walls and thatched roof [this must be conjectural] would become by degrees of greater importance and be rebuilt at the lord's instigation in the prevailing Early English style [1189-1272, Parker], as is still noticeable in the triple east-

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If Bewcastle did not belong to Scottish Cumbria, it certainly lay within the territory which fell more and more under David's influence after he became king.

> In the beginning of the year 1136 he led an army across the border, and made himself master of every castle in Cumberland and Northumberland except Bamborough, penetrating as far as Durham.[1]

> [After the battle of the Standard in 1138] at Carlisle peace was made. . . . David gave hostages, but retained Carlisle and Cumberland without any condition of homage.[2]

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end windows of the church.' In 1279 permission was obtained for a fair and market to be held here. 'The living was valued in Pope Nicholas' valuation, 1291-2, *Ecclesia de Botecastre*, at £ 19 : 0 : 0; in 1318 it was not taxed: *quia non sufficiunt pro stipendio capellani*. In 1546 *Bewcastell rectoria valet per an' tempore pacis* £ 2 : 0 : 0; *tempore guerre, nihil*. At the first date, the bishop of Carlisle had a pension on Bewcastle *vicaria* of 6/8; at the second, nil; nothing said at the third date. In 1298 the Scots harried the region. Robert de Southayle was rector between 1306 and 1356, being the first of whom we have record. After 1580, Camden speaks of the church as being 'now almost quite ruinated' [cf. *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 78]. In the year 1792 'it was practically rebuilt, and irredeemably spoilt. Six and a half yards were cut off the nave [cf. what is said of the Ruthwell renovation, p. 139, below] at the west end, reducing its length by one third, and the curiously ugly tower, I suppose, erected as a set-off. . . . The vandals . . . pierced the upper parts of the southern wall with a second tier of three square sashed windows. There are no windows in the northern wall, and it would seem that this is customary in all buildings in this stormy district' (p. 246). 'The dean and chapter of Carlisle are still the patrons' (p. 248). 'In 1899 the old fabric was found to be not only out of repair, but dangerous. . . . As much as possible has been preserved, and the changes introduced are in the style of the Early English part of the building. The restored church was opened on Sunday, November 3, 1901' (pp. 253-4).

It thus appears that the earliest mention of the church was in 1291-2, but that, if we may trust the inference from the windows of the east end, the building must have been in existence considerably before that time. In 1294, it may be noted, there was a 'hospital'—an almshouse—at Bewcastle. This was known as the Hospital of Lennham—for so we must probably interpret the *Lennh'* of the Latin. 'The collectors of the tenth, given by the clergy of the diocese of Carlisle in 1294 to Edward I. for the Holy Land, refer to this house—and reported that the hospital of Lennh' in Bewcastle (*Hospitale de Lennh' in Bothecaster*) was unable to pay the assessment as the land belonging to it lay uncultivated' (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 204).

[1] P. H. Brown, *History of Scotland* 1. 77.

[2] *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 21. 483.

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A. D. 1092. William Rufus, and A. D. 1122 Henry I., occupy and fortify Carlisle.

A. D. 1136. David regains English Cumberland.

A. D. 1147. Cumberland (English) with Northumberland and Durham ceded to Scotland by the Treaty of Carlisle.[1]

Strathclyde, which from 908–1034 had probably extended to the eastern and southern boundaries of the subsequent sees of Glasgow and Carlisle, was in the latter year merged in the Scottish crown and kingdom. From 1070–1091 Scottish kings ruled over Cumberland and Northumberland as well as over Scottish Cumbria, but in 1092 William Rufus wrested English Cumbria from Dolphin, lord of Carlisle, a vassal of the Scottish Malcolm, and rebuilt the castle of Carlisle, making the adjoining country for the first time English.[2] From 1136 English Cumbria remained in possession of Scotland till 1157.[3] The relation of Hexham to David I is particularly interesting in this connection.

> The administration of Cumberland during the reign of Henry II. was a delicate task in view of its Scottish sympathies and associations, requiring all the resources of tact and skill to complete its incorporation as a portion of the English commonwealth. The king took a personal interest in the recovered province and visited Carlisle from time to time as the public affairs of the district called for his immediate attention. He came north in 1158 and held a conference with King Malcolm in that city. . . . It was on this visit that King Henry committed to Hubert de Vaux the barony of Gillesland, a wide tract abutting the frontier on the east which had been previously held by Gille son of Boet, a local chieftain who appears to have acknowledged no feudal superior. The presence of a Scottish element among the territorial owners, which the King of Scotland was not backward in utilizing as it suited his purpose, was a constant danger to the peace of the district.[4]

[1] Haddan and Stubbs 2. 10.

[2] *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 21. 481.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs 2. 27.

[4] *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 244-5. Haddan and Stubbs (2. 13) thus define the boundary with which we are most immediately concerned, that in the direction of Bewcastle: 'All Cumbria was never within the see of Hexham, only that part of what is now Cumberland which lies east from Wetherall, on the Eden above Carlisle, up to the boundaries of Northumberland. . . . What really happened, plainly was, that Hexhamshire (and indeed the whole northern district) being absolutely devastated by William the Conqueror, Thomas I. of York (A. D. 1070-1100) took possession of it, and no doubt of Cumbria also, as a sort of waif and stray; and that Henry I. confirmed

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As long as the earldoms of Cumberland and Northumberland were appanages of his royal house, Hexham occupied a most important position on the frontiers of his territory. It was of the utmost consequence to him to have a monastery like that which lay between his two towns of Carlisle and Newcastle, thoroughly devoted to his interests. David certainly succeeded in securing and retaining the good opinion of the canons of Hexham. When Priors Richard and John describe the cruelties of the Scots in the invasion of 1138, the blame is laid not on the leader, but on his followers. Of David they always speak with reverence and affection.[1]

The canons of Hexham had good cause to speak of David with affection. They were really more under his control than under that of Stephen, and they would hear with wondering delight of the monasteries which their patron was erecting in the North, and of the dioceses which he created or remodelled.[2]

In Carlisle they [the canons of Hexham] had one or two plots of ground with a house or two upon them of the gift of David king of Scotland and Henry his son. . . . Passing by the archbishops of York and their numerous gifts, we find among the donors many of the great potentates and barons of Northumberland. First and foremost is David king of Scotland, with his son and grandson prince Henry and William the Lion.[3]

In 1149, Henry Fitz-Empress, later Henry II., arrived at Carlisle, and was knighted, promising, if ever he became king, to confirm to David and his heirs the lands between Tweed and Tyne. . . . Thanks to the troubles of Stephen's reign, David was now master of England, as far south as the Tees, with a promise of continuance, if Henry Fitz-Empress succeeded to the English throne.[4]

The whole of the north of England beyond the Tees had now [ca. 1150 ?] for several years been under the influence, if not under the direct authority, of the Scottish king, and the comparative prosperity of this part of the kingdom, contrasting strongly with the anarchy

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that possession to Thomas II. (A. D. 1109-1113). See Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 220, App. p. viii, and Pref. pp. xlvii, lvi.' Elsewhere they say (2. 11), defining the ancient Strathclyde, that it ' would include about two-thirds only of Westmoreland on the east; although probably including also the district east of Wetherall in Cumberland up to the present county boundaries of Northumberland and Durham.'

[1] Raine 1. lxxi; cf. p. lxix.

[2] *Ibid.* 1. 168, note w.

[3] *Ibid.* 2. xv.

[4] Lang, *History of Scotland* 1. 107-8.

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> prevailing in every other quarter, naturally inclined the population of the northern counties to look with favor upon a continuance of the Scottish connection. All southward of the Tyne, indeed, was held probably in the name of the Empress Queen, but the influence of David extended far beyond the Tees.[1]

As an illustration of the community of religious and cultural interests on both sides of the Border, and the reciprocal influences of southern Scotland and northern England, the abbey of Holmcultram, founded in 1150 under David's influence, if not by David himself, deserves particular attention.

> The abbey of Holmcultram,[2] situated in the low-lying district between Carlisle and the Solway, was founded as an affiliation of the great Cistercian house of Melrose by Prince Henry, son of David, King of Scotland, in the year 1150, while he was ruler of the province ceded to Scotland by King Stephen and afterwards known as the county of Cumberland. In this great work he was assisted by Alan son of Waldeve, the lord of Allerdale, who relinquished to the new foundation the tract of territory which Henry had given him for a sporting domain. The act of the prince of Scotland and his vassal was confirmed by King David.[3] . . . This great abbey, which overshadowed in riches and influence the rest of the religious houses in Cumberland and Westmorland, had many friends and benefactors on both sides of the Border before the rupture with Scotland in 1296. Endowments were freely lavished upon it by landowners, large and small, in various parts of the two counties. . . . The Scottish possessions were chiefly in Annandale, the fief of the Brus or Bruce family, and in Galloway, the principality of Fergus. Free trade with Scotland was conceded by William the Lion and free passage through the Vale of Annan by Robert de Brus. The kings of Man[4] allowed the ships of the monks to visit the ports of the island and to buy and sell free of toll. . . . The abbey of Melrose was brought into intimate relations with Holmcultram, and often exercised an effective jurisdiction over the affairs of the monastery. . . . In various ways we see the subjection of Holmcultram to the Scottish house.[5]

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[1] Robertson 1. 222.

[2] 17 miles S. W. of Carlisle, on the river Waver.

[3] Wyntoun and Fordun say that it was founded by David (Wyntoun, ed. Laing, 3. 333; Fordun 1. 347).

[4] 'At one time the ships of the convent traversed the Irish Sea and carried on a brisk trade with Ireland and the Isle of Man' (*Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 167).

[5] *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 162-4.

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The church in the twelfth century was not insular or national, belonging to one race or one kingdom: it claimed an universal sovereignty over all nations. For this reason no doubt the political frontier which marked off the English from the Scottish kingdom was scarcely recognized at the outset among the benevolent landowners who first endowed religious institutions in this part of the country. But apart from religious considerations there was a community of feeling as well as an identity of aim among the people on both sides of the national boundary. By ties of property, intermarriage and old associations, the inhabitants of ancient Cumbria remained practically one people for a long period after they had become politically separated. The needs of the church knew no political barriers. Religious houses in Scotland received grants from the lords of Cumberland after the severance of the diocese from Scottish rule. National prejudice did not hinder Scottish laymen from extending their benevolence to institutions on the English side of the Border. . . . The favors conferred on Scottish monasteries by Cumberland landowners were reciprocated from the other side. On the western border alone many instances might be given wherein the great lords of Annandale and Galloway were equally considerate to English institutions. No small portion of the endowments of the abbey of Holmcultram was situated in Galloway and on the northern shore of the Solway. The family of Brus, the owners of the great fief of Annandale, were among the foremost benefactors of the priory of Gisburn in Yorkshire. The priory of Lanercost had rent charges in Dumfries. It is true that family ties or national sentiment had much to do with several of these endowments. One might expect that the abbey of Holmcultram should possess strong claims upon Scottish liberality, seeing that it was of Scottish foundation and the only institution left in the district as a relic of the Scottish occupation. Making due allowance for considerations of this sort, we should not forget the strong international sentiment which pervaded the people of both kingdoms.[1]

2. A POWER WHICH COULD MAKE ITSELF RESPECTED IN A RUDE AGE, AND ONE MAKING APPEAL TO VARIOUS NATIONALITIES

As to the power wielded by David, this was due to his royal descent, since he was not only rightful heir to the Scottish crown, but was at least, in the estimation of many, one of the rightful heirs to the crown of England through his mother Margaret, a lineal descendant of King Alfred, and sister of the last Saxon king of England; to his close alliance with the new royal house of England,

[1] *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 14, 15. On the connection between Carlisle and Holyrood, see *ibid.* 2. 15.

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through the marriage of his sister, Matilda, with Henry I, son of William the Conqueror ; to the veneration and affection in which his mother and his sister were held ; to his residence at the English court, which gave him access to the first men of his time ; to his grasp of Norman institutions, and his employment of Norman auxiliaries ; to the welcome he extended to foreigners, and his enlistment of various nationalities in his enterprises ; to his warm championship of the Church, and his patronage of its most powerful agencies ; not to speak of his own personal qualities, which can only be measured by his success in turning every advantage to account—in other words, by the sum total of his achievement. Some of these points have already been touched upon above ; others will now be presented ; while still others are matters of common knowledge, or can readily be found in encyclopædias and other standard works of reference.

> The only son of Queen Margaret now left was David, the youngest. He appears, while yet a youth, to have accompanied his sister Matilda to the English court, on her marriage with Henry the First, king of England, which took place in November 1100, during the reign of Eadgar over Scotland, and here he was trained, with other young Norman barons, in all the feudal usages, so as to become, by education and association with the young English nobility, embued with feudal ideas, and surrounded by Norman influences, or, as William of Malmesbury expresses it, ' polished from a boy by intercourse and familiarity with us.'[1]

> He married Maud the daughter of Waltheof, by Judith the niece of William the Conqueror; and David became afterwards possessed of the great earldoms of Huntingdon and Northumberland; so that he was, at the time of his accession to the crown of Scotland, the most powerful subject in England.[2]

> While the king of the French was struggling for bare existence against refractory barons as powerful as himself, while England was distracted by the wars of Stephen and Maud so that men said that ' Christ and his saints were asleep,' Scotland enjoyed a peace and prosperity which made her a refuge for exiles and a mart for foreign countries. . . . By a politic marriage he [David] gained an influence and a prestige beyond the border which for a time made him arbiter of the fortunes of England. His wife, Matilda, granddaughter of Siward of Northumbria, brought him the Honour of Huntingdon, with lands in at least six English counties,

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland* 1. 454.

[2] Guthrie, *History of Scotland* 1. 303.

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the earldom of Northampton during her lifetime, and a claim to the earldom of Northumberland, which David practically made good during the latter half of his reign.[1]

The prince of Scotland [Henry, David's son] was then the representative of the old Anglo-Saxon kings, to whom the English had still a strong affection. Stephen therefore treated him [1136] with all the honors due to the first prince of the blood.[2]

Edgar the Ætheling, with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, and the last relics of the English nobility, resolved to sail for Wearmouth, and to seek a shelter at the court of Malcolm, King of Scotland.[3]

This prudent queen directed all such things as it was fitting for her to regulate; the laws of the realm were administered by her counsel; by her care the influence of religion was extended, and the people rejoiced in the prosperity of their affairs. Nothing was firmer than her fidelity, steadier than her favour, or juster than her decisions; nothing was more enduring than her patience, graver than her advice, or more pleasant than her conversation.[4]

There is perhaps no more beautiful character recorded in history than that of Margaret. For purity of motives, for an earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great personal piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and for entire self-abnegation, she is unsurpassed, and the chroniclers of the time all bear testimony to her exalted character.[5]

Margaret became the mirror of wives, mothers, and queens, and none ever more worthily earned the honors of saintship. Her gentle influence reformed whatever needed to be reformed in her husband, and none labored more diligently for the advance of temporal and spiritual enlightenment in her adopted country.[6]

It is owing in great measure to this virtuous education given by Margaret to her sons that Scotland was governed for the space of 200 years by seven excellent kings, that is, by her three sons, Edgar, Alexander, David, by David's two grandsons, Malcolm IV. and William, and

[1] Brown 1. 74-5.
[2] Guthrie, p. 306.
[3] Turgot, *Life of St. Margaret*, tr. Forbes-Leith, p. 11.
[4] Turgot, p. 29.
[5] Skene 2. 344.
[6] Freeman, *Norman Conquest* 3. 12.

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William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and III.; during which space the nation enjoyed greater happiness than perhaps it ever did before or after.[1]

And soon afterwards the king [Henry I] took for his wife Maud the daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland and of the good queen Margaret, King Edward's kinswoman, of the true royal line of England.[2]

The shout of the English multitude when he [Anselm] set the crown on Matilda's brow drowned the murmur of Churchman or of baron. . . . For the first time since the Conquest, an English sovereign sat on the English throne. The blood of Cerdic and Ælfred was to blend itself with that of Hrolf and the Conqueror.[3]

Like her mother, she [Matilda] was very pious, wearing a hair shirt, going barefoot round the churches in Lent, and devoting herself especially to the care of lepers, . . . besides building a hospital for them at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London. . . . In her convent days she had 'learned and practised the literary art,' and six letters written by her to Anselm, . . . as well as one to Pope Paschal II, . . . display a scholarship unusual among laymen, and probably still more among women, in her day. . . . She was a warm patroness of verse and song; she gave lavishly to musical clerks, to scholars, poets, and strangers of all sorts, who were drawn to her court by the fame of her bounty, and who spread her praises far and wide. . . . Robert of Gloucester over and over again ascribes to her a direct, personal, and most beneficial influence on the condition of England under Henry I, and finally declares that 'the goodness that she did here to England cannot all be here written, nor by any one understood.'[4]

Matilda appears to have been very amiable, very devout, very fond of music and poetry, very vain, and rather pretty; not a perfect, but a feminine and lovable character, which earned her the title of 'Good Queen Maud.'[5]

An intimate connection with the Court of England for upwards of a quarter of a century, had effectually 'rubbed off the Scottish rust' from David—to use the words of his contemporary Malmesbury—con-

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[1] Turgot, p. 35, note.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* s. ann. 1100.

[3] Green, *Short History of the English People*, Chap. 2, Sec. 6.

[4] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 37. 53. It may be worth noting that the date of her death is entered in the Chartulary of Chartres Cathedral, as donor of a new lead roof, a chasuble bordered with gold, forty pounds for the use of the monks, etc. Cf. below, p. 128.

[5] Robertson 1. 153, note.

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verting him into a feudal baron; and many years before he was called upon to fill the throne (1124-1153), he had gathered around him in his Cumbrian principality a body of knights and barons, from whom sprung the older Norman chivalry of Scotland.[1]

The fear of the mail-clad auxiliaries, whom the long residence and popularity of the Earl at his sister's court would have enabled him to call to his aid, at length extorted from Alexander a tardy and reluctant recognition of his brother's claims upon Scottish Cumbria.[2]

David was thus, to all intents and purposes, a Norman baron when the death of his brother Eadgar placed him, by his bequest, in possession of almost the entire Scottish territory south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde.[3]

The dignitaries at the court of Alexander were exclusively . . . the nobility of ancient *Alban* and the Lothians; whilst around Earl David gathered Moreville and Somerville, Lindsay and Umphraville, Bruce and Fitz-Alan, Norman names destined to surround the throne of his descendants, two of them to become royal, and all to shed a lustre upon the feudal chivalry of Scotland.[4]

But it was during David's own reign that the Norman element attained such a predominance as to become the great formative influence in the Scottish kingdom. Many circumstances combined to make David a strong and fortunate monarch, yet the most potent influence that sustained him in all his undertakings was the disciplined strength of the Norman knights and barons behind him.[5]

Both Normans and English came to Scotland in crowds in the days of Margaret, Edgar, and David. In Scotland again the Norman settlers were lost in the mixed nationality of the country, but not till they had modified many things in the same way in which they modified things in England.[6]

Following the example of his fellows elsewhere, the southern baron planted a castle on the most advantageous site on his new estate. With him he brought a body of retainers, by whose aid he at once secured his own position, and wrought such changes in his neighborhood as were

[1] Robertson 1. 187.
[2] *Ibid.* 1. 171.
[3] Skene 1. 455.
[4] Robertson 1. 184.
[5] Brown 1. 73.
[6] *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., 17. 551.

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consistent with the conditions on which his fief had been granted. . . . By the close of David's reign the most valuable part of his dominion was held by vassals and subvassals who looked to him as their feudal head.[1]

The reign of David I. is beyond doubt the true commencement of feudal Scotland, and the term of Celtic Scotland becomes no longer appropriate to it as a kingdom. Under his auspices feudalism rapidly acquired predominance in the country, and its social state and institutions became formally assimilated to Norman forms and ideas, while the old Celtic element in her constitutional history gradually retired into the background. During this and the subsequent reigns the outlying districts, which had hitherto maintained a kind of semi-independence under their native rulers, and in which they were more tenaciously adhered to, were gradually brought under the more direct power of the monarch and incorporated into the kingdom.[2]

In this charter [1113] he calls himself Earl David, son of Malcolm, king of Scots, and addressed it to all his adherents, Normans, Angles, and Scots.[3]

David, who had been long preparing for war, had gathered his army from every quarter of his dominions; and around the royal standard, the ancient Dragon of Wessex, might be seen the representatives of nearly every race contributing to form the varied ancestry of the modern Scottish people. The Norman knight and the Low Country 'Reiter,' the sturdy Angle and the fiery Scot, marched [1138] side by side with the men of Northumberland and Cumberland, of Lothian and of Teviotdale; whilst the mixed population of the distant islands, Norwegians from the Orkneys, and the wild Picts of Galloway, flocked in crowds to the banner of their king, to revel in the plunder of the south.[4]

Norwegians from Orkney, Scots from Alba, Angles from Lothian, Norman knights, and apparently even mercenaries from Germany, formed his motley following. One other element, however, deserves special mention, as from this time forward it was to play a noticeable part in the general history of Scotland. From the beginning of David's doings in England, the Galwegians, or Picts, as they are otherwise styled by the contemporary chroniclers, had played a prominent part in all his operations. By their fierce insubordination and their savage

[1] Brown 1. 90.
[2] Skene 1. 459-60.
[3] *Ibid.* 1. 455.
[4] Robertson 1. 196.

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treatment of the conquered English, they had distinguished themselves among the rest of David's host.[1]

The dominating fact of the period is the extensive assignment of lands within the bounds of Scotland to men of Norman, Saxon, or Danish extraction. Wherever these strangers settled they formed centres of force, compelling acceptance of the new order in church and state by the reluctant natives.[2]

From all we know of Strathclyde and Galloway previous to the time of the Saxonized and Normanized kings, extensive districts must have consisted of waste land, which could be alienated without great injustice being done to existing rights.[3]

In discussing such topographical investigations, it ought constantly to be remarked that the great influx of English, who then spoke Saxon, Anglo-Normans, and Flemings under David I. and his two grandsons, Malcolm and William, who themselves spoke Saxon, must necessarily have had the greatest effect in changing the names of places in Scotland; as they mostly all received, from those sovereigns, grants of lands, and generally gave new names to their Scottish estates. The several maps of the shires of Scotland are the best evidence of the truth of this reasoning.[4]

Conciliation may be described as the leading principle of David's policy. . . . He is said to have succeeded in establishing a more durable state of concord amongst the heterogeneous population of his kingdom, than existed at that period amongst people enjoying far higher advantages.[5]

Of feudal and historical Scotland; of the Scotland which counts Edinburgh amongst her fairest cities, and Glasgow, as well as Perth and Aberdeen; of the familiar Scotland of Bruce and of the Stewarts, David was unquestionably the creator.[6]

Southern Scotland was the creation of David. He embellished it with the monasteries of his religious foundations; he strengthened it with the castles of his feudal baronage; and here he established the nucleus of feudal Scotland, and the foundation of that importance which eventually transferred the preponderance in the kingdom to

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[1] Brown 1. 80.
[2] *Ibid.* 1. 88.
[3] *Ibid.* 1. 89.
[4] Chalmers, *Caledonia* 5. 62.
[5] Robertson 1. 229.
[6] *Ibid.* 1. 319-20.

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the south. Strath Clyde and the Lothians were admirably adapted to his purpose, for all the land appears to have been in direct dependence on the crown; he could stud it at will with his favourite Anglo-Norman chivalry.[1]

Never was Scotland at any period of her history more powerful relatively to her southern neighbor, than during the last ten years of David's reign.[2]

Of all the reigns of Scottish kings that of David is undoubtedly the most memorable in every aspect of the life of a people. . . . The transformation wrought by David placed the country in new relations to the other countries of Christendom. But besides remoulding the church, he recast the social condition of the people in such degree as makes his reign an epoch in the national development. At no period of its history has Scotland ever stood relatively so high in the scale of nations. By a fortunate combination of circumstances, the country profited beyond its neighbors in the great awakening of Christendom throughout the 11th century. It was the age of St. Bernard, whose name is associated with three of the great movements that absorbed the heart and mind of the time.[3]

Beyond all David's achievements it was what he did for the church that gave him his great name among the kings of Scotland. In the words of Wyntoun:

> He illumynyd in his dayis
> His landys wyth kyrkys and wyth abbayis.

In this work also he was no initiator; but by the extent of the changes he wrought, he definitively made the Church of Rome the national Church of Scotland. . . . More palpable memorials of David's munificence are the great abbeys he founded for the various orders who came to divide the country among them—Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth, Holyrood, and Jedburgh.[4]

David was, if any man was, the maker of Scotland. The bishoprics erected by him, and his many Lowland abbeys, Holyrood, Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, Jedburgh and others, confirmed the freedom of the Scottish church from the claims of the see of York, encouraged the improvement of agriculture, and endowed the country with beautiful examples of architecture. . . . From the time of David to the death of Alexander III, Scotland was relatively peaceful, prosperous, and, in the south, Anglicized, and was now in the general movement of western civilization.[5]

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[1] Robertson 1. 233. [2] *Ibid.* 1. 224-5. [3] Brown 1. 74.
[4] *Ibid.* 1. 94. [5] Andrew Lang, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 24. 433.

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II: THE MOTIVE OR MOTIVES WHICH ACTUATED THE PRODUCTION

The various purposes with which crosses were erected during the earlier Middle Ages are to some extent touched upon in the quotations that follow. In some cases, other motives than those here specified may perhaps be inferred from the character of the ornamentation or inscriptions, the situation where the crosses are found, or the dispositions and aims of those instrumental in the erection.

> The object of the erection of the more important free standing crosses was not as sepulchral memorials, but they were intended to be either dedicatory, commemorative, terminal, churchyard, or wayside crosses. being always placed in a prominent position, so as to attract the attention of the passer-by, and direct his mind to the contemplation of holy things, and more especially the Crucifixion and Resurrection of our Lord.[1]

> The inscriptions upon the high crosses of Ireland show that these monuments were not sepulchral, because in cases where names of persons are mentioned they are known to have been buried elsewhere.[2] The cross in Kells churchyard is inscribed, 'Patricii et Columbæ Crux' (the Cross of SS. Patrick and Columba); and since neither of the saints here mentioned were buried at Kells, and the character of the ornamentation of the cross showing it to belong to the ninth century, it is clear that the monument is commemorative. We have seen examples of dedicatory inscriptions to St. Peter upon early pillar-stones at Kilnasaggart, in the county of Armagh, and at Whithorne in Wigtonshire; and Fordun relates that in the year A. D. 1260 a cross of great magnificence was dug up at Peebles, upon the base of which was the inscription, 'Locus Sancti Nicholai Episcopi.' Many of the high crosses appear to have been terminal, marking the limits of the sanctuary—as, for instance, at Castle Kieran, co. Meath, the eight mile-crosses at Ripon in Yorkshire, and four at Hexham in Northumberland. Most of the early crosses in Cornwall are situated near the principal doorways of churches, so as to command the attention of worshippers entering the sacred edifice.[3]

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[1] Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 132.

[2] On the Danish stones, cf. Wimmer, *De Danske Runemindesmærker* 1[1]. III.

[3] Allen, *Early Christ. Symbolism*, p. 132-3; cf. also his *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 124. With respect to the Irish high crosses, Rivoira has now shown that they belong to the 12th century (see p. 54, note 3); but this would only strengthen the argument, since the most important of them would thus be commemorative of persons who had died a couple of centuries earlier.

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At the same time there is no doubt that crosses, other than memorial, were set up in very early Christian times in Britain. Some were erected to mark holy sites, others at preaching stations, and in some cases as limits to rights of sanctuary.[1]

The more important crosses, such as those at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, were evidently not sepulchral, but probably erected to commemorate some illustrious personage, and to encourage a devotional frame of mind by setting before the congregation scenes from the Gospels.[2]

Venerabilis pater Kentegernus [518?-603] antistes habebat in consuetudine, ut in locis quibus prædicando populum adquisitionis nomini Christi subdiderat, et de fide crucis Christi illos imbuerat, aut ibi aliquantisper deguerat, triumphale vexillum sanctæ crucis erigeret, quatinus cunctis daretur intelligi quod in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quam in fronte portabat minime erubesceret. Sed ut mihi videtur, sancti viri consuetudo sanctissima viva ratione multipliciter subnixa est. Ideo namque Sanctus hoc vitale et sanctum et terribile signum erigere consueverat, ut sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic inimici humani generis, potestates tenebrarum harum, a conspectu signi hujus liquescentes defluerent, territi atque fugati procul aufugerent.[3]

For some time he remained in a thickly wooded place, and he erected a cross, from which the place took the English name of Crossfield—that is, *Crucis Novale*—where a new basilica was erected in Jocelyn's time and dedicated in the name of the blessed Kentigern.[4]

A grievous bodily weakness attacked him, and his failing breath gave warning of the end of his life being at hand. . . . And when his parents, in great anxiety of mind, were held in suspense as to the death of their son, they made an offering of him before the great Cross of our Lord and Saviour. For it is the custom of the Saxon race that on many of the estates of nobles and of good men they are wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord, and reverenced with great honor, lifted up on high, so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer. They laid him there before the Cross, and earnestly, and with all their might, begged our Lord God, the Maker of all things, to console them, and save their son's life.[5]

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[1] Greenwell, *Catalogue*, p. 44.

[2] Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, pp. 210-1; cf. p. 159.

[3] Jocelyn, *Vita Kentegerni* 41 (Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints*, Vol. 2).

[4] *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 2. 2.

[5] St. Willibald, *Hodoeporicon* 2-3 (*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.*, Vol. 3).

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Fecit quoque cruciculas et oratoriola in campis, et ad fontes, vel ubicumque sibi visum fuit: et jussit ibi publicas orationes celebrari, donec multitudines populorum, spretis cæteris episcopis, et dimissis antiquis ecclesiis in talibus locis conventus celebrarent.[1]

'Do so,' replied he; 'go on board, and return home in safety. But, when the Lord shall have taken my spirit, bury me [Cuthbert] in this house, near my oratory, towards the south, over against the eastern side of the holy cross [at Farne], which I have erected there.'[2]

Fecerat iste [Æthelwold, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 721—ca. 740] de lapide crucem artifici opere expoliri, et in sui memoriam suum in eo nomen exarari. Cujus summitatem multo post tempore, dum ipsam ecclesiam Lindisfarnensem pagani devastarent, fregerunt, sed post artificis ingenio reliquæ parti infuso plumbo, ipsa fractura est adjuncta; semperque deinceps cum corpore sancti Cuthberti crux ipsa circumferri solebat, et a populo Northanhymbrorum propter utrumque sanctum in honore haberi: quæ etiam usque hodie in hujus, id est, Dunelmensis ecclesiæ cœmiterio stans sublimis, utrorumque pontificum intuentibus exhibet monumentum.[3]

In estimating the motives which may have actuated David—supposing him to have been influential, directly or indirectly, in the erection of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses—we must remember his devotion to the cross, which may well have been derived from his mother; his love of the arts in general, and of architecture in particular; and the numerous monasteries which he founded[4] or re-edified, or whose foundation he confirmed. We must remember, too, his interest in extending his sway, but no less his desire to consolidate, to pacify, to rule by law, to civilize, and to Christianize the territories under his dominion.

Sed cum feria sexta morbus ingravesceret, et ei standi simul et incedendi facultatum, vis languoris adimeret; accersitis clericis, virisque religiosis, Dominici corporis sacramentum sibi dari postulavit. Parantibus illis efferre quod jusserat prohibuit ille, dicens se ante sacrosanctum

[1] Boniface, *Epistola* 57: *Boniface to Pope Zacharias*, A. D. 744 (ed. Giles, 1. 122). This is in an account of Aldibertus, 'natione generis Gallus.'

[2] Bede, *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ed. Giles 4. 325. Rousseau (*Annales de la Soc. Archéol. de Bruxelles* 16. 71) thinks of the Ruthwell Cross as originally destined for a churchyard, because the runes refer to the death of Christ.

[3] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* 1. 12 (*Rolls Series* 1. 39).

[4] See p. 117, note 5.

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altare sacrosancta mysteria percepturum. Igitur clericorum ac militum manibus in oratorium deportatus, post Missarum solemnia, venerandum sibi Crucem, quam Nigram vocant, produci sibi petiit adorandum.

Est autem crux illa longitudinem habens palmæ, de auro purissimo mirabile opere fabricata, quæ in modum thecæ clauditur et aperitur. Cernitur et quædam Dominicæ crucis portio (sicut sæpe multorum miraculorum argumento probatum est), Salvatoris nostri imaginem habens, de ebore densissime sculptam, et aureis distinctionibus mirabiliter decoratam. Hanc religiosa Regina Margareta, hujus Regis mater, quæ de semine regio Anglorum et Hungariorum extitit oriunda, allatam in Scotiam quasi munus hereditarium transmisit ad filios. Hanc igitur crucem, omni Scotorum genti non minus terribilem quam amabilem, cum Rex devotissime adorasset, cum multis lacrimis peccatorum confessione præmissa, exitum suum cœlestium mysteriorum perceptione munivit.[1]

Moreover, she asked that a cross, called the Black Cross, which she always held in the greatest veneration, should be brought to her. There was some delay in opening the chest in which it was kept, during which the queen, sighing deeply, exclaimed, 'O unhappy that we are! O guilty that we are! Shall we not be permitted once more to look upon the Holy Cross!' When at last it was got out of the chest and brought to her, she received it with reverence, and did her best to embrace it and kiss it, and several times she signed herself with it. Although every part of her body was now growing cold, still as long as the warmth of life throbbed at her heart she continued steadfast in prayer. She repeated the whole of the Fiftieth Psalm, and placing the cross before her eyes, she held it there with both her hands.[2]

With a deep sigh she exclaimed, 'I know it, my boy, I know it. By this holy cross, by the bond of our blood, I adjure you to tell me the truth.'[3]

Upon holy days, in addition to the hours of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, and Holy Mary, recited within the space of a day and a night, she used to repeat the Psalter twice or thrice.[4]

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[1] Ailred of Rievaulx, *De Generositate Regis David*, in Pinkerton 2. 281; cf. Robertson 1. 227. The later history of the Black Cross is told by Lansdale, *Scotland Historic and Romantic*, p. 6, note: 'After the treaty (of Northampton) concluded between King Robert Bruce and Edward III, it was returned to Scotland [it had been taken away by Edward I]. It was carried before the army of David II in the invasion of England in 1346, was captured by the English at the battle of Neville's Cross, placed in the shrine of St. Cuthbert in the cathedral of Durham, and disappeared at the time of the Reformation'; cf. Turgot, p. 77, note 1.

[2] Turgot, pp. 76-77. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 79. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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She also placed there [at Dunfermline] a cross of priceless value, bearing the figure of our Saviour, which she had caused to be covered with the purest gold and silver studded with gems, a token even to the present day of the earnestness of her faith. She left proofs of her devotion and fervour in various other churches, as witness the Church of St. Andrews, in which is preserved a most beautiful crucifix erected by her there, and remaining even at the present day. Her chamber was never without such objects, those I mean which appertained to the dignity of the divine service. It was, so to speak, a workshop of sacred art.[1]

There, as she herself had directed, we committed it [Margaret's body] to the grave, opposite the altar and the venerable sign of the Holy Cross which she had erected.[2]

It is justly said (as will later be shown in detail) that 'southern Scotland was the creation of David.' He introduced his Norman and English friends, with their civilization. He founded abbeys, he aided burghs, he encouraged art and agriculture, he was 'the Commons' King,' he brought Scotland within the circle of European chivalry, manners, trade, and education.[3]

The Lowland abbeys founded by David, as Holyrood, Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso, Dryburgh, and others, were centres of letters, tillage, and nascent civilisation. In art, of course, Scotland was now perhaps more civilised than it has ever been since, where art is concerned. David's attachment to Anglo-Norman friends was, partly, a matter of taste; partly, too, he found them useful against his Celtic subjects. They were the examples and sources of such European culture as reached Scotland.[4]

As we doat over the picturesque beauty of the broken details which are left to us, and try to conjure up the great unity which in each case they constituted, we cannot but feel that in those otherwise dim and barbarous early centuries, there was a sense of vastness and of regal magnificence in art which has not since then flourished as a genuine growth in our land, and that the power of imagination which could so embody itself was inspired by a deep and faithful state of the human soul, interpenetrated by the emotions of awe and grandeur, and purified by reverence and the sense of an encompassing invisible reality.[5]

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[1] Turgot, p. 30.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[3] Lang 1. 109; cf. p. 93.
[4] *Ibid.* 1. 109.
[5] Veitch, *Hist. and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 167.

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The tidal wave of architectural activity which swept over Europe in the latter half of the Middle Ages reached its high-water mark in the north of France; but the influence of its motion was felt, in diminishing degrees, in every direction from that centre. Its impetus toward the north was aided by the Norman conquest of England, whence it rolled on to break in ripples over the furthest shores of Scotland.

Few and meagre were the monastic edifices in Scotland at the end of the eleventh century; rude and primitive were the castles of the Scottish chiefs until Saxon England had become Norman England, and the effects of this change had revolutionized the whole of Great Britain. The Conqueror himself invaded Scotland, receiving homage from Malcolm III. A few years later the Norman king, Henry I., sought a Scottish bride, Matilda, daughter of Malcolm. This alliance became the entering wedge for Norman influence in Scotland. Matilda brought with her to the court of the English king her young brother David. Growing up amid Norman surroundings, receiving his education from a Norman bishop, David returned to Scotland, to become king in course of time, more Norman than Scot. Two features seem to have been infused into the character of David by his education: a devout religious enthusiasm and the Norman building spirit. Monumental evidence of this was given even before he became king. Returning from England he retired to Jedburgh, then the chief town of the Middle Marches, and there, in 1118, erected a beautiful and extensive abbey for the reception of an abbot with a large following of Benedictine monks from Beauvais.

What William the Norman was to the architecture of England, David I. was to that of Scotland. Upon his accession to the throne, in 1124, he made large grants of crown lands to the Church, founded abbeys at Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Kinloss, and Cambuskenneth; elevated the ancient abbey of Dunblane to the dignity of a cathedral; drove the Culdees from their church at Dunkeld and established there the seat of a bishopric. In fact, it is unusual to find an establishment in the whole domain that David did not either found or enrich. His excessive liberality toward the clergy, his zeal for founding churches and for the spreading of religion, caused him to be canonized in the hearts of his subjects, and under the title of St. David has he come down to us in history.

Comparatively few of the church edifices of St. David's building escaped the ravages of the wars with England under the Edwards, so that we are obliged to judge of the style of architecture during his reign from fragments incorporated with buildings of later date. But a single edifice preserves anything approaching a complete structure—the abbey of Kelso. Here the style of Romanesque is so unique, so unlike anything of its kind across the border or on the Continent, that we are almost ready to place the style of David's reign apart, as a school of Romanesque by itself. The same general features are perceived in the earliest surviving portions of the abbeys of Holyrood, Dryburgh, Kinloss, and

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Dundrennan. They consist in an unusual degree of lightness manifested by the use of colonettes of exceeding slenderness, in the lavish use of mouldings, which depend for decorative effect upon depth of cutting rather than upon fantastic surface carvings, in which respect they are more like the true Gothic type. . . . It is this tendency toward refinement and the unmistakable advance toward transition from Romanesque to Gothic seen in David's churches that would make certain other edifices in Scotland seem to belong to an earlier period. . . . In short, these two groups of Romanesque buildings illustrate quite clearly the difference that existed between the social, and hence the artistic, condition of Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1054-93) and in that of his youngest son David (1124-53). David had not only profited by English training at Winchester but he imported monastics from France, and these important facts must have influenced his extensive architectural exploits. . . . There is in this mediæval architecture of Scotland a certain originality that clothes it with special charm. . . . It did not depend absolutely upon either of these sources for general methods of design or treatment of detail, but, borrowing generously from both, evolved new motives.[1]

David found Scotland built of wattles and left her framed in granite, castles and monasteries studding the land in every direction.[2]

The monasteries of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Holyrood, with many another stately pile, also owed their first foundations to the fostering care of David; for, independently of his religious zeal, he appreciated the encouragement afforded by such establishments to the pacific arts it was his aim to introduce amongst his subjects.[3]

There is probably no other country district, equally small in area, that can boast a group of ruins, at once so great and interesting, as those situated in the north of Roxburghshire, along the banks of the Tweed and its little tributary the Jed. Here were founded almost contemporaneously, in the first half of the twelfth century, four great abbeys.[4]

In Lothian the religious houses of Holyrood, the Isle of May, Newbottle, Kelso, Berwick; in Scotland proper, north of the Forth or Scottish sea, St. Andrews, Cambuskenneth, Stirling; in Moray, Urquhart and Kinloss; and in Scottish Cumbria, Selkirk, Jedburgh, and Glasgow, have been certainly traced to David.[5]

[1] Butler, *Scotland's Ruined Abbeys*, pp. 1ff.
[2] Robertson 1. 319. [3] *Ibid.* 1. 231. [4] Butler, p. 71.
[5] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 14. 119; cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 15, 25, 27, 28, 33; Chalmers, *Caledonia* (1807) 1. 678, note (x); Raine, *Priory of*

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III. THE CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC ANTECEDENTS DEMANDED BY THE PRODUCTION

Before entering upon the consideration of the artistic influences which may have been operative in the production of our crosses, we may first pause to reflect upon the new spirit which in the 12th century was actuating the leaders in Church and State, and which in art was the herald of Gothic architecture. This was chiefly religious, and largely monastic, but it was powerful in all the chief departments of human endeavor.

> As the eleventh century closed and the great twelfth century dawned, the forces of mediæval growth quickened to a mightier vitality, and distinctively mediæval creations appeared. . . . It was no sudden birth of power, but rather faculties ripening through apprentice centuries, which illumined the period opening about the year 1100. This period would carry no human teaching if its accomplishment in institutions, in philosophy, in art and poetry, had been a heaven-blown accident, and not the fruit of antecedent discipline.[1]

> Au XIIe siècle, époque incomparable, tout naît, tout resplendit à la fois dans le monde moderne. Chevalerie, croisades, architecture, langue, littérature, tout jaillit ensemble comme par la même explosion;

Hexham 1. 169; Cram, *Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, pp. 132-3; Keith-Spottiswoode, *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, 1824; Brown, p. 110, above; Fordun, *Scotichronicon* 2. 230, 426. The list varies somewhat in the different authorities, but there is agreement respecting the chief monasteries. The dates of some of these, including such as were founded under David's influence, rather than directly by him, may be interesting.

1113. Selkirk; Benedictine; from Tiron.
1115. Jedburgh; Austin canons; from Beauvais.
1128. Kelso (translation from Selkirk).
1128. Holyrood; Austin canons.
1136. Melrose (refounded); Cistercian; from Rievaulx.
1140. Newbattle; Cistercian; from Melrose.
1140. Kilwinning; Benedictine; from Tiron.
1142. Dundrennan; Cistercian; from Rievaulx.
1144. Lismahago; Benedictine; from Kelso.
1150. Dryburgh; Premonstratensian.
1150. Holmcultram; Cistercian; from Melrose.
1150. Kinloss; Cistercian; from Melrose.

[1] Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind* 2. 205-6.

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c'est là que débute véritablement l'histoire de nos arts, de notre littérature, de notre civilisation, comme celle des autres arts et des autres civilisations de l'Europe.[1]

Classical studies reached their zenith in the twelfth century. For in every way this century surpassed its predecessors; and in classical studies it excelled the thirteenth, which devoted to them a smaller portion of its intellectual energies.[2]

But at the close of the latter reign [Henry I's] and throughout that of Stephen, the people . . . was stirred by the first of those great religious movements which England was to experience afterwards in the preaching of the Friars, the Lollardism of Wyclif, the Reformation, the Puritan enthusiasm, and the mission work of the Wesleys. Everywhere in town and country men banded themselves together for prayer, hermits flocked to the woods, noble and churl welcomed the austere Cistercians, a reformed outshoot of the Benedictine order, as they spread over the moors and forests of the North. A new spirit of devotion woke the slumber of the religious houses.[3]

The religious movement of which Henry had once seemed destined to become a leader had gone sweeping on till it left him far behind. It was the one element of national life whose growth, instead of being checked, seems to have been actually fostered by the anarchy. The only bright pages in the story of those 'nineteen winters' are the pages in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* which tell of the progress and the work of the new religious orders, and shew us how, while knights and barons, king and Empress, were turning the fairest regions of England into a wilderness, Templars and Hospitaliers were setting up their priories, Austin canons were directing schools and serving hospitals, and the sons of S. Bernard were making the very desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose. The vigor of the movement shewed itself in the diversity of forms which it assumed. Most of them were offshoots of the Order of S. Augustine. The Augustinian schools were the best in England; the 'Black Canons' excelled as teachers; they excelled yet more as nurses and guardians of the poor. One of the most attractive features of the time is the great number of hospices, hospitals, or almhouses as we should call them now, established for the reception and maintenance of the aged, the needy and the infirm.[4] . . . 'In the short while that Stephen reigned, or rather bore the title of king, there arose in England many more dwellings of the servants and handmaids of God than had arisen there in the course of the whole previous cen-

[1] Caumont, *Abécédaire d'Archéologie* 1. 203.
[2] Taylor 2. 117.
[3] Green, *Short Hist.*, Chap. 2, sec. 6.
[4] Cf. p. 99, note.

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tury' [William of Newburgh]. . . . Buried in their lonely wildernesses, the Cistercians seem at first glance to have been intent only on saving their own souls, taking no part in the regeneration of society at large. While the other orders were . . . the working, fighting rank and file of the spiritual army, the White Monks were at once its sentinels, its guides, and its commanding officers; they kept watch and ward over its organization and its safety, they pointed the way wherein it should go, they directed its energies and inspired its action. For the never-ending crusade of the Church against the world had at this time found its leader in a simple Cistercian monk, who never was Pope, nor legate, nor archbishop, nor even official head of his own order—who was simply abbot of Clairvaux—yet who, by the irresistible, unconscious influence of a pure mind and a single aim, had brought all Christendom to his feet. It was to the 'Bright Valley,' to Clairvaux, that men looked from the most distant lands for light amid the darkness.[1]

Thurstan[2] is especially to be commemorated as the reviver of monasticism in the North. His intercourse with the ecclesiastics of other countries; the religious houses which he would see during his exile, exhibiting, as far as human agency could effect it, the perfection of discipline and organization, would open his eyes to the wants of his diocese at home, and make him eager to meet and remedy them. The example and the exhortations of St. Bernard, with whom he was acquainted, would strengthen and nerve his hand. The letter which he wrote about the poor Cistercians of Fountains shews that he was thoroughly saturated with the monastic principle. His knowledge of it was of a kind that long study and practice could alone impart, and it seems to me that Thurstan, together with St. Bernard and two or three others, are to be regarded as the great church reformers of the twelfth century. It was at Thurstan's suggestion that pope Honorius confirmed the privileges of the monastery at Savigny, and he witnessed the grant of a hundred marks of silver which was made by Henry I. to the monks of Clugny, to which order the archbishop was especially attached. When Thurstan arrived in the North he would find there a very small number of religious houses, one or two of which were occupied by Augustine canons, and the rest by Benedictines. A new impetus was now given to the diffusion of the monastic principle. The two existing orders were reformed and enlarged, and the Cluniacs and Cistercians,[3] monks of a stricter rule, were brought in. The time for their introduction and for the revival of discipline was well chosen. The Norman and the Saxon elements in the English Church were now happily blended together. Everything in religious as well as civil affairs was now settled and laid down. The great baronies and fees throughout the country were for the most part

[1] Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* 1. 356-8.

[2] On Thurstan and Hexham, see Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. lxv.

[3] See pp. 132 ff.

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marked out. Peace and rest superinduced other and better thoughts. Many of the great knights and nobles had grievous offences to atone for. They were living upon the possessions of others—very frequently upon church property ; and their lives had been stained with violence and bloodshed. The wish to make amends as well as to honour God, led them to establish monasteries where their souls might be prayed for, and to which their names, '*in perpetuam rei memoriam*,' might be honourably attached. When one leads, another soon will follow, and the erection and endowment of religious houses soon became the fashion, but like every freak and sudden feeling, it was only temporary. It began with the twelfth century, and it did not outlive it. . . . Between the years 1120 and 1125 six houses of Augustine canons seem to have been established in Yorkshire.[1]

L'ère des iconoclastes avait, pendant longtemps, anéanti les études iconographiques ; elles commencèrent à renaître au XIe siècle, mais ce ne fut qu'au XIIe qu'elles firent de grands progrès. . . . Jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle, on avait rendu la figure humaine de la manière la plus bizarre et la plus incorrecte. Mais au XIIe siècle on vit paraître des statues et des bas-reliefs, qui, sans être exempts de défauts, étaient, au moins, ramenés à une certaine correction. Cette renaissance de la statuaire contribua puissamment à changer l'aspect des monuments religieux en apportant un élément nouveau dans leur décoration. . . . On commença au XIIe siècle à sculpter des figures de grande proportion. . . . La plupart sont vêtues de longues tuniques recouvertes d'une espèce de manteau qui s'ouvre par devant.[2]

Le Nord, avant le milieu du XIIe siècle, ne produit qu'une ornementation pauvre, barbare, dans quelque acception qu'on prenne le mot.[3]

Au douzième siècle, après de longs tâtonnements, et des essais laborieux et informes, la sculpture monumentale était née. Silencieuse pendant plusieurs siècles, les pierres étaient devenues éloquentes.[4]

If we are to be warranted in referring the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses to 1150, or thereabouts, and to the influence of David I of Scotland, we must examine what detailed considerations appear to favor, and what to oppose, this assumption, so far as the artistic side is concerned. We need to account for the conception of an upright rectangle or trapezoid—for, it will be observed, we have no *proof* that either of these obelisks was ever a cross, that is, that

[1] Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, pp. 201-2.

[2] Caumont, p. 160.

[3] Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 201.

[4] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1^{2}. 944.

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either ever had a cross-piece [1]—divided into panels that are filled with figure-sculpture, and enclosed in frames bearing legends descriptive of the figure-sculpture. We next have to account for a similar rectangle or trapezoid bearing a vine, with or without inter-

[1] The top of the Bewcastle Cross—if such it really was—formerly in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, could not have been a cross-piece. What we are told is (letter from Cotton to Camden before 1623, when Camden died) : ' I receaued this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William [Howard]. It was the head of a Cross at Bewcastell. All the letters legable are thes in on[e] line,' etc. (James Wilson, in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, N. S. 10. 504 ; cf. Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine*, p. 15 ; Ole Worm, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, Copenhagen, 1643, p. 161 ; Kemble, in *Archæologia* 28. 346-7 ; Camden, *Britannia*, ed. Gough, p. 455). Besides, MSS. Cotton Domitian A. xviii. 37, and Julius F. vi. 313, after giving the runic inscription, RIKÆS DRUHTNÆS (Cotton's letter and Worm read Y for U), add : ' This Inscription was on the head of a Cross found at Beucastell in 1615. The length of the stone, bein the head of the Crosse—16 inches. The breadth at the upper end—12 ynches. The thicknes—4 inches ' (Wilson, p. 503). As the Bewcastle Cross is 13 by 14 inches at the top (Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.*, 1. 255 ; *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, p. 43), it is evident that, if this block belonged to our cross, it could not have been the cross-piece. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of it as a part of the cross at all, since its length, 16 inches, would ill have fitted the longer face of the cross at top—14 inches ; its breadth, 12 inches, would have been too short for the breadth of the cross—13 inches ; and its thickness, 4 inches, would have been unimpressive on the top of a cross 14½ feet high, being an addition of scarcely more than 2 per cent to its height (Collingwood, in *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* 1. 255, must therefore be in error when he says : ' With it the cross would have been about 21 feet high from the base of the pedestal,' since the pedestal cannot be as much as two feet in height ; see the photographs). In one direction it would have overlapped the existing cross an inch on each side ; and in the other it would have fallen short by half an inch on each side. If we suppose an intervening cross-piece, we are no better off : what figure would be cut by a stone 4 inches high, over a cross-piece duly proportioned to a monolith 14½ feet high ? And if, in order to gain a height of 16 inches for it, we suppose it stood upon its smallest face, how would a thickness of 4 inches look in the top-piece, as contrasted with that of 13 or 14 inches in the main shaft ?

If we were to think of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses as obelisks, rather than crosses—and so various early writers on the monoliths of the North term the monuments they describe—we should be interested to consider whether any Egyptian obelisk could have been known to North Europeans of the Middle Ages. Now, whatever obelisks may have been overthrown or buried at Rome in that period, we are certain at least that

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spersed animals and birds. We need to find precedents for the subjects of the figure-sculpture in this period, and, if possible, for the peculiar modes of treatment ; and to show that these subjects were not handled in sculpture, or not handled in this way, at an earlier period. We must find precedents for the use of the sundial, of chequers, and of knotwork, in stone. We must account for the use, at this period, of any peculiar forms of letters in the Latin inscriptions. Finally, we must account for the employment of runic characters on stone monuments, and, in particular, of stone monuments devoted to Christian uses.

Having considered the precedents or parallels for the various features of the carving, we must then see by what artists such carving might be designed and executed, from what countries, districts, and, if possible, schools, such artists may be conceived as proceeding ; whether they would be likely to come to so remote and barbarous a region ; and by what inducements, if any, they may have been determined to sojourn there and accomplish these works. Among such inducements might be reckoned the existence, not far away, of works of art of a similar character, due to similar influences, and produced by workmen of similar antecedents ; the hospitality and liberality of their patron or patrons ; and the assurance that their labors would be appreciated by competent, or at least well-disposed, observers.

Beginning, then, with such faces of obelisks as are divided into panels filled with figure-sculpture, it is easy to see that these, like

every pilgrim to St. Peter's, from before the days of King Alfred, must have seen that which still adorns the Piazza between the colonnades of Bernini. This, according to Gregorovius, is ' the only obelisk in Rome which has not at some time or other been leveled with the ground ' (*Rome in the Middle Ages* 1. 53 ; 3. 27 ; cf. 6. 722, note 3 ; 7. 240, note 2). Every such pilgrim from the North would of course have been impressed by an object so strange, and by figures so enigmatic. Alexander Gordon (*Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1726, p. 160) says of the Ruthwell Cross that it ' is, in Form, like the *Ægyptian* Obelisks at *Rome* ' ; and Bishop Nicolson, in his *Scots Historical Library* (1702), p. 64, says of the monuments of northeastern Scotland : ' *Hector Boetius* [d. 1536], in one of his particular Fancies, thinks them relicks of the *Ægyptian* Fashions.'

It is indeed strange, on the supposition that the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses both had cross-pieces, that no fragment of either has been preserved, and that the stone sent from Bewcastle to London could not possibly have been the cross-piece, nor, so far as can be seen, a head-piece above it. It is well known that the cross-piece now to be seen at Ruthwell is modern, and of no authority whatever, while the top-stone seems authentic.

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the chequers and vines, and even the sundial, can be most readily derived from the ornamental features of churches. And the suggestion for such a face of an obelisk would most naturally come from the carved door-post of a church-portal.[1] Such a one we find at the abbey-church of Nonantola, a few miles northeast of Modena, the most important Benedictine abbey in Italy next to that of Monte Cassino, at one period a centre of mediæval learning, and no doubt in constant communication with so important a Transalpine monastery as that of St. Benedict at Fleury (St. Benoît-sur-Loire), whose connections with England we shall see. Here, at Nonantola, the door-jamb on the right side bears a striking general resemblance to two faces of the Ruthwell Cross, in so far as it contains, in a series of panels,[2] representations of Scriptural figures or groups, with Latin legends explaining them. These panels differ in height, as do those on the Ruthwell Cross, and are ten in number. Beginning at the top, they represent: (1) The child in the manger, with the ox and ass; (2) the washing of the child, from the Apocryphal Gospels; (3) the Visitation; (4) the Annunciation; (5) a person whose significance is doubtful (Zacharias ?); (6) Joseph warned by an angel; (7) the Purification; (8) the Adoration of the Magi; (9) the Announcement to the Shepherds; (10) the flock of sheep belonging to the latter. Not only do the inscriptions occupy the intermediate spaces between the panels, as they do at Bewcastle,[3] and in part at Ruthwell,[4] but the O of the inscriptions is lozenge-shaped,[5] as sometimes in those at Ruthwell. The approximate date of the Nonantola carvings, which were executed by Wiligelmus, is 1117.[6]

For the vine we need only refer to pages 71–83, where it has been shown that there is abundant precedent for its use, the instances of its occurrence increasing especially in the 12th century. For the Biblical subjects occurring on our two crosses, we may refer to pages 46–58; for the legend of Paul and Anthony, to pages 58, 59; for the *genre*-subjects of the Bewcastle Cross, to pages 60–71. For *genre*-subjects in general as treated in the 12th century, it is important to consider such bas-reliefs as those of the cathedral of Piacenza, sculptured at the instance of various trades of the city, and dating

[1] On door-jambs bearing statues, see Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française* 1. 295.

[2] Cf. the door-jamb of the baptistery at Parma (Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 305).

[3] See pp. 25, 26, 28. [4] See pp. 16 ff. [5] See p. 44.

[6] Cesari, *Nonantola* (Modena, 1901), pp. 60-61, and frontispiece; Venturi, 3. 172; see also pp. 50, 81, above.

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from about 1122. Two of these,[1] by a master standing in close relation to Wiligelmus, represent respectively two shoemakers at work and a knife-grinder.[2] The inscription on the border of the first shows the lozenge-shaped O with which we are familiar on the Ruthwell Cross.[3]

On the sundial, see pages 89, 90; on the chequers, pages 83–86; on the knotwork, pages 86–89.

On the peculiar form of the Latin O, see pages 44, 45.

For the use of runic characters on stone monuments in the British Isles, see particularly pages 32 ff., 38 ff.

The question as to what artists may have been available for such sculpture as that of our crosses can best be approached by considering what foreign schools of art were, or had been, represented in Scotland (and incidentally in England) in the generation or so preceding 1150. We may conveniently begin with one of the most important influences, that of Tiron (properly Thiron), near Chartres.

1. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF TIRON

The abbey of Kelso was first established at Selkirk in 1113 by monks from Tiron, and was transferred to Kelso in 1128. Kelso, in turn, founded Lismahago (1144); and various other monasteries, among them Kilwinning (1140),[4] show the influence of Tiron.

> Anno MCXIII. monachi Tironenses in Angliam venerunt, X. annos antequam Savinienses venerunt in Angliam. Monachi Tironenses in terra David regis Scotiæ apud Seleschirche [Selkirk] venerunt, et ibi per annos XV. manserunt.[5]

> Anno MCXXVIII. mutata est abbatia de Selechirche ad Kelchou [Kelso] juxta Rochestura, et fundata est ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ prædictis monachis Tironensibus, ubi eam pius rex David magnis muneribus ditavit, multis ornamentis ornavit, prædiis et possessionibus amplis nobiliter dotavit.[6]

The monks of Tiron were notable in that age for the variety of handicrafts—including architecture and sculpture—which they represented.

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[1] Venturi 3. 176-7. [2] Cf. p. 145. [3] Cf. pp. 45, 124.

[4] Lawrie (*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 269) says that monks from Tiron were brought to both Lismahago and Kilwinning.

[5] Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum* (Rolls Series) 2. 247.

[6] *Ibid.* 2. 281.

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> About this time Bernard, abbot of Quincé [Quinçay][1] retired from Poitiers, because he had refused to subject his monastery, which had been independent to that time, to the abbey of Cluni. . . . At last, after much journeying, he visited the venerable bishop Ives,[2] who graciously received him, and settled him and his monks on the territory of the church of Chartres,[3] where he built a monastery dedicated to St. Saviour[4] in a woody district called Tiron. A multitude of the faithful of both orders flocked to him, and father Bernard received in his loving embraces all who were ready to make their profession, enjoining them to practise in his new monastery the occupations which each of them had learnt. In consequence there readily assembled about him workmen, both smiths and carpenters, sculptors and goldsmiths, painters and masons, vine-dressers and ploughmen, with skilled artificers in various branches of labor. They diligently employed themselves in the tasks assigned them by the abbot, and turned their gains to the common advantage. Thus where lately robbers sheltered themselves in a frightful forest, and cut the throats of unwary travelers, on whom they rushed unawares, a stately abbey was, by God's help, quickly reared.[5]

The craftsmen from Tiron displayed their skill in the building of Kelso Abbey, begun in 1128,[6] four years after David's accession,

[1] Bernard was Abbot of St. Cyprian at Poitiers in 1100 and for at least four or five years thereafter. He was born near Abbeville about 1046, and died in April, 1116 (so the *Necrology of Chartres*, p. 161, published by the Soc. Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, *Un Manuscrit Chartrain du XIe Siècle*, Chartres, 1893 ; but Chevalier, *Bio-Bibliographie*, says 1117). Beatrix, mother of Rotrou, Count of La Perche, gave him lands in the forest of Tiron in 1107, and the monastery was ready to be inhabited by 1109. On account of claims made by the Cluniac monks of Nogent, he obtained a small estate from the Bishop and canons of Chartres (*Hist. Litt. de la France* 10. 213 ff.). The 12th century life of him is published by the Bollandists under April 25, and is also to be found in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 172. 1367-1446.

[2] Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1040-1116), a warm friend of Bernard's, had been the first prior of the abbey of St. Quentin at Beauvais (see p. 131, below).

[3] The deed bears date of Feb. 3, 1113. Bernard had asked for a carucate (*carrucatam*) of land from the territory belonging to the cathedral of Chartres *que est super rivulum qui dicitur Tiro, infra Gardiensem parrochiam, ad edificandum monasterium et claustrum* (*Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Chartres* 1. 117-8 : Soc. Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, Chartres, 1865).

Thiron (such is the modern name) is about eleven miles northeast of Chartres, in the arrondissement of Nogent-le-Rotrou. Gardais is a hamlet belonging to the commune of Thiron. The abbey of Thiron was Benedictine.

[4] Chevalier (*Topo-Bibliographie*) says the Holy Trinity.

[5] Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. 8, chap. 27 (Bohn 3. 50-51).

[6] He had, partly at the instance of Bishop John of Glasgow (Ridpath, *Border History of England and Scotland*, p. 76), himself a monk from Tiron, removed them to Roxburgh soon after his accession in 1124.

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and resorted to by him for the interment of his son Henry, at the very close of his own reign, twenty-five years later. We may still see portions of their work in the north transept of the church.

> It is to these skilful monks that we owe the masterful work upon the north transept with its exquisite portal, the delicate mouldings of the arcades which make them seem too fine for Norman work, and the skilful adjustment of the tower to its supports.[1]

Tiron must have been much in David's thoughts for another reason. About 1117 he made his tutor, John,[2] who had been a monk of Tiron, Bishop of Glasgow, and he continued in this office, though with long absences from his see, until 1147, when he died and was buried at Jedburgh. Other proofs of David's attachment to Tiron are to be found in his exemption, about 1141, at the instance of Bishop John, of a ship belonging to this monastery from the *cain*, or customary tax,[3] an exemption which was confirmed by his son Henry.[4] Geoffrey, the biographer of Bernard, not only reports the foundation of Kelso, but also tells of a later visit of David to Tiron after

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[1] Butler, *Scotland's Ruined Abbeys*, p. 97 ; cf. Cram, *The Ruined Abbeys of Great Britain*, pp. 149, 145. There is a kind of chequer-work (Butler, pp. 94–5) on the gable (somewhat resembling that on the gable of the 12th century church of St. Stephen's at Beauvais) which might have suggested that on the Bewcastle Cross. Kelso is only 37 miles from Bewcastle in a straight line.

[2] Cf. p. 126, note 6. The chief events of his life may be summarized as follows : David's inquisition, 1120 or 1121 ; John is early alarmed by the savagery of his diocese ; suspended by Archbishop Thurstan of York in 1122, and makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but in 1123 is ordered by Pope Calixtus II to return; goes to Rome, 1125; returns, 1126; is made chancellor by David, 1129 ; see of Carlisle created at the expense of the see of Glasgow, 1133 ; retires to Tiron, 1133-1138 ; obtains numerous gifts from David for the cathedral of Glasgow, which is consecrated in 1136, John being absent ; is ordered to return by the papal legate Alberic, who had settled Aldulf or Adelulf, formerly Prior of Nostell Abbey, as bishop at Carlisle (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* ; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 13-31). On Adelulf (d. 1156) see Raine, *Archbishops of York* 1. 202-3 ; *Priory of Hexham* 1. 110 ; Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, p. 61 ; Lawrie, pp. 267-270 ; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* 2. 27 ; Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* 6. 89 ff. ; Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* 5. 230.

[3] *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron* 1. 80 ; Lawrie, p. 103.

[4] *Cartulaire* 2. 14 ; Lawrie, p. 104.

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Bernard's death, when he gave larger possessions to the monastery which he had founded, and took to Scotland with him an abbot and twelve monks more.[1]

2. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF CHARTRES

Bulteau is persuaded that the monks of Tiron had a share in the construction of the west porch of the cathedral of Chartres.

> Tout ce que nous savons, c'est que le pays chartrain était au XIIe siècle un foyer d'art fort actif, possédant une école d'architectes habiles qui nous ont laissé d'admirables constructions d'une solidité à toute épreuve, architectes qui étaient pour la plupart des moines formés dans les abbayes de Tiron et de Saint-Père.[2]

> Il a été commencé vers 1110, sous l'épiscopat de Saint Ives, et terminé sous celui de son successeur immédiat, le pieux Geoffroy de Lèves. Il a été probablement sculpté par les moines de l'abbaye de Tiron.[3]

> Par reconnaissance envers Saint Ives et le chapitre de Notre-Dame, il leur aura fait sculpter les statues et les chapiteaux historiés qui ornent les trois baies. Le travail est si délicat, si fini que l'ardente piété des moines-artistes a pu seule l'exécuter. C'est, sans doute, pour faciliter ce travail de sculpture que les moines de Tiron établirent, en 1117, une succursale à Chartres, dans une maison située près du Marché, *juxta forum*. Ces moines-artistes venaient, pour la plupart, du midi de la France, où les monuments romains abondent ; de là, sans doute, les réminiscences antiques qu'on remarque dans plusieurs parties du portail occidental.[4]

The interest of the royal family of England in the building of the cathedral of Chartres is testified in various ways. In the year of Henry I's marriage to Matilda, David's sister, Bishop Ivo of Chartres appealed to him for gifts for the cathedral, and the very next year to Matilda herself. A second application to Henry, probably in 1101, elicited a reply through Queen Matilda, who made a gift of bells, and promised money for the repair of the roof, for which Ivo thanks her.[5] This may well have been while David was with his

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 172. 1426.

[2] *Monographie* 1. 112 ; cf. Huysmans' *La Cathédrale* (Paris, 1898), p. 256.

[3] Bulteau 2. 34.

[4] *Ibid.* 1. 81 ; elsewhere (2. 34) he thinks the Tironian sculptors had practised their art on the porch of St. Sernin at Toulouse ; but cf. Merlet, *La Cath. de Chartres*, pp. 26-28.

[5] Bulteau 1. 68-71; cf. p. 106, above, note 4.

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sister at the English court. King Henry's sister, Adela, Countess of Blois and of Chartres, made gifts to the cathedral about this time, and was generous to it on various occasions.[1] Already in the episcopate of Fulbert (1008–1028), who conducted a famous school at Chartres,[2] Canute 'greatly helped the building of the cathedral of Chartres.'[3] William the Conqueror gave a bell to Chartres which was called by his name,[4] so that England had for a long series of years been interested in the cathedral and its bishops.

Under these circumstances, it would not be surprising if Chartres had exerted an influence upon the sculpture of our crosses, an influence which is perhaps best suggested by the group of the Visitation[5] in the right tympanum of the west front, by the Flight into Egypt of a storied capital,[6] and by vines between the

[1] Bulteau 1. 73, note 2. The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (1. 135) says: 'It was through her energy and beneficence that the cathedral of Chartres was rebuilt in stone, and freed from all taxation.'

[2] Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind* 1. 296 ff.; Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age*, pp. 31 ff., 194 ff.

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 9. 4.

[4] Bulteau 1. 71.

[5] See above, p. 48.

[6] See above, p. 52. Enlart (Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* [2. 205; cf. 1². 517-8]) compares the west front of Rochester Cathedral with that of Chartres. He speaks of the statues of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba at Rochester, and declares that, while smaller than those of Chartres, they are absolutely of the same style. These he would date after the portal, and the portal itself about 1160. Keyser (*List of Norman Tympana*, p. XVII) is of a similar opinion: 'The series of figures on the arch mouldings, the statues between the jamb shafts, and the treatment of the subject of "The Majesty" on the tympanum,' all show the influence of 'Bourges, Chartres, Le Mans, and other doorways of the great Romanesque churches in France.' Enlart (2. 204; cf. 1². 518) also finds an analogy between the human figures, mingled with vine-scrolls and dragons, on the door-jambs of the south portal and on the triumphal arch at Kil(l)peck, near Hereford, and the style of the west doorway of Chartres. The west front of Chartres is also compared with some rich Norman work on the ruined church of Shobdon (also in Herefordshire) by Parker (*Introd. to Goth. Arch.*, p. 78; cf. Michel 2. 205). The vine-scroll with figurines on a shaft of the west front of Chartres is brought by Marriage (*Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, p. 44; see p. 80, above) into relation with similar work on the west door of Lincoln Cathedral (cf. Viollet-le-Duc 8. 108, 210). The tympanum of Malmesbury is perhaps inspired by sculpture at the abbey of Moissac (cf. Anglès, *L'Abbaye de Moissac*), according to Enlart (Michel 2. 205), who finds the same style in sculpture at Bristol, York, and

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statues.[1] Such a theory is rendered plausible by a consideration of the number of Englishmen who visited Chartres for longer or shorter periods at about this time. Among English scholars and ecclesiastics who in the 11th century had relations with Chartres must be reckoned Anselm, the fellow-student and devoted friend of Ivo. Anselm, when Archbishop of Canterbury, spent months at Chartres in 1103, and again weeks in the summer of 1105,[2] not to speak of an earlier visit in 1097.[3] John of Salisbury, who became Bishop of Chartres in 1176, studied there as a young man from 1138–1140 or 1141. As he was for a long time secretary to Thomas à Becket, was for thirty years the central figure of English learning,[4] was the first classicist of the Middle Ages,[5] and was long influential in English political affairs, it is easy to see how he would extend the knowledge of Chartres in England. Countess Adela, being the sister of Henry I and the mother of the future King Stephen, and herself a woman of vigorous understanding and manifold activities, would naturally attract English attention to Chartres in the early years of the 12th century.[6] Then we have the testimony of Ivo to the presence of a colony of English students there in the year 1112. Writing in that

Lincoln (see also the references to York, Lincoln, and Chichester in 1^2. 518). At Barfreston, in Kent, Enlart (1^2. 517) finds sculpture which reminds him of St. Denis. For particular subjects of French figure-sculpture, see pp. 46 ff. French influence on English architecture as early as the 10th century is suspected by Rivoira and Enlart. Thus Rivoira (*Lomb. Arch.* 2. 158) says of the abbey church of Ramsey, founded in 969 and consecrated in 974 : ' Oswald himself was the architect of the building, the idea of which he may have derived from the church of Germigny des Près, situated only a few miles from the convent of Fleury at Saint Benoît-sur-Loire, with which Ramsey Abbey was closely connected for several centuries.' And thus Enlart expresses himself (Michel 1^1. 117) : ' Au IXe siècle, la plupart des monuments de la Grande-Bretagne furent détruits de fond en comble par les incursions incessantes et dévastatrices des Danois ; au siècle suivant, sous la direction de moines à la fois artistes et hommes d'état, tels que Dunstan et Ethelwold, les ruines furent réparées ; et c'est à partir du Xe siècle jusqu'à la conquête normande de 1066 que se place vraisemblablement l'érection des monuments appelés saxons, œuvres d'un style roman très rude et très original, qui ont précédé en Angleterre l'architecture normande.'

[1] See above, p. 80.

[2] *Hist. Litt. de la France* 10. 112-3 ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 2. 27.

[3] M. A. E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England* 1. 47.

[4] Stubbs, quoted in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 29. 444.

[5] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 29. 439, 444 ; cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, pp. 713-7.

[6] Cf. pp. 129, 143.

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year [1] to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, he asks him to communicate any request for his (Ivo's) services through Robert's pupils who are in residence at Chartres.[2] Jordan Fantosme, who was present in the North of England in 1173 and 1174, when William the Lion, David's grandson, invaded it, and who afterwards wrote a poem [3] on the war, studied at Chartres with Gilbert de la Porrée some time between 1124 and 1137.[4] Afterwards we find him (1158) a cleric, and probably chancellor, at Winchester, under the episcopate of Adela's son Henry, where he had relations with John of Salisbury.[5] David I himself would surely have visited Chartres on the occasion of his visit to Tiron, only a few miles away.[6]

3 THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF BEAUVAIS

Jedburgh was founded in 1115 by monks from Beauvais. This connects Jedburgh indirectly with Chartres, since we have seen (p. 126) that the abbey at Beauvais was founded by Ivo of Chartres,[7] the friend of Bernard of Tiron, and the correspondent

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 162. 279.

[2] Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres*, p. 180.

[3] *Chronique*, Surtees Society, 1840; cf. Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman Period*, pp. 221-3, and p. 98, above.

[4] Clerval, pp. 164, 186.

[5] Clerval, p. 186.

[6] See p. 127, above.

[7] Ivo suggests another possible influence—that of the Austin Canons, though we can not establish a direct relation between this order and notable Northern architecture of so early a period. The Austin or Regular Canons had existed for centuries under somewhat varying rules, when Ivo wrote one of greater strictness, and thus gave a new impulse to the foundation of houses of the order (Tuker and Malleson, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome* 3. 205). Nostell, from the priorate of which Adelulf went to the bishopric of Carlisle (see p. 127), was founded before 1121, for in that year Henry I confirmed its lands and privileges (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* 6. 89-90). Hexham (see p. 101), soon after 1114, became an Augustinian priory (Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. cix ff., lxvi ff.). Another early foundation was that of Scone (about 1215), a prior of which became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1124, or earlier. There were six houses of Austin Canons established in Yorkshire between 1120 and 1125, of which Gisburgh (see p. 136) was one. Lanercost Abbey (p. 98), only a few miles from Bewcastle, was founded as late as 1169, while the priory of Carlisle is attributed to 1133. By 1250 they had two hundred houses in England; cf. pp. 119-120. The Austin *Friars* were reputed to have been founded by Paul, the first hermit (*Piers Plowman* B. 15. 284; *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* 308-9. Cf. pp. 58-59.

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of Henry I and Matilda, David's sister. The art of the French sculptors (probably between 1128 and 1152) has been characterized by Butler.

> The entire edifice as we have it, unique as a specimen of a style, the persistent use of Romanesque forms throughout, with a highly refined treatment of details, the frank employment of the pointed arch in the supports of the tower, all foreshadow the transition, and would seem to indicate that the style of David's reign was not like the barbaric Norman of the last twenty-five years of the eleventh century, nor yet the still heavy style of the first quarter of the twelfth, but a lighter and more elegant system of construction and a more graceful theory of design that distinguishes it from earlier phases of northern Romanesque.[1]

> The abaci of the capitals of the clustered columns and colonettes are rectangular, and the carving of the capitals themselves, the bases, the profiles of all the mouldings, are far more suggestive of the French style of the transition than of insular work. These capitals with their abaci are strangely reminiscent of the late Norman details of the cathedral of Bayeux. The design of their conventionalized foliage even in direct comparison is strikingly like that of the transitional churches of Laon and Beauvais. Is it not this last name that gives the clew to the appearance of detail here in Jedburgh, totally unlike anything of its kind in Great Britain ? Is it not the work of the monks from the great Benedictine convent at Beauvais that we see in these elegantly carved capitals and mouldings ?[2]

The present Cathedral of Beauvais dates from a later period, but the church of St. Stephen is of the 12th century, and, as we have seen above (p. 127, note 1), may have furnished a suggestion for the gable of Kelso. Other early churches in the region about Beauvais might also be considered.

4. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF CLAIRVAUX

About the year 1128,[3] Bernard addressed to Henry I a remarkable letter, entrusting it to a deputation of monks which he sent as a colony to England.

> To the illustrious Henry, King of England, Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, that he may faithfully serve and humbly obey the King of Heaven in his earthly kingdom.

[1] Butler, *Scotland's Ruined Abbeys*, pp. 96-7.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 82. For the vine-scroll, see above, p. 80, and Butler, p. 84.
[3] Raine, *Archbishops of York* 1. 203.

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> There is in your land a property belonging to your Lord and mine, for which He preferred to die rather than it should be lost. This I have formed a plan for recovering, and am sending a party of my brave followers to seek, recover, and hold it with strong hand, if this does not displease you. And these scouts whom you see before you I have sent beforehand on this business to investigate wisely the state of things, and bring me faithful word again. Be so kind as to assist them as messengers of your Lord, and in their persons fulfil your feudal duty to Him. I pray Him to render you, in return, happy and illustrious, to His honor, and to the salvation of your soul, to the safety and peace of your country, and to continue to you happiness and contentment to the end of your days.[1]

In 1131 these monks were settled at Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, by Walter Espec. Monks from Rievaulx, in turn, founded, or rather refounded, Melrose in 1136. Melrose founded Newbattle in 1140, and Holmcultram and Kinloss in 1150. From Rievaulx directly came not only Melrose, but Dundrennan (1142); while the church of Ruthwell seems to have been named from the same Yorkshire abbey, as that, in turn, modeled its name upon Clairvaux. The influence of Rievaulx in southwestern Scotland appears in the journey of Ailred of Rievaulx into Galloway (1164), at that time a savage region.[2]

Melrose itself is clearly a building wrought under French influence.

> The exterior of Melrose is in some respects more French in appearance than any ecclesiastical edifice in Scotland. The prominent buttresses are provided with canopied niches, some of which retain their sculpture; slender pier buttresses rising through the aisle roof to support sets of two flying buttresses are also adorned with niches and terminate in richly decorated Gothic pinnacles. The deep mouldings, the wealth of grotesque gargoyles and other figures, make it seem so like early French Gothic work that we may assume a French architect, or at least a student of French architecture, designed portions of the abbey, and that some of the builders, those Cistercian monks, had come from France. The sculpture within and without is rich and plentiful for a northern clime. The interior abounds in beautiful capitals and mouldings carved in most delicate foliate designs. The variety is remarkable, almost all of the native leaves being wrought in the hard brown stone; the oak leaf and the thistle being prominent. Most graceful and flowing and most deeply carved is the capital of the

[1] Eales, *Some Letters of Saint Bernard*, pp. 121-3; cf. p. 120, above.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 18. 33; cf. Brown, *Hist. Scot.* 1. 1, 45; Lang, *Hist. Scot.* 1. 154.

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easternmost column in the south aisle ; the design is a naturalistic treatment of the domestic Scotch kale ; so humble and so crude in nature, it becomes most rich and delicate in the sphere of art.[1]

Of the abbeys proceeding from Melrose, it is only Holmcultram [2] that concerns us here, and that because of its proximity to Ruthwell, though on the English side of the Border. As it was not founded till 1150, it is interesting, not so much because of any influence it could have had upon our crosses, as because it shows the prevalence of the Cistercian spirit in the region to the south and westward of Ruthwell and Bewcastle, just as Melrose exhibits it to the northeast.[3]

A French influence directly from Rievaulx manifested itself at the founding of Dundrennan [4] in 1142, only eleven years after Rievaulx itself was established.[5]

[1] Butler, pp. 111-2. Butler adds (p. 113) : ' The ponderous keystones of the fallen high vaults have been preserved by themselves. They represent human heads with masses of flowing hair. The boss of the great central tower represents the head of David I. ; another is that of his queen, Matilda.'

[2] See above, pp. 102-3.

[3] The approximate distances of some of the abbeys mentioned from Ruthwell and Bewcastle respectively are as follows :

Ruthwell to Holmcultram, 12 miles ; to Dundrennan, 25 miles ; to Carlisle, 20 miles.

Bewcastle to Holmcultram, 28 miles ; to Carlisle, 16 miles ; to Wetheral (Benedictine, before 1112), 14 miles ; to Lanercost (Austin Canons, 1169), 7 miles ; to Kelso, 37 miles ; to Jedburgh, 29 miles ; to Melrose, 36 miles ; to Hexham, 24 miles ; to Ruthwell, 29 miles ; all as the bird flies.

There is an ecclesiastical map of Cumberland facing 2. 126 of the *Victoria Hist. Cumb.* ; see also that in Vietor, *Die North. Runensteine.*

[4] See *New Statistical Account of Scotland* 4. 357-8, 362 ; Butler, p. 246 ; Keith-Spottiswoode, *Hist. Cat. of the Scottish Bishops*, p. 417. Spottiswoode mentions the following abbeys as founded by Cistercians after 1150, thus indicating the influence of that order in Scotland in the latter half of the 12th and early part of the 13th century : Saundle (before 1164), Coupar (1164), Glenluce (1190), Culross (1217), Deer (1218), Balmerinach (1229), Sweetheart or New Abbey (13th century ; founded by Devorgilla, a great-great-granddaughter of David I), ten miles from Ruthwell, across the Nith, and Machline. For New Abbey see also *New Stat. Acc.* 4. 248. Of other orders than the Cistercian there were founded in Galloway, soon after 1150, the abbeys of Soulseat, Tungland, St. Mary's Isle, and Whithorn (Keith-Spottiswoode, pp. 389, 398, 399 ; cf. *New Stat. Acc.* 4. 22, 54, 87, 88).

[5] Sylvanus, first abbot of Dundrennan, was transferred to Rievaulx in 1167 (*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 362).

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With respect to the relation between Ruthwell and Rievaulx, it is to be observed that the spelling Ruthwell is by no means the earliest known, that the local pronunciation of Ruthwell is Rivvel, and that the local pronunciation of Rievaulx is Rivers, which would earlier have been Rivel or Rivvel.

Rievaulx was named from the river Rie, and hence called by the Latin name of Rievallis. It was founded, as we have seen above, by Walter Espec, with the consent of Archbishop Thurstan of York, King Henry I, and Pope Innocent II, its first monks having come from Clairvaux (*Clara Vallis*) in 1128.[1] The *Liber de Melros*, under the year 1136, speaks of the monks *de Rievalle*[2]; and in the *Rievaulx Chartulary* the following spellings occur in the first half of the 13th century: Rievalle (5 times), Rivall (3 times), Ryevall (twice), Ryvall (once), Revall (once), Ryvaus (once). Ryevall also occurs in 1334, Ryvall in 1251, 1278, and 1306, Revall in 1315. Other spellings are such as these: River, Rywax, Riwaxe, Rivaux, Ryvaulx, Ryvax.[3]

The link between Rievaulx and Ruthwell is to be found in the person of Robert de Bruce II (1078 ?–1141) a companion of David I at the court of Henry, to whom the former granted, ca. 1124, Annandale—a tract somewhat difficult to define, but certainly including Ruthwell.

> None of those English settlers were more personally dear to the King, none left a name more illustrious than the Bruces. They had been settled in Yorkshire since the Conquest, and without quitting his Yorkshire baronies, Robert Bruce accepted from the king of Scots, his friend and brother in arms, the Valley of Annandale, which he soon had erected into a forest, marching with Nithsdale on the one hand, the Valley of Clyde on the other, and stretching eastward till it met the Royal Forest of Selkirk—an immense territory, even yet thinly peopled, but well suited for the great game of the forest, the deer and the wild boar, to which its new owners devoted it.[4]

> He received from David I a grant of Annandale, then called Strath Annent, by a charter c. 1124. . . . It was bounded by the lands of Dunegal, of Strathnith (Nithsdale), and those of Ranulf de Meschines,

[1] John of Hexham, in Raine, *Priory of Hexham* 1. 108; Ailred of Rievaulx, in Howlett, *Chronicle* (Rolls Series) 3. 183-4; *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Rievalle*, p. 21.

[2] Raine, *op. cit.* 1. 169, note.

[3] *Cart.*, pp. civ-cvii.

[4] *Facsimiles of Nat. Manuscripts of Scotland* 1. ix; cf. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 307, and pp. 102, 103, above.

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> earl of Chester, in Cumberland, and embraced the largest part of the county of Dumfries. Like David, a benefactor of the church. . . . His second son, Robert de Bruce III, saved the Scotch fief of Annandale either by joining David I, if a tradition that he was taken prisoner by his father at the battle of the Standard can be relied on, or by obtaining its subsequent restoration from David or Malcolm IV. . . . He held the Annandale fief, with Lochmaben as its chief messuage, for the service of a hundred knights during the reigns of David I, Malcolm IV, and William the Lion, who confirmed it by a charter in 1166.[1]

> Their services were rewarded by forty-three manors in the East and West, and fifty-one in the North Riding of Yorkshire—upwards of 40,000 acres of land, which fell to the lot of Robert de Bruce I, the head of the family.[2]

The chief possessions of the Bruces were, as we have seen, in Yorkshire, which remained the home of Robert de Bruce II. There, in 1129, he founded the monastery of Guisburn, Guisborough, or Gisburgh, with the concurrence of Archbishop Thurstan, Henry I, and Pope Calixtus II.[3] To this monastery Bruce granted the patronage of all the churches in Annandale,[4] or at least the greater part.[5] The rights of ordination and collation to these churches were acquired by the Bishop of Glasgow in 1223.[6]

The Bruces must have parted with lands in Annandale to various adherents in the 12th and 13th centuries. Between 1170 and 1180 William de Bruce granted lands to Adam Carlyle, a native of the soil, who held property in Cumberland.[7] Similarly, Ruthwell must at some time have passed into the hands of Thomas de Duncurry, and afterward into those of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, who deeded it to his nephew, William Murray, before 1332.

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[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 7. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Bromton, *Chron.* (Twysden, col. 1018); *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 7. 114.

[4] Chalmers, *Caledonia* 5. 189; Johnstone, *Historical Families of Dumfriesshire*, 2d ed., Dumfries, [1889,] p. 2; cf. p. 103, above.

[5] This fact suggests the close ecclesiastical connections between Yorkshire and Annandale, and makes it easy to see the possibility of a connection between Rievaulx in Yorkshire and Ruthwell in Annandale.

[6] Chalmers 5. 148.

[7] Johnstone, p. 26. There were Carlyles from Cockpool, according to an ancient ballad, *The Bedesman of Nithsdale*, who followed Richard I to the Crusades (Johnstone, p. 3); but Cockpool is later associated with Ruthwell.

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William Murray, the second son,[1] got a charter from his uncle Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, granting to 'Willelmo de Moravia nepoti nostro dilecto . . . omnes terras et omnia tenementa cum pertinenciis tocius medietatis tenementorum de Cumlungan et de Ryvel in Valle Anandie prout dicta tenementa cum pertinenciis inter predictum Willelmum et Patricium fratrem suum per probos homines et fidedignos sunt divisa' [Mansfield Charter-Chest; *Annandale Peerage Minutes*, 796]. The charter includes a grant of half the patronage 'of the church of the holdings named,' which, with the lands, had formerly been possessed by Thomas of Duncurry. It is undated, but must have been granted between 1317 and 1332,[2] when Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, died.[3]

By a charter of David II, dated 1363, the lands along the southern coast of Dumfriesshire which had belonged to Sir William de Carlyle, who married Margaret Bruce (sister of the great Bruce), were granted to the daughter of Sir William's son Thomas, and to her husband, Robert Corrie.[4]

Besides the Barony of Corrie, comprising the modern parishes of Houtton and Corrie, they [the Corries; middle of 14th century] owned Keldwood in the modern Cumberland parish of Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, Comlongan, Ruthwell, the Barony of Newbie, the Barony of Stapleton, Robgill, and part of the parish of St. Patrick, now divided into Kirkpatrick-Fleming and Gretna, which includes the ruins of the ancient Redkirk or Rampatrick, and the celebrated Lochmaben Stone, where treaties were signed with the English.[5]

Again we hear of Ruthwell in 1411, when 'a charter of tailzie of the lands of "Ryvale" in Annandale . . . [was] granted by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, to Sir Thomas Murray of Ryvale.'[6]

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[1] Patrick and William were respectively the first and second sons of Sir William Murray, who is said to have been the first of his family. 'Whatever his descent, he married the sister of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and daughter of Sir Thomas Randolph, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, by Isobel, sister of King Robert Bruce' (*Scots Peerage* 1. 215).

[2] Sir Thomas Randolph became Earl of Moray in 1312 (*Scots Peerage* 6. 292), and died July 20, 1332 (p. 294).

[3] *Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 215-16. The date is said to be between 1315 and 1332, perhaps about 1329, 'having regard to the witnesses' (p. 233); cf. Johnstone, p. 26.

[4] Johnstone, pp. 4, 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[6] *Scots Peerage* 1. 213; Mansfield Charter-Chest. We are told (*op. cit.*, p. 217): 'Sir Thomas Murray, Knight, the eldest son [of Patrick], first

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In 1438 Sir Charles Murray of Cockpool had seisin of the lands of Ryvel.[1] 'He also had two charters under the Great Seal of these lands and others, dated January 1449 and April 1452.[2]

In 1454 Mariota, daughter of Sir Thomas Murray, Knight, resigned by deed all rights she may have had in the lands of Ryvel 'fratri suo Karolo de Moravia domino dictarum terrarum de Ryvel.'[3]

About the year 1474 Cuthbert Murray succeeded his father, and in that year had seisin of the lands of Ryvel, Howelset, and Arbigland.[4]

On Sept. 4, 1487, Cuthbert Murray is said to have mortified an annual rent for the souls of James III and John, Master of Maxwell, whom he had slain in the course of the feud with that family. Lord Maxwell, in his turn (presumably the heir), was bound to find a priest to sing for the souls of each of Cuthbert's friends in Ruthwell Church.[5]

In 1494 John Murray inherited Ryvel from his father, Cuthbert.

> In 1494 John Murray had been returned heir to his father Cuthbert in the hereditary lands of Cockpool, Ryvel or Ruthwell, as well as of Rampatrick, or Redkirk, also part of the Corrie property.[6]

appears in the year 1405. . . . He was a witness to several charters by Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, in the early part of the fifteenth century, and from this Earl he obtained, upon his resignation, a charter of the lands and "tenements of Ryvale," in which he is described as "our beloved cousin, Sir Thomas of Murray, Knight."'

[1] *Scots Peerage* 1. 218; Mansfield Charter-Chest.

[2] *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 22 April 1452, and *Exch. Rolls*, v. 670.

[3] *Scots Peerage* 1. 218; Mansfield Charter-Chest.

[4] *Scots Peerage* 1. 219; Mansfield Charter-Chest. Johnstone (pp. 39, 48) assumes that Cuthbert Murray received Ruthwell among the forfeited estates of the Corries, who had joined the rebellion of the Duke of Albany and Archibald, Earl of Douglas ('Bell-the-Cat') against James III of Scotland; he introduces the date of July 22, 1484, when the rebels made an unsuccessful raid upon Lochmaben, ten miles from Ruthwell. This theory does not appear to harmonize, however, with the facts adduced above.

[5] *Scots Peerage* 1. 220; *Caerlaverock Book* 2. 446. Can 1487 stand for 1488, since James III was not slain till June 11, 1488? And why should Murray provide for masses for the king's soul, if Johnstone is right in calling him one of the leaders of the king's forces in repelling the raid of 1484?

[6] Johnstone, p. 48 (cf. p. 70); *Scots Peerage* 1, 222 which, has the spelling 'Revel.'

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On July 30, 1529, Cuthbert Murray of Cockpool had seisin of the lands of Cockpool, Revel, Arbigland, and others.[1]

According to Chalmers,[2] the patronage[3] of the church of Ruthwell continued with the Murrays of Cockpool[4] and their successors the Viscounts of Stormont, and it now belongs to the Earl of Mansfield, who represents the Viscounts of Stormont.[5]

[1] *Scots Peerage* 1. 223; Mansfield Charter-Chest.

[2] *Caledonia*, 1890, 5. 191, note (*p*).

[3] 'In 1406 [Chalmers 5. 191], Robert, the archbishop of Glasgow, collated Alexander Murray to the parsonage of Ruthwell, upon the presentation of Sir John Murray of Cockpool.'

[4] Cockpool is about two miles from Ruthwell, and half a mile from Comlongan. Here, according to Chalmers (5. 191, note (*o*)), 'there was formerly a chapel, which was subordinate to the mother church of Ruthwell.'

[5] In 1794 the church was thus described (*Stat. Acc.* 10. 220): 'It is a long building, remarkably narrow, and has a projecting aile or wing joined to it, which was formerly the burial place of the Murrays of Cockpool.' (The longer part of the Ruthwell Cross lay in Murray's 'quire' in 1704; see my paper in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 372.) Henry Duncan, writing in 1834 (*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 235), says of the church: 'This place of worship was about a century ago a miserable building thatched with heath. When the present incumbent came into possession of his living (in 1799) it was scarcely in a better condition; for, though slated, it still remained without a ceiling, and was of most inconvenient dimensions, being within the walls 96 feet long, and only 14 broad. Soon after this period it underwent a thorough change, 30 feet having been taken off its length, and ten feet added to its breadth. . . . [It is] still, in point both of accommodation and of architecture, much inferior to some of the neighboring churches, and to the average state of these public buildings throughout the country.'

The cross was in the church at the time of Pennant's tour (1772). 'Soon after this [*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 224], it was removed to the church-yard,—the increasing population, and the improved taste of the times having rendered necessary better accommodations to the worshippers. In its new situation, it became more exposed to injury, and when the present incumbent acquired the living, he found it undergoing such rapid demolition, that he resolved to preserve it by transferring it to a place of greater security. This resolution was carried into effect in the summer of 1802, when it was erected in a garden which he had begun to form in the immediate neighborhood of the church-yard.' According to Henri Rousseau (*Annales de la Soc. d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 16. 69), the cross was thrown out in 1790, for the accommodation of workmen in the church. In 1887 the cross was re-erected within the church, where it now stands.

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The pronunciation of Ruthwell at the present day is beyond all doubt Rivvel.[1] This is parallel to the modern pronunciation of Rievaulx as Rivers, no doubt by analogy for Rivvel. The earliest spelling of which we have knowledge is that of Bagimond's (properly Benemund's) Roll (1275), as transcribed by Habakkuk Bisset about the beginning of the 17th century. Though Bisset's copy was 'inconceivably inaccurate,' and the original has therefore 'suffered grievously in spelling'[2] the form of our word in his transcription seems at least to establish the fact that the second syllable began with *v* (not *w*). The entry is[3]: *Rectoria de Rovell iiij lib̄* (meaning that the church at Ruthwell was taxed for £4, the same as Dumfries, and one-half more than Peebles). Here Chalmers[4] (whatever his authority) spells Rieval, which would point directly to one of the earliest spellings of Rievaulx.[5] Since little dependence can be placed upon Bisset's spelling, and since the next occurrence of the word (1331) is under the form Ryvel, it seems not improbable that the latter, or Ryvale (1411), Rieval, may best represent the earliest form.

The next occurrence of the word is in a list of churches assessed for the expenses of deputies to the Council of Trent, 1546. Here the *v* is again found, the word being spelled Ruvell,[6] which is on the way to the modern spelling, Ruthwell.[7]

In 1690 we encounter the form Revel, from the pen of Bishop Nicolson,[8] who repeats it in 1697 and 1704. This resembles the 12th and early 13th century spelling Revall for Rievaulx.[9] However, Nicolson has the alternative forms, Rothwald (1690) and St. Ruel's (1697). The Ruel, if pronounced with a short *u*, seems like a variant

[1] Information from the present minister, Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie; *Encyc. Brit.* 11th ed., 8. 664.

[2] Innes, in *Reg. Episc. Glasg.* 1. lix.

[3] *Ibid.* 1. lxvi.

[4] *Caledonia*, 1890, 5. 191.

[5] See p. 135, above.

[6] *Reg. Episc. Glasg.* 1. lxxv.

[7] Possibly the obscuration of the original *ie*-sound (no doubt like *ee* in modern English *meet*) may be illustrated by the obsolete and dialectic *rother*, *ruther* (with short vowel) for Old English *hrīðer*, which the *New Eng. Dict.* explains (after the shortening of the vowel) as due to the influence of the preceding *r*. The 16th or 17th century spellings, Rovell and Ruvell, in contrast with the Ryvel of 1331, seem only explicable on the theory of a short or shortened vowel.

[8] Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 370, 371, 374.

[9] See above, p. 135.

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of the Ruvell of 1546 (the ' St.' is of course meaningless) ; Rothwald may be an analogical formation, assimilated [1] to Mousewald (formerly Muswald and Mosswald),[2] Torthorwald, and Tinwald, parishes adjoining that of Ruthwell. Less probable is Chalmers' opinion, that the new name might be derived from Old English *rīð*, rivulet, and *wald* (*weald*), forest. In any case, the form Rothwald has no further history (except for the reference by Keith, below), and only the first syllable of it is interesting, in its relation to the first element of Ruthwell ; both of these words, however, are of comparatively slight importance, since they lie outside the history of the spoken word, which runs from Ryvel to the modern pronunciation, Rivvel.

In 1726, Gordon [3] has the form Ruthvel, with the old ending, *-vel*, continuing the ancient tradition. Keith, in his list of Scottish parishes,[4] published in 1755, has a reference from Rivel to Ruthwald, but instead of Ruthwald has Ruthwell (the first instance of this form that I have found), and under the latter word adds, ' *vulgo* Revel.' This goes back to Nicolson's form, while Ruthwell, when compared with Gordon's Ruthvel, seems to have borrowed the *w* of *-wald*, remaining a mere literary form, and having no connection with popular speech. A striking testimony to the persistence of the ancient form is afforded by Chalmers in 1824, when he says : ' In vulgar speech, and even in the chartularies, the name of Rithwald or Ruthwell has been abbreviated into Ryval and Ruval.'

The attempts to etymologize the comparatively modern Ruthwell did not cease with Chalmers. A modern writer makes this statement [5] : ' A few miles from Annan and quite close to the shore is the town of Ruthwell, named from a chalybeate spring—the " Rood well " or well of the Cross, which still yields its healing waters under the name of the Brow well.' Hence, it appears, must be drawn the explanation in the current edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* [6] : ' the " rood, or cross well." ' The baselessness of this surmise may be seen if we recall that the Old English *rōd*, cross, must always have retained the *d*, evolving into modern English *rood* or *rod*.

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[1] As Duncan conjectures (*New Stat. Acc.* 4. 218).

[2] *New Stat. Acc.* 4. 442.

[3] *Itin. Sept.*, p. 160.

[4] *Hist. Cat. of Scottish Bishops*, ed. 1824, p. 360.

[5] Lansdale, *Scotland Historic and Romantic* 1. 318 ; cf. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 236 : ' They put a shed over it [the Cross], and the place became known as Roodwell.'

[6] 11th ed., 8. 664.

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It appears most reasonable, then, to conclude that the earliest form (1331) of whose spelling we can be at all sure, Ryvel (unless, with Chalmers, we assume Bagimond's Roll (1275) to have had Rieval), is the lineal ancestor of the modern spoken Rivvel, and that all other forms represent either variations in the quality of the stressed vowel, or perversions due to a false etymology. If such is the case, it seems most natural to assume a connection between the name Ryvel (Ryvale) in Scotland and the name Ry(e)vall (Rievalle, Rivall, Revall), representing the Yorkshire Rievaulx ; and such an assumption we have seen to be plausible, in the light of the influence which that famous abbey had in Scotland, and of the connection maintained between Yorkshire and Annandale through the family of Bruce.

5. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF FLEURY (ST. BENOÎT-SUR-LOIRE)

According to Keith-Spottiswoode,[1] three monasteries in Scotland were related to Fleury. These were Coldingham, Dunfermline, and Urquhart[2] ; but I can find no confirmation of this statement.

Indications of a relation between the Ruthwell Cross and the abbey church of St. Benoît may perhaps be found in the similarities between the sculptured Flight into Egypt and Visitation of the former and those of the latter.[3]

An influence of the sculptures of St. Benoît upon English work might be conjectured from the relations of that monastery with England in the 10th century.[4] At the reform of English monasticism by Dunstan and Æthelwold, it became important to insist upon the stricter Benedictine rule, as it was held and practised by its authentic representatives ; and what monastery more fit to lay down the pure law than that where the bones of the founder reposed, after they had been brought northward from Monte Cassino ? Thus Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent his nephew, Oswald, to the abbey where he himself had passed some time. After Oswald's return, he set out for Rome with Oskytel, Archbishop of York, but 'was unable to pass by the walls of Fleury,' where he lingered. Thence he was recalled by the urgent solicitations of Oskytel (ca. 961), to aid in the introduction of a stricter form of discipline into the northern

[1] *Hist. Cat. of the Scottish Bishops*, pp. 401 ff.

[2] Priory of Dunfermline, ca. 1130 (Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 350).

[3] See above, pp. 49, 52.

[4] Cf. above, p. 130, note 6 from preceding page.

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province.[1] Æthelwold is said to have been the first to introduce this stricter rule into England at the monastery of Abingdon, having sent Osgar, a monk of Glastonbury, to Fleury (St. Benoît) for the purpose.[2] Among the scholars of the period, the name of Abbo, who went for a time from Fleury to England, is held in honor. At times the monastery school was attended by as many as five thousand students, each of whom was to give two manuscripts to the library as his fee; and contributions to the library were required from every dependent monastery.[3]

A link between Fleury and the English royal house is found in the person of Hugh of Fleury (d. 1108), who dedicated a history of the church to Countess Adela,[4] a history of the recent French kings to Matilda, daughter of Henry I, and his treatise, *De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate*, to King Henry himself.[5] It is thus evident that Fleury must have been well within King David's ken, and frequently visited by Englishmen during his reign.

6. THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF NORTHERN ITALY

The sculptures of a certain group of churches in northern Italy form so interesting a parallel to those on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses as to suggest a possible influence from that quarter. That such an influence—either direct or through the mediation of French sculptors—is not inherently impossible, is indicated by the bonds

[1] Raine, *Archbishops of York* 1. 118-121; cf. *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 16. 375. Raine (*op. cit.*, p. 121) tells of twelve monks from Fleury whom Oswald established at Westbury under the charge of Germanus; 'the sight of that house was so gratifying to the king that he directed more than forty monasteries to be constructed after the same model.' Sackur says (*Neues Archiv* 16. 375) that the reformation of the English monasteries by Dunstan emanated from Fleury. A prose calendar of the Anglo-Saxon church was found at Fleury, and called *Calendarium Floriacense* (Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 65).

[2] *Chron. de Abingdon* 1. 129; Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, p. 190; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 18. 38.

[3] Wetzer and Welter, *Kirchenlexikon*, s. v. *Fleury*.

[4] See p. 130, above.

[5] Sackur (*op. cit.*, p. 375) considers that the relations between Fleury and England must have been continuous from after the time of Dunstan's reform; it may be noted that Hugh was a convinced royalist, and that Fleury stood under the direct patronage of the King of France, being exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Orléans (*op. cit.*, pp. 370 ff.).

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formed between Italy and other countries of Europe during the Middle Ages by the presence of Transalpine monks in the monasteries of northern Italy.[1]

The sculptors whose work we have to consider were Wiligelmus and Niccolò, or William and Nicholas ; and their activities extended over the early part of the 12th century.[2] Their first notable work was done under the direction of the architect Lanfranc on the cathedral of Modena, which was consecrated in 1106. They worked together at Cremona, probably before 1114, at Nonantola before 1117, and at Piacenza soon after 1122. About 1135 they seem to have been associated at Ferrara, where William was perhaps chiefly responsible for the general design, and Nicholas for the details ; then again on the façade of San Zeno, at Verona, completed in 1139, where most of the carving seems to have been done by Nicholas.[3]

These two artists differed more or less in style, that of William being the severer and more archaic ; his figures angular and rectilinear, with large, long noses, and stiff locks of hair ; and the general effect often what Venturi describes as grandiose. Nicholas was simpler, more youthful in spirit, more *bourgeois* and less archaic, and exhibited greater variety.[4] The faces of his personages are broad and squat, and they are shorter of stature, in contradistinction to the figures of William.[5]

Of the origins of these two men nothing is known, but there has been speculation concerning the possibly Germanic provenience of William. However this be, their works are clearly recognizable as forming a distinct group, resembling rather the art of France than that of central and southern Italy[6] ; and, what is not less remarkable, these sculptures are earlier than those in France which they most resemble, so that France may really have been the debtor.

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[1] Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte Ital.* 3. 113-4, who says that strangers were more numerous than Italians in certain monasteries of northern Italy in the 11th century—that, for example, of 161 priests nominated in 1037 by Olderico, Bishop of Brescia, there were only 25 who were not either German or French.

[2] For a somewhat detailed discussion of their activities, see Venturi 3. 150-197 ; and cf. Venturi 3. 120 ; Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.* 1. 221 ; 2. 121 ; Michel, *Hist. de l'Art* 1². 696-700.

[3] Venturi 3. 186.

[4] Venturi 3. 160, 170, 172.

[5] Venturi 3. 160 ; cf. p. 158.

[6] Michel 1². 697.

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> **Quelques détails, dans un ensemble d'architecture tout italienne, rappellent étrangement l'art du Nord. . . . Ou bien l'artiste qui a sculpté les prophètes de Ferrare a-t-il eu connaissance des statues-colonnes de Saint-Denis et de Chartres? . . . Une inscription, gravée sur le portail de Ferrare et dont le second vers est mutilé parait donner pour les sculptures la date de 1135. Si les portails de Vérone et de Ferrare appartiennent réellement à la première moitié du XIIe siècle, ils sont antérieurs au portail vieux de Chartres, et il faut admettre que Nicola ait enrichi la sculpture monumentale de thèmes que les sculpteurs français ne reprendront qu'après lui. . . . Il est permis de se demander si des sculpteurs tels que . . . maître Nicola, l'auteur du portail de San Zeno à Vérone, n'ont pas pu être employés dans le Midi de la France et n'y ont pas exercé quelque influence. Les dates de 1133, pour le cloître d'Aoste, et de 1135, pour le portail de Ferrare, si elles sont admises, obligent l'histoire à reconnaître que l'Italie du Nord a joué un role prépondérant et indépendant, à côté de la France, dans l'événement capital qui se manifeste au commencement du XIIe siècle : la création d'une sculpture monumentale à sujets réligieux.**[1]

However this may be, the resemblances, not only to French art, but to that of the crosses under consideration, are striking. The panels of the door-jamb at Nonantola, already referred to as the work of William,[2] are similar in general plan and in many details [3] to those of the Ruthwell Cross ; while such bas-reliefs as those of the shoemakers and the knife-grinder [4] in the cathedral of Piacenza, or the hunting-scene on the façade of San Zeno at Verona,[5] seem natural precursors of the falconer on the Bewcastle Cross.

Sculptors like William and Nicholas, or at least certain of their disciples or associates, might conceivably have been induced to cross the Alps, and carry to France, if not to Scotland, the tradition and manner of these sculptures of northern Italy. It is certainly noteworthy, in any case, that the sculptures of our Northern crosses find Italian parallels in work that is undoubtedly of the early 12th century.

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[1] Michel 1[2]. 696-700.

[2] See p. 124.

[3] Cf. Venturi 3. 169 (illustration).

[4] Venturi 3. 176-7; cf. p. 125, above.

[5] Venturi 3. 194 : cf. p. 70, above.

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CONCLUSION

At the close of this inquiry, we may well endeavor to summarize its results. The forms of the runic letters do not require an early date, and the fact that no Scandinavian memorial inscriptions antedate 900, and that runic inscriptions occur in England as late as the 12th century, assuredly favors a date much later than the 7th century (see pp. 31–32). The language of the Ruthwell inscription in runes indicates a date not earlier than the 10th century (see pp. 33–37). The nearest parallels to the runic *Gessus Kristtus* of the Bewcastle Cross belong to the end of the 13th century (see p. 37). The word *æft* seems to indicate a date later than 1050 (see pp. 38–40). *Cynnburug* points to the 10th century at earliest (see pp. 43–44). The metrical peculiarities of the poetical inscription on the Ruthwell Cross show that it was a rather clumsy adaptation of certain lines of *The Dream of the Rood* (see p. 40). The word *Alcfripu*, if it actually occurs on the Bewcastle Cross, is the name of a woman rather than of a man, is rather Norse than English, and therefore indicates a date subsequent to the Norse conquest of the Western Isles (see pp. 42–43). The most peculiar letters of the Latin inscriptions have forms which elsewhere occur in inscriptions of the 12th century (see pp. 44–45).

The figure-sculpture points uniformly to the 11th and 12th centuries, with a general preponderance in favor of the 12th (see pp. 45–71).

In the decorative sculpture, the vine occurs over too long a period to furnish the best means of determining the date of our crosses; but Rivoira, the latest expert to examine the Ruthwell carving, favors a period about 1100–1150 (see pp. 14, 78). The chequers indicate the 12th century (see pp. 83–86), the Celtic interlacings the 11th or 12th (see pp. 86–89), and the sundial the late 11th or 12th century see pp. 89–90).

Accordingly, a date not far from 1150 would perhaps harmonize all the indications better than any other that could be named. Upon this supposition, it remains to discover, if possible, what agency might be credited with the erection of the two crosses. One might think of a great prelate, a great abbey, a religious noble, or a religious king. The greatest prelate of the North in those times was undoubt-

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edly Archbishop Thurstan[1] of York; but his authority did not reach so far, he was fully occupied elsewhere, and he died in 1140. The nearest great abbeys were those that had been founded under the influence of King David of Scotland, and none of these had in that century a prepotent abbot known to history. The religious nobles of the surrounding territory were vassals or friends of the same David. Of English kings there were Henry I (1100–1135) and Stephen (1135–1154). Henry was no religious devotee, and Stephen's character excludes him from consideration; besides, neither would have been recognized as lord and master on the Border. David, on the contrary, was prince and king over this region for forty-six years (1107–1153); he was the founder of several monasteries, and a patron of others, like Hexham and Holmcultram; and his heart was bound up in extending Christianity and civilization in his dominions by every possible means.[2] Moreover, by his influence

[1] See p. 120.

[2] That this task required all his powers, that his successors were in general unequal or indisposed to it, and that the temper of the Borderers, at least, was refractory and untamable enough, is clear from history. It has been shown (pp. 125 ff.) that David was under the necessity of importing monks and artificers from France; of his immediate successors, Malcolm IV (1154-1165) died young, and William the Lion (1165-1214) has almost no endowment save the foundation of the abbey of Arbroath to his credit. As to the impression produced by David's religious establishments on his subjects, we have various modern testimonies. Thus Veitch (*Hist. and Poetry of the Scottish Border*, p. 171): 'The Lowland Scot was not, during the middle ages, a very devoted churchman, nor were the religious houses popular, or of high repute in the district.' Elsewhere we are told (*New Stat. Acc.* 3. 308-9): 'It does not appear from the records of the times that the monastery of Kelso ever proved of such advantage to border civilization as its founder anticipated. . . . Yet for this, perhaps, the monks are not to be blamed, so much as the untowardness of the times in which their lot was cast. There never seems to have existed on the border that respect for religious houses, which in other places rendered them safer repositories for literary treasures than the fortresses of kings. Nor do the monks ever seem to have gained that ascendency over the popular mind, which alone could cause the monastery to act as a centre and source of civilization to the surrounding country.' And the remark of Brown is significant (*Hist. Scot.* 1. 96): 'From the first the people resented the burdens imposed on them for the support of an alien clergy; and when another religious revolution came their conduct betrayed what little affection they had inherited towards the church established by David.'

On the lawlessness and wickedness of the region about Bewcastle, see Nanson, *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* 3. 228; *Victoria Hist.*

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at the English court, and his direct relations with France, he was in a position to command the services of accomplished architects and sculptors, as is clearly shown by the character of the monastic buildings erected under his rule ; this has been duly set forth and illustrated in the latter part of our study (pp. 115 ff.), and hence need not be further rehearsed here.

In the absence of more explicit and unequivocal testimony than we have been able to adduce, we may not be warranted in the absolute assertion that David is responsible for the existence of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses ; but when we think of him as the son of the saintly Margaret, the brother-in-law of the scholar-king Henry I, the introducer of Norman piety and skill into Scotland, the fervent adorer of the cross, the tamer of Border barbarism, the man most feared by the desperate, and most beloved by the good, of any who bore rule in English or Scottish Cumbria in the Middle Ages, we can

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Cumb. 2. 78, 452 ; Ferguson, *Hist.Cumb.*, pp. 2, 3 ; *Surtees Soc. Pub.* 68. 437–41, 443, 447, 463-4 ; Scott, *Guy Mannering*, chaps. 22, 23, 24. On the desolateness of the region, see Hutchinson, *Hist. of the County of Cumberland* 1. 36, 76 ; *Archæologia* 14. 117; Denton, quoted by Nanson, *op. cit.*, p. 227; *Surtees Soc. Pub.* 68. lxvii ; on its spoliation by wars (in 1298, etc.), and consequent decay, Hutchinson, *op. cit.* 1. 78. In 1881 Bewcastle had 20 persons to the square mile, while the whole of Cumberland had 165, and England and Wales 447 ; in 1901 the figures were 16, 176, and 558 respectively. For the state of the borderland between Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, in the vicinity of Ruthwell, before 1603, see Johnstone, *Hist. Fam. Dumfriesshire*, pp. 1-2.

On the other hand, with reference to southern Scotland, and the shores of the Solway in particular, see Ruskin, *Præterita* 4. 69, 70, 72, 74 : 'It has . . . been . . . only within the last five or six years that I have fully understood the power, not on Sir Walter's mind merely, but on the character of all good Scotchmen, (much more, good Scotchwomen,) of the two lines of coast from Holy Island to Edinburgh, and from Annan to the Mull of Galloway. Between them, if the reader will glance at any old map which gives rivers and mountains, . . . he will find that all the highest intellectual and moral powers of Scotland were developed, from the days of the Douglases at Lochmaben, to those of Scott in Edinburgh, —Burns in Ayr,—and Carlyle at Ecclefechan, by the *pastoral* country, everywhere habitable, but only by hardihood under suffering, and patience in poverty; defending themselves always against the northern Pictish war of the Highlands, and the southern, of the English Edwards and Percys, in the days when whatever was loveliest and best of the Catholic religion haunted still the—then *not* ruins,—of Melrose, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Kelso, Dunblane, Dundrennan, New Abbey of Dumfries, and, above all, the most

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hardly fail to see that the evidence which points to the middle of the 12th century as the time when our crosses were carved receives an added confirmation from the circumstance that this was precisely the period when the rule of David was at its height.

ancient Cave of Whithorn,—the Candida Casa of St. Ninian. . . . It was only . . . since what became practically my farewell journey in Italy in 1882, that I recovered the train of old associations by re-visiting Tweedside, from Coldstream up to Ashestiel; and the Solway shores from Dumfries to Whithorn; and while what knowledge I had of southern and foreign history then arranged itself for final review, it seemed to me that this space of low mountain ground, with the eternal sublimity of its rocky seashores, of its stormy seas and dangerous sands, its strange and mighty crags, Ailsa and the Bass, and its pathless moorlands, haunted by the driving cloud, had been of more import in the true world's history than all the lovely countries of the South, except only Palestine. . . . *Guy Mannering*, *Redgauntlet*, a great part of *Waverley*, and the beautiful close of *The Abbot*, pass on the two coasts of Solway. The entire power of *Old Mortality* rises out of them. . . . For myself, the impressions of the Solway sands are a part of the greatest teaching that ever I received during the joy of youth.'

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The Literary Relations of "The First Epistle of Peter"

with

Their Bearing on Date and Place of Authorship

BY

ORA DELMER FOSTER, PH.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
BENJAMIN WISNER BACON, D.D., LITT.D., LL.D

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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INTRODUCTION

by

Professor BENJAMIN W. BACON.

There are few writings, if any, besides First Peter, the accurate determination of whose date is a matter of greater moment to the student of Christian origins. Datings vary from before *A.D.* 50 to 115, or later ; and with the question of date that of authenticity is inextricably bound up. Early tradition is unanimous in placing the death of Peter under Nero. Yet Ramsay, stalwart defender as he is of the Petrine authorship, feels compelled to date it under Domitian, compelled by the implications of the Epistle itself regarding official treatment of Christianity. For First Peter speaks of " sufferings accomplished among the brethren throughout the world, penalties appropriate to murderers and thieves visited upon them " for the name of Christ." In fact this " fiery trial " which has come upon the church through the work of Satan, who prowls about it like a roaring lion " seeking whom he may devour " seems to be the one chief occasion of the writing. It stands practically alone among the epistles in its complete silence as to doctrinal differences. Ramsay sees no alternative but to add a score of years more or less to the traditional life-time of Peter, recognizing the extreme difficulty of identifying these general persecutions " for the name " with the local onslaught of Nero in Rome, of which the distinctive feature was prosecution for flagitia cohaerentia nomini.

Even were it found for any reason impossible to maintain the Petrine authorship, accurate determination of the date of First Peter would be of immense advantage for the settlement of a great number of disputed points of criticism ; for scarcely any writing of the canon has so many points of literary connection with others. Itself widely used from an extremely early date it employs to an extraordinary extent the thought and phraseology of others. It stands in the very midst of the stream of literary development. Almost every writing of the New Testament has lines of dependence leading either to it, or from it. And the period within which

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nearly all authorities agree that it must be placed, is just that where light is most needed, the dark subapostolic age from Nero to Trajan. Again the field addressed is just that whose history we most need to trace, the mission field of Paul in Asia Minor. The type of teaching (so far as it is not simply Paul's) comes under the name of Peter, tempting us to correlate it with other sources claiming relationship to this Apostle, in the attempt to define a " Petrinische Lehrbegriff " or " Petrinische Strömung."

These literary relations are undeniably present, and in a degree of abundance which few, we think, will have realized who have not been brought face to face with the facts by some such statistical survey as the following pages afford The data then are before us. The solution of the problem depends simply on the degree of critical acumen with which we can pronounce upon extremely delicate questions of literary employment, more especially of priority in employment. Fortunately evidence of relationship becomes rapidly cumulative, and even the question of priority is not hopeless when real impartiality holds the scales.

We bespeak the careful attention of students of New Testament origins to the data presented by Dr. Foster ; first, because of the importance of the subject, whose ramifications extend even beyond what we have already so briefly indicated ; second, because of the peculiar hopefulness of the effort in view of the superabundance of material ; third, because of the scholarly reserve, caution, and objectivity of Dr. Foster's method ; which allows the reader full liberty to form his own judgment, and aims only to let the facts speak for themselves.

The present writer gladly acknowledges his own indebtedness to the careful comparisons and statistics of Dr. Foster. The outcome, a date not far from 90 *A.D.*, with dependence of First Peter on Ephesians, Romans and Hebrews, and conversely of James, Clement of Rome, and other writers on First Peter, tallies indeed very closely with results previously attained by an important group of scholars. But the evidence, much of which, though available, has hitherto been scattered, acquires far more convincing power when exhibited in due order and classification. The inferences appeal, even to one who has traversed the field before, with new freshness and urgency. To not a few, we believe, the conviction will be brought home that now, at last, we have a definite, fixed point in the sub-apostolic age, a datable literary product of the Pauline mission-field twenty years after Paul's death ; instead of a floating, indeterminate possibility. To others the problem will

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seem to call for further light. To all, as we believe, who give to Dr. Foster's data the attention their careful compilation deserves, the time will prove well spent. One cannot review the evidence, no matter what the verdict, without new insight into the history of primitive Christian thought and literature.

Yale University. BENJ. W. BACON.

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INTRODUCTION

by

The AUTHOR.

In this age of Biblical reconstruction, there is probably no one thing more important to be determined, as a prerequisite for arriving at the truth concerning the History of Christian Origins, than the authorship and date of early documents. Criticism constantly forces us to revise and rewrite our Histories. Unfortunately or otherwise, criticism has robbed us of our "certainty," as concerns the authorship of many of the Canonical books. On discovering that dependence cannot be placed either upon the tradition concerning the authorship or date of certain documents or upon the claims these documents make for themselves, the modern historian is compelled to travel a more difficult path than his predecessors. Though this new path be difficult, and but vaguely defined at places, it is of the greatest importance for an understanding of the early period of Church History that the critical historian follow it to its very end, however wearisome the journey. Unless the dates of the early sources can be accurately determined the historian will ever grope about in uncertainty.

As great and important results were effected in the study of the Old Testament when the Book of Deuteronomy was properly located, so also the correct dating of certain New Testament books will prove to have most significant results for the History of Christian Origins. It is as reasonable to write a history of the Hebrews during the latter half of the second Millenium before our Era on the basis of Deuteronomy as it is to construct a history of the early Church on the basis of the dates sometimes assigned to early documents. Critical History, therefore, necessarily depends upon the most careful judgment of the sources. That which has been done in analysing the sources of the Hexateuch has, in a limited degree, been done also in the New Testament. Valuable service has already been done in bringing to light the sources both of the Gospels and of the Acts, but there is much important work yet to be done.

Much valuable information concerning the Apostolic Age is supplied by the certain dating of the Pauline Epistles, but unfortunately we are left in doubt concerning the Sub-Apostolic Age, because of the dubious dates assigned to the documents of the period. For

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example, there is little agreement among scholars concerning the date of Hebrews, James and I Peter, though they are of the utmost importance for an understanding of this age. After a prolonged battle over the origin of the Gospels, scholars enjoyed a brief period of truce, but they have again been summoned to action by Harnack's recent challenge. That this great scholar should move the dates of the Synoptic Gospels so far back, in the face of all but universal agreement, furnishes a good illustration of the need of more critical study of the literature of this most difficult period.

Probably no one book, if properly located, will throw more light on this puzzling period than the First Epistle of Peter. Though small, it contains, in proportion to its size, perhaps more points of contact with other New Testament literature than any other book of the New Testament. It is exceedingly important that the problems in connection with its authorship be solved. If, as many contend, the Epistle is genuine, it is probably the only written legacy we possess from any of the original "Twelve." Since, as is agreed by scholars of all schools, the Epistle is thoroughly Pauline, we should have, in the case of its genuineness, a key to the solution of the problem of how the Pauline and the Petrine mission fields were ultimately united. But the very difficult problem of how Peter became so thoroughly Paulinized is presented. If the great Apostle to the Circumcision is the author, then important information is here supplied not only regarding the early influence of Paul upon Peter, but also regarding the early development of Christian thought as well as the extent of the Neronian persecutions, which in that case would be alluded to in I Peter.

But if, as others contend, I Peter was not written by the one whose name it bears, it modifies our views of all this period. In this case its evidence amounts to very little in reconstructing the history of the period until it is definitely located in time and place.

Since the date of this Epistle must be determined before certainty can be obtained regarding its authorship, the present inquiry is concerned about its location in time. The Literary Relations have a very small bearing upon the problem of authorship, but much on the question of date.

Of all the disputed books of the New Testament no one is more important to locate. Some make it antedate the Pauline Epistles, others put it as late as the fourth decade of the Second Century. Each decade between these extremes has its claimants for its date. Scholars have differed just as widely as to its place of origin. Some claim that it was written at Babylon on the Euphrates, others that

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it came from Babylon in Egypt or Old Cairo, while still others hold that is was penned in Babylon on the Tiber, or Rome. Obviously therefore the location of the time and place of authorship of the First Epistle of Peter would be of the greatest value to the History of Christian Origins.

Two means of dating are open to us, *i. e.*, (1) the internal evidence, so far as concerned with the happenings of the time, and (2) the literary relations. These must necessarily be kept apart, for any suspicion of one affecting the other tends to invalidate the proof.

Much has been written concerning the date required by the stratum of theological thought found in the Epistle. Many have discussed at great length the date implied by the allusions to the persecutions which were being waged against the Christians at the time of writing. Some also have elaborated lengthy arguments concerning the date implied from the incidental references to ecclesiastical institutions and government. Many New Testament Introductions and Commentaries on I Peter point out some of the more probable points of contact with other literature, but nowhere have these relations been exhaustively or systematically treated. This thesis is limited to the last line of approach, *i. e.*, the Literary Relations.

Nevertheless we may mention briefly some of the problems connected with the external conditions of the Church in the Sub-Apostolic Age. Obviously the Epistle was written during a fiery ordeal, to encourage and to exhort the Christians to endure to the end and to order their conduct in such a way as to avoid as far as possible both social and civil odium. The ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (5 ; 9) seems to indicate that the Imperial Government had adopted a definite policy toward the Christians throughout the world. This inference seems to be borne out by the general tenor of the Epistle. They were persecuted " for the name." Arnold and others are right who claim that the persecutions of Nero did not extend beyond the Capital and its immediate vicinity. The conflict here referred to cannot have been that inaugurated by Nero, nor was it earlier than Domitian. Ramsay has no real evidence for saying that " the Neronian policy was resumed under Vespasian. (C. R. E. p. 282.) Nor need we suppose that the persecutions alluded to are later than Domitian, as many contend. The conditions here are practically the same as those reflected in Hebrews, Revelation and Clement of Rome. These four writings have a common background. They look back to the Neronian outbreak as something that occurred in former times, whereas the present one is a " strange thing." Apparently then this is the beginning of Governmental punishment of the Christians as

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such, throughout the world. A study of the five theories which have been proposed concerning the persecutions alluded to in I Peter, in the light of the data at hand, has led the present writer to the conclusion that those scholars are correct who claim that the " fiery trial," which the Christians were undergoing when the Epistle was written, was caused by Domitian. Assuming the correctness of this conclusion we should be required to date I Peter somewhere between 81 and 95.

The internal conditions of the Church are quite clearly reflected in I Peter. There is a distinct advance over the doctrine as presented by Paul. Though Pauline to the core, I Peter seems to be Post-Pauline in its stage of doctrinal development. " The Christian's freedom from the Law is assumed in a genuine Pauline fashion in 2 ; 16. The tendency is present to give to the ethical side of the Christian life an independent value which it lacks in Paul, who always lays chief stress upon its religious basis. There is a tendency also to emphasize the future and to treat faith as almost synonymous with hope which looks forward to the glory of Christ and his saints, and thus furnishes an incentive to Christian living, instead of making it as clearly and distinctly as it is in Paul the mystical oneness of the believer with Christ. And so baptism in the same way takes on the aspect rather of a pledge of right conduct than a bond between the Christian and his Lord. Similarly the sufferings of Christ are looked upon not simply in their redemptive value, as effecting the death of the flesh, and thus the believer's release from its bondage, but also in their moral value as an example for the Christian. This Epistle bears testimony to the survival after Paul's death of his conception of Christianity in a somewhat modified, but still comparatively pure form." (McGiffert's Apostolic Age p. 486 f.) " Christ, grace, faith—these are the foundations of Christianity. The threefold formula even appears : chosen by God, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, reconciled by Christ. The struggle against Jewish legalism is altogether past and yet Paul's main dogma remains, that redemption is through God's grace alone. It is not difficult to discover many points in which the author of the First Epistle of St. Peter diverges from St. Paul and betrays a tendency to interpret his epistles in a catholic sense." (Wernle's Beg. of Christianity, Eng. tr. Vol. I.) The sinless Christ who died for our redemption is here thought of as the "Suffering Servant " of II Isaiah. This thought is foreign to Paul, but common in later literature. The Pauline doctrine of the preexistence of Christ may be implied if not expressed in 1; 11, 20. Though many scholars think that this doctrine is not implied here,

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others assert that it is, e. g. Bevon, Bigg, Gloag, Holtzmann, Lechler, Pfleiderer, Stevens, etc. The Christology of I Peter occupies a position mid-way between Paul and the Johannine Literature. It also suggests Paul on the one side and the Synoptic Gospels on the other. (For other examples see McGiffert's Apostolic Age p. 486 ; note also the later discussion of John.)

The book reveals no traces of enemies within the Church, as Ephesians, Colossians and the Pastoral Epistles, but the enemies are without. Heresies were no doubt in existence at this time, but they were for the time overlooked, in the more pressing need of saving the Church from being stamped out entirely by Imperial action. The silence as to heresies seems to be as easily accounted for on the assumption that the Epistle was written during this time of external hostility as if it were written before the heresies alluded to in the Pauline Epistles had arisen.

These preliminary conclusions drawn from the external conditions are very important for an understanding of the Epistle, but they will be kept separate from the discussion of the Literary Relations.

In returning to the problem of Literary Relations, it may be said it is a long and difficult one to solve, but that the effort is fully recompensed by the definite results that attend its solution. Knowing as we do, with no little degree of certainty, the date and place of authorship of the greater part of the literature related to the First Epistle of Peter, the determination of the order of dependence would, if accurately done, also determine the approximate date and place of this Epistle. It is hoped therefore that the following study may show, with some degree of accuracy, what literature I Peter presupposes as well as what presupposes it.

The aim has not been to give every possible point of contact between I Peter and all the literature considered, but an effort has been made to record what seemed to the author to be the more important ones. Many more resemblances might have been recorded, but the time and space required to collate them would not be justified by the results obtained. By arranging in parallel columns, in the original language, the more probable points of contact, it is thought that a basis is afforded for some valuable conclusions, both as regards date and place of authorship.

By the very nature of the subject little new material can be advanced. A great percent of the parallels tabulated have already been pointed out by others, yet there are many additional ones discussed, which were discovered independently.

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The method adopted in this thesis is, in the main, that followed by the Oxford Committee, in their excellent little book entitled "The New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers." (1905.) The parallels are arranged in textual order. The order of probable dependence is shown by arranging them into classes A, A*, B, C, C—D, and D. Class A includes those books which mention our Epistle by name. Class A* comprehends those which do not mention the Epistle by name but concerning which there is no real doubt in the author's mind. In class B are found those which reach a very high degree of probability. In class C have been placed those which are of lower degree of probability. Class C—D represents those which give reason to suspect literary acquaintance, but are not sufficiently suggestive to belong in class C. Class D includes all those for which the evidence affords no ground for judgment. Doubtless there are books placed in the last class which are related to I Peter, but since the evidence is not sufficient to prove it they may be classed as doubtful. For example, Colossians shows many points of very probable connection, but since these points, with many others, are also found in Ephesians, it cannot be claimed with any degree of certainty that our author knew Colossians. Under the respective classes named above, the parallels have been arranged in textual order according to the letters a*, b, c, c—d, and d, to which an explanation will apply similar to that given in connection with the capital letters. The present writer has ventured to assign to some books a higher degree of probable dependence than the Oxford Committee has done. It would seem that they have not given due consideration to the value of cumulative evidence. A book containing a number of probable points of connection deserves a higher rating than any single passage in it. Again more evidence should be attached to probable points of contact which show close contextual connection. Peculiar words of themselves mean but little, but when they occur in suggestive connections they become significant.

Many of the parallels were assigned to their respective classes with much hesitancy, and it is not expected that their classification will meet the approval of those who may read them reflectively, but it is hoped that they may represent, on the whole, the real order of connection. The notes represent in part the author's reasons for the various classifications.

The books of the Apostolic Fathers are arranged with the chronological order reversed, beginning at the point of positive reference to I Peter and extending backward to Clement of Rome. Harnack's "Chronologie" has been followed in the main. In the New Testa-

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ment, the order proposed by Professor Bacon (Intr. p. 280) has been adopted with few exceptions.

The New Testament books are treated as wholes. This method, however, is not followed in discussing the Synoptic Gospels. Their sources are first considered, after which the peculiarities of each are reviewed in order. Though Acts is presented as a whole, attention has been called to the comparative degree of probable dependence with the "Petrine" and the "Pauline" divisions of the book. II Peter does not receive separate treatment because it is taken as direct testimony to I Peter.

The application of the method described above has secured some significant results, which are presented in tabular form at the conclusion of the thesis.

It has been made obvious that our author was not an original writer. This fact has proven very greatly to our advantage in locating the Epistle by its literary relations. On the other hand the freedom with which he used his sources makes it often difficult to determine whether he was influenced by a certain document or whether the agreement is due to current teaching. He was an extensive reader but no slavish copyist. He was acquainted with the early Christian writings as well as with the LXX. Scharfe, in his "Petrinische Strömung", shows probably as clearly as anyone how well at home our author was with the LXX, though it must be noted that he has frequently overlooked the more obvious connection with the Pauline Epistles, in his zeal to make a strong case.

The discussion of the Pauline Epistles in the following pages, it is believed, shows conclusively that our Epistle rests directly upon Paul, more especially upon Romans and Ephesians. In addition to the information afforded by the tables at the conclusion of the thesis, it may be stated that no less than fifty percent of the text of I Peter shows a possible connection with the Pauline Epistles, and a great many references find parallels in as many as three of Paul's letters. This fact which is represented by the 218 parallels tabulated, is alone sufficient to show that I Peter depends upon the Pauline literature, notwithstanding the recent claim that no reference is made to this Literature for a century or more.[1] It can be said with a reasonable degree of certainty that the author of I Peter both knew and used Romans and Ephesians. There is much in the points involved, to say nothing of historical considerations, to make it

[1] W. B. Smith in "Der vorchristliche Jesus" (1906). Ch. V. "Saeculi Silentium".

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certain that I Peter depends upon Paul and not vice versa as B. Weiss and Kühl have contended. From the literary relations alone then Ephesians fixes the terminus a quo for I Peter at about 60 *A. D.* Granting with Moffatt that "a copy of Ephesians came back to Rome some years after its circulation in Asia," it would not be safe to fix the earliest possible date for I Peter later than the year 65.

Irenaeus (cir. 186) is the first concerning whose acquaintance with I Peter there is absolute certainty. We are quite certain also that Papias (cir. 150) knew the Epistle. Doubt cannot well be entertained in the case of Polycarp (cir. 115). It appears highly probable that the Johannine Literature (95—100) presupposes I Peter. Clement of Rome quite certainly used it as early as the year 95. From the literary relations alone, therefore, we may fix the termini a quo and ad quem for I Peter with perfect confidence at the years 60 and 95. Granting Moffatt's view to be correct, three decades would still be open for the date of this Epistle.

It is a positive gain to be able to pin this Epistle down to three decades, but it would be of still greater service to know in just which one it should be located. But to do this from the standpoint of literary relations alone requires that we employ the testimony of witnesses that are themselves difficult to locate. Yet if these doubtful writings show literary connections, they have mutual service to render in establishing their respective dates. Fortunately for us this is just the case.

This study has led to the conclusion that the Epistle of James depends upon I Peter. If then, as many scholars contend, Clement of Rome knew and used James, I Peter must have been written not later than 90. At all events it would seem fair, even granting that the Oxford Committee was correct in finding no proof of connection between James and Clement, to fix the terminus ad quem for I Peter at the year 90. On the other hand it appears from our study that the Epistle to the Hebrews is presupposed by I Peter. Practically all scholars admit that Hebrews depends upon Paul. This then would require that we fix the terminus a quo for I Peter much later than the year 60. But how much later? To determine this the internal as well as external evidence of Hebrews will be involved. Yet this is not going beyond the limits of our discussion inasmuch as the question of literary relations was settled independently.

Since both Hebrews and I Peter were written by thorough students of Paul and with similar motives, and under similar circumstances their evidence may fairly be considered as supplementary. Scholars

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are very generally agreed that Hebrews is removed several years from the Neronian Persecution. Granting that Heb. 11; 32 refers to this persecution, 12; 3 f. certainly points to another outbreak against the Christians, which was then in progress but which had not reached its full height. This cannot allude to the Jewish War of 66–70. It was apparently long enough after the destruction of Jerusalem for them to have become reconciled to the catastrophe. We are to conclude therefore, so it seems, with Bacon, Holtzmann, Jülicher, McGiffert, Moffatt, Weizsacker, Von Soden and others, that the persecutions alluded to in Hebrews are those of Domitian. If these conclusions are correct I Peter could not have been written earlier than 85.

Incidentally the foregoing study has afforded an earlier limit for the Epistle of James, as well as a later limit for Hebrews. If, as is here maintained, James depends upon I Peter it must have been written some time after 85, and not early as many contend. But if, as we believe, this study shows, I Peter presupposes Hebrews and the latter comes from the reign of Domitian, we should be required to date James somewhere between 90 and 95. Hebrews would in that case be dated between 81 and 85 and I Peter between 85 and 90.

It may be noted in passing that Pliny, in his correspondence with Trajan in 112, states that in Bithynia, one of the provinces to which I Peter is addressed, " some of the accused assert that they forsook Christianity twenty-five years ago." (Ad Traj. 96, 6.) This apostacy of cir. 87 may very probably have been due to the persecutions that are alluded to in I Peter, whose author aims to prevent this very thing.

We may next consider the place of authorship of our Epistle. It is clear from Table III, p. 535, that the literature which shows the closest relation to I Peter was either written in Rome or Asia Minor, or circulated in those regions very early. Nowhere in the whole realm of early Christian literature does there seem to be any writing, not having to do with the regions just mentioned, that shows any connection with I Peter earlier than Pseudo-Barnabas cir. 135. On the other hand there are many in these localities which show a very probable literary connection. Galatians, written from Corinth and circulating in Asia Minor, was very probably known by our author. I Corinthians, written at Ephesus, seems to have been known by him. There are reasons also to suspect that he knew II Corinthians, which would be apt to circulate in this region. Apparently he knew Hebrews, the evidence of whose existence comes to us first from Rome. It appears highly probably that the author or authors

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of the Johannine literature, who wrote from Ephesus, knew I Peter. So also Ignatius, writing from the same region. We are confident that Polycarp, of Smyrna, was acquainted with our Epistle. It will be noticed in the Table that there are none of those marked "A*" earlier than Polycarp which do not show a direct connection with Rome, e.g. Romans, Ephesians, and Clement of Rome. James may also be added to this list, inasmuch as the first echoes which we have of it are in Rome. All the literature marked "B" or "C" earlier than 160 also shows direct connection with Rome or Asia Minor or both, unless it be Titus, which will hardly be counted an exception.

The silence of the literature of other places, as well as that of these localities in the period assigned to I Peter is quite as significant as the direct references; for manifestly some time must be allowed for acquaintance with the Epistle to extend, and more as the remoteness increases. Both lines of evidence converge, therefore upon the conclusion that I Peter was written in Rome cir. 87–90.

In addition to the conclusion just reached regarding the date and place of authorship of I Peter, this study has other important results. The bearing that it has on the problem of dating the Synoptic Gospels should not be overlooked. If, as Harnack claims, the Gospels are so early one is surprised not to find them reflected more in I Peter. It may be claimed that the author was acquainted with the Synoptic tradition in some form, but there is very little, if indeed anything, to indicate that he knew our Gospels. There is no real evidence that he knew the "Q" source. The real evidence for literary connection between I Peter and the Markan source is reduced to I Peter 2; 7 = Mark 12; 10. (See discussion on Mk. Ex. 5.) Were we to grant that these passages show a direct literary connection, there is nothing to prove the priority of Mark. There seems to be nothing peculiar to Matthew or Luke which would justify the claim of literary connection. It seems strange that our author, susceptible as he was to literary influences, did not make more use of the Synoptic Gospels, if they were written as early as Harnack contends. This silence is against Harnack's position. It would seem therefore, if for example, Mk. 12; 10 is directly connected with I Peter, that the priority must be given to the latter and not to the former.

The Johannine Literature is also involved in the dating of I Peter. If the conclusions reached here are correct, namely that the Johannine Literature presupposes I Peter as a necesssary connecting link between it and Paul, they have a very important bearing, not only on the development of doctrine in Asia Minor, but also on the vexed problem of the Johannine authorship. Many ideas merely suggested by

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Paul, which were more fully expressed in I Peter, are found in the Johannine Literature in fully developed form; in speeches, narratives, prayers, etc. That is to say these anecdotes seem to presuppose the "Petrine" development. Apparently, then, the Pauline thought travelled in part by way of I Peter.

This study also has a significant bearing on other problems of Church History. It shows the influence that Rome wielded over the Pauline Churches in Proconsular-Asia at this very early period. The relations of Roman Christianity to that of Asia Minor were indeed of the most delicate kind (cf. Rom. 1; 11 f. and 15; 15–29). The process of annexation of the great Pauline mission field after Paul's death was of the utmost concern and required the greatest possible skill. This could only be effected from Rome, not from Jerusalem, and necessarily from the "Petrine" wing, which we have reason to believe became dominant in Rome between 70 and 95. This our Epistle helped to accomplish by endorsing Paul's doctrine and fellow workers (cf. I Peter 5; 12 with the contemporary Acts 15; 13–17).

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Part I.—APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

TERTULLIAN

A

Scorpiace XII (written cir. 220) "Addressing the Christians of Pontus, Peter, at all events, says" . . . quoting I Pt. 2; 20.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

A

(Cir. 200)

INSTRUCTOR I, 6. "Peter says" . . . quoting I Pt. 2; 1–3.

IRENÆUS

A

(Cir. 186)

IV, ix, 2 "Peter says in his Epistle" . . . quoting I Pt. 1; 8.

IV, xvi, 5 "And for this reason Peter says" . . . quoting I Pt. 2; 16.

V, vii, 2 "And this it is which has been said also by Peter" . . . quoting I Pt. 1; 8.

PAPIAS

A

(145–160)

Eusebius (H. E. III, xxxix, 17) quotes Papias as follows; κέχρηται δ' αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως.

II CLEMENT

(Cir. 170)

C

c

(1)

II Clem. XIV, 2	I Pt. 1; 20
ἐφανερώθη δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ	φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι' ὑμᾶς.

This striking resemblance receives additional significance when we note with Benecke (N. T. in Apost. Fath.) that ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ζωῆς (XVI, 1) occurs in the same contextual connection. Cf. λίθοι ζῶντες of I Pt. 2; 4. Bishop Lightfoot thinks the context of II Clement at this point refers to Eph. 1; 23.

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(2)

II Clem. XVI, 4	I Pt. 4; 8
ἀγάπη δὲ καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν	ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν

Although this is an exact parallel we cannot be certain that it is quoted from our Epistle. It occurs also in I Clem. XLIX, 5, in which place it is discussed.

The above parallels are close even in details, yet the probabilities of dependence are of a low degree.

JUSTIN

(Cir. 153—155)

B

b

(1)

Trypho 116	I Pt. 2; 9
ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς	ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον

No other book in the Bible furnishes a passage so nearly resembling this as I Pet. 2; 9.

(2)

Trypho 138	I Pt. 3; 18-21

Mr. Bigg thinks there is a reference here to I Pt. 3; 18—21. Inasmuch as the story of Noah is commented upon in the same manner, it seems to imply a knowledge of this passage. Noah is a type of Baptism, the eight persons are dwelt upon, and we find close together ἀνάγενναν, διεσώθη, δι' ὕδατος. Further similarity is noted in reference to Jesus' resurrection and exaltation, following in the same order as in our Epistle.

c

(3) Apol. 1; 61 uses ἀναγεννάω, which is peculiar to I Peter. The thought however, in this connection is nearer that of John 3; 5, than that of our Epistle. In I Pt. 1; 3 the word refers to the new birth of a "lively hope," accomplished by the resurrection of Jesus. In the other reference (I Pt. 1; 23) the Christian is born again not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the word of God, and not by baptism as in Justin.

(4)

Trypho 116	I Pt. 4; 12
τῆς πυρωσέως, ἣν πυροῦσιν ὑμᾶς. ὅ τε διάβολος καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ὑπηρέται πάντες.	μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ.

Bigg thinks Justin quite clearly alludes to I Peter here. He rightly points out that πύρωσις in this sense is peculiar to I Peter.

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We should not overlook the fact however, that although the word has a different application in Rev. 18; 9, 18, the thought is quite like this section.

(5) Trypho 119 I Pt. 2; 10

ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ μόνον, λαὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ λαὸς ἅγιος ἔσμεν

Οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαός, νῦν δὲ λαὸς Θεοῦ.

It is obvious that Bigg is right in saying " Justin is here referring to Isa. 52; 12." The suggestion might come either from Rom. 9; 25 ff, or I Peter.

d

6) Trypho 85 I Pt. 1; 19

Here Justin exhorts not to blaspheme " Him who . . . . is the ἀμωμος, and in all things irreproachable Christ Jesus." Well does Bigg cite Heb. 9; 14 as a possible reference, for it seems more probable that Justin had it in mind, rather than I Pt. 1; 19, inasmuch as he would have given in all probability a better connection to both the thought and words, ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ. Cf. also Eph. 1; 4, 5; 27, Col. 1; 22, Jude 24, Rev. 14; 5.

(7) Trypho 110 I Pt. 1; 19

We have here a parallel to the one just mentioned in 35. In the later chapter of the " Dialogue," the word "ἄσπιλος," with others, is used to point out the perfection of Jesus as " the most righteous and only spotless and sinless one." Our Epistle compares Jesus' blood to that of a lamb without spot or blemish. I Pt. 1; 19 . . . αἵματι ὡς ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ. The word here refers directly to ἀμνὸς rather than to Χριστοῦ as Bigg would make it. Similar usage may be seen in I Tim. 6; 14 i. e., τηρῆσαί σε τὴν ἐντολὴν ἄσπιλον. Cf. also Jas. I; 27 and II Pt. 3; 14.

(8) Trypho 114 I Pt. 2; 6

τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου is very suggestive of I Pt. 2; 6, but on close examination it becomes evident that Justin's mind was imbued with the O. T. references, more especially Isa. 28; 16. Yet it may have been suggested by I Peter.

Mr. Bigg rightly concludes that it is probable but not certain that Justin knew I Peter. Chapters 114, 119, and 138 of the " Dialogue with Trypho," taken together, intensify the probabilities of literary dependence.

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BARNABAS
(131–160 Harnack)

A*

b

(1) Bar. IV, 11 f.

μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ... (12) ὁ Κύριος ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρινεῖ τὸν κόσμον. ἕκαστος καθὼς ἐποίησεν κομεῖται. ἐὰν ἦ ἀγαθὸς, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν ἦ πονηρός, ὁ μισθὸς τῆς πονηρίας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.

I Pt. 1; 17

καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε, τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε.

Cf. also II Cor. 5; 10.

Dr. Bartlet (N. T. in Apost. Fathers) thinks this affords no argument for literary dependence, either on II Corinthians or I Peter, "though the likenesses are striking in both cases." It is significant however that ἀπροσωπολήμπτως, which is peculiar to our Epistle, is used just in the same connection as in I Peter. The "ἐὰν clauses" on the other hand appear to be developed from "εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε κακόν" of II Cor. 5; 10. Since I Pt. 1; 17 implies all that is included in the clauses, just alluded to, the probabilities are yet in favor of our Epistle. It is also important to note the employment in verse 11 of ναὸς τέλειος τῷ Θεῷ which corresponds to οἶκος πνευματικός of I Pt. 2; 5. Reference to "the last days" in verse 9 is also suggestive of I Pt. 1; 5, 20.

(2) Bar. V, 5, 6, 7

πῶς οὖν ὑπέμεινεν ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπων παθεῖν; μάθετε. 6. οἱ προφῆται, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν δείξῃ, ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι, ὑπέμεινεν. 7. ἵνα καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν ἐπαγγελίν ἀποδῷ.

I Pt. 1; 10

περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηρεύνησαν προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες· (11) ἐρευνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα, καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας.

Dr. Bartlet rightly sees a twofold parallelism here with our Epistle; "(1) prophecy foreshadows Christ's passion and its sequel, and (2) this is due to grace proceeding from himself." Attention should have been called also to the close parallel in the clause im-

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mediately following Mr. Bartlet's reference. See just below. Bigg contends that Barnabas used I Peter here. See Com. p. 108.

(3)

Bar. V, 7	I Pt. 2; 9
αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν ἑτοιμάζων ἐπιδείξῃ.	ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν.

Following the preceding parallel this striking similarity is very significant.

(4)

Bar. V, 13	I Pt. 2; 24
αὐτὸς δὴ ἐθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν. ἔδει γαρ ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλον πάθῃ.	ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον.

This reference shows closer kindship to our Epistle than to any other passage of scripture. Gal. 3; 13 is the next closest parallel in the N. T., but clearly "Barnabas" is not following it at this point.

c

(5)

Bar. I, 6	I Pt. 1; 9
ζῶης ἐλπις, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος πίστεως ἡμῶν	κομιζόμενοι τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν

This similarity is probably due to common currency. Cf. the parallel usage immediately following i. e. δικαιοσύνη, κρίσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος. It is to be noted however that reference is made to the prophets in the contexts following the citations. Cf. I. 7 with I Pt. 1; 10.

Bar. V, 1	I Pt. 1; 2
ἵνα τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἁγνισθῶμεν, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ῥαντίσματος αὐτοῦ	ἐν ἁφιασμῷ Πνεύματος, εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. 1; 19, Heb. 12; 24, 13; 12.

Were we to follow C and the Lat. of Barnabas (i. e. ἐν τῷ ῥαντίσματι αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος., Lat. sparsione sanguinis illius); we should have here a closer parallel with I Peter than with Hebrews, but as Professor Bartlet says "all depends on the reading adopted; and as ℵ is as likely to be right as C and a version, we must leave the phrase out of account." The similar use however made of the "suffering servant" of Isaiah is in favor of dependence on I Peter. Cf. V, 2 with I Pt. 1; 19, 2; 21 f., 3; 18, 4; 1.

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(7)

Bar. V, 5	I Pt. 2; 21
ὁ Κύριος ὑπέμεινεν παθεῖν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν	Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. 4; 1 Χριστοῦ παθόντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σαρκί.

Barnabas is quite suggestive of I Peter at this point.

(8)

Ibid.	I Pt. 1; 20
ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου	πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου

The context (ὧν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου Κύριος, ᾧ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς) connecting this parallel with the one just cited is in favor of considering this verbatim agreement to be merely accidental, yet it occurs in significant connections in both books.

(9)

Bar. VI, 2 (Isa. 28; 16b)	I Pt. 2; 6
Ἰδοὺ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιὼν λίθον πουτελῆ, ἐκλεκτόν, ἀκρογωνιαῖον, ἔντιμον	ἰδού, τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον ἀγρογωνιαῖον, ἐκλεκτόν, ἔντιμον.

Quoted from the LXX, but probably suggested by I Peter as will be seen by the following parallels.

(10)

Bar. VI, 3	Isa. 28; 16b	I Pt. 2; 6
ὃς ἐλπίσει ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ	ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.

Since "Barnabas" purports to be quoting from "the prophet," the passage is a good commentary on his method of quoting. That he is not following the original is obvious from the text itself. (הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ). Ἐλπίζω is here used in the sense of πιστεύω as in I Pt. 3; 5, ἐλπίζουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν. This usage is rare in the N. T. Paul may parallel it in Rom. 15; 12 and Phil. 2; 19, yet in the latter case it refers to desire mingled with trust. Other probable examples are I Tim. 4; 10, 5; 5. It seems on the whole altogether likely that our "Epistle of Hope" may have influenced "Barnabas" to employ unconsciously ἐλπίζω for πιστεύω.

(11)

Bar. VI, 4	I Pt. 2; 7b
λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.	λίθος ὃν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.

There is nothing here but the context by which to determine whether "Barnabas is quoting" Ps. 118; 22 independently or at the suggestion of our Epistle. If he is following Rom. 8; 33 it

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is probably by way of I Peter, since the wording, order and context of the latter is more in accord with this Epistle at this point.

When taken alone the quotations taken from Chap. VI mean but little, but since they occur in the same context in the same order and are connected with a variation suggestive of Petrine influence, dependence is highly probable. Among the infinite number of possible combinations the above could be a mere coincidence, but exceedingly improbable.

It may also be said in this connection that Chap. VI lays stress upon some Petrine ideas which are worthy of note, e. g. " hope " v. 3, λίθος for Christ, 1—4, " recreation " 11, 14, corresponding to I Pt. 1 ; 3, 23, and the suffering of Christ.

d

(12)	Bar. I, 6	I Pt. 5; 1
	ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν δείξω ὀλίγα	συνπρεσβύτερος 12, δι' ὀλίγων

This parallel of Monnier's need not detain us.

(13)	Bar. XVI, 10	I Pt. 2; 5
	πνευματικὸς ναὸς	οἶκος πνευματικός

We have here no clear evidence either for or against acquaintance with our Epistle. Yet the reference to " temple building " and "new creation in v. 8 may have a direct bearing on the question.

Conclusion.

It has been seen that Chapter V seems to be thoroughly imbued with Petrine thought and expressions. The same use made of Isa. 53 in regard to Christ, and the close and quite continuous sequence of Petrine ideas make it highly probable that " Barnabas " here depends upon I Pt. 1 and 2. The sequence and the variations of the references in Chap. VI also add weight to the above observation.

Hesitation and consideration should characterise any statement which is adverse to the opinion of great scholars, yet on the basis of the combined evidence of Chapters IV—VI, it seems necessary to conclude that " Barnabas " knew and used our Epistle.

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SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

(Written cir. 140)

B

b

(1)	Vision III, xi, 3	I Pt. 5; 7a	Ps. 54; 23a
	οὐκ ἐπερίψατε ἑαυτῶν τὰς μέριμνας ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον	πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν ἐπιρίψαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν [τὸν Θεόν]	ἐπιριψον ἐπὶ Κύριον τὴν μέριμνάν σου
(2)	Vis. IV, ii, 4	I Pt. 5; 7b	Ps. 54; 23b
	ἐξέφυγες . . . ὅτι τὴν μέριμνάν σου ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπερίψας . . . (5) ἐπιρίψατε τὰς μερίμνας ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ αὐτος κατορθώσει αὐτάς.	ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν	καὶ αὐτός σε διαθρέψει

Principal Drummond has pointed out these parallels. (N. T. in Apost. Fathers.) He thinks this quotation is taken independently from Ps. 54. Bishop Lightfoot is undecided between the Psalm and our Epistle. Perhaps Drummond disposes of the comparison too readily. The fact that the huge beast, used as a type of direful tribulation, is given in connection with the echo of I Pt. 5; 7, makes it very probable that Hermas had in mind also I Pt. 5; 8b.

(3)	Sim. IX, xiv, 6	I Pt. 4; 14-16	Poly. VIII, 2
	οὐκ ἐπαισχύνονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ φορεῖν. xxi, 3.	εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ . . . πασχέτω . . . εἰ ὡς Χριστιανός μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνοματι τούτῳ.	εἀν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι' ἑαυτοῦ. Mk. 8; 38, Lk. 9; 26.
	ὅταν θλῖψιν ἀκούσωσι . . . τὸ ὄνομα ἐπαισχύνονται τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτῶν. xxviii, 5, 6.		
	οἱ πάσχοντες ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος δοξάζειν ὀφείλετε τὸν Θεὸν, ὅτι ἀξίους ὑμᾶς ἡγήσατο ὁ Θεὸς ἵνα τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα βαστάζητε . . . πεπόνθατε ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος Κυρίου		ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με. Cf. Acts 5; 41.

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Sim. VIII, vi, 4

ἐπαισχυνθέντες τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου
τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς

Again we are indebted to Mr. Drummond for this careful analysis, as well as for his comment upon the same. He thinks there is here a probable reminiscence of I Peter, which inference is confirmed from the parallel from Polycarp, for the latter has just quoted I Peter, and that he still has the Epistle in mind is indicated by the last clause. Cf. I Pt. 2 ; 21. Bigg only calls attention to the parallel between Sim. IX, xxviii, 5 and I Pt. 4 ; 15. Lightfoot and Crombie fail to record any of these parallels just given. Though a few accidental catch words as πάσχω, ἐπαισχύνονται, ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος, etc. may but suggest our Epistle, the general tenor of the passage, especially ch. 28, in connection with the verbal likeness, and the reference in Polycarp, all combine to make a strong case for literary dependence.

c

(4)

Vis. III, iii, 5	I Pt. 2 ; 5
ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν διὰ ὕδατος ἐσώθη καὶ σωθήσεται	ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε, κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ, εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι . . . διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος . . . σώζει βάπτισμα.

Drummond thinks the idea of salvation through water springs too readily from the practice of baptism to justify one in claiming literary dependence. The verbal similarity however is worthy of note.

(5)

Sim. IX, xxix, 1, 3	I Pt. 2 ; 1, 2	Mt. 18 ; 3
ὡς νήπια βρέφη εἰσί, οἷς οὐδεμία κακία ἀναβαίνει ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν . . . ὅσοι οὖν . . .	ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν . . . ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη	γένησθε ὡς τὰ παιδία. Cf. I Cor. 3 ; 1, and 14 ; 20.

In I Pt. 2 ; 1 and I Cor. 14 ; 20 it is the blamelessness of the babe which is considered, where-as in I Cor. 3 ; 1 and I Pt. 2 ; 2 its diet. Sim. IX, xxix is more likely to have been suggested by I Pt. than by I Cor.

(6) Mand. VIII, 10

Bigg calls attention to a list of " Petrine words close together " here i. e. φιλόξενος, ἡσύχιος, ἀδελφότης and ἀγαθοποίησις = (ἀγαθο-

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ποίια). The first is found not only in I Pt. 4 ; 9 but also in I Tim. 3 ; 2 and Tit. 1 ; 8. The second occurs in I Pt. 3 ; 4, and in I Tim. 2 ; 2, while ἡσυχία is found in Acts 22 ; 2, II Thes. 3 ; 12 and I Tim. 2 ; 11, 12. The third is peculiar to I Peter, being found only in 2 ; 17 and 5 ; 9. The exact form of the last is not found in the N. T., but the allied form ἀγαθοποιός is only in I Pt. 2 ; 14. The verbal form ἀγαθοποιέω is common in the N. T. Cf. Mk. 3 ; 4, Lk. 6 ; 9, 33, 35, Acts 14 ; 17, and III Jn. 11. It is indeed a favorite word of our author. Cf. I Pt. 2 ; 15, 20, 3 ; 6, 17.

d

(7) Vis. III, v, 1

τῶν λίθων τῶν ὑπαγόντων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομήν

I Pt. 2 ; 5

λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς . . .

This is indeed suggestive of our Epistle, especially as a development of the figure. The figure however, is too common to guarantee any degree of certainty for dependence.

(8) Vis. IV, iii, 4

ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρός . . . οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς δοκιμάζεσθε

I Pt. 1 ; 7

τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου.

Drummond can see no connection here with our Epistle. Bishop Lightfoot is not sure. When taken alone we cannot lay any weight on this parallel, though it is suggestive.

(9) Sim. IX, xii, 2, 3

ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερος ἐστίν . . . ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερὸς ἐγένετο

I Pt. 1 ; 20

χριστοῦ προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων.

Heb. 1 ; 2

ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν. I Jn. 3 ; 5. ἐκεῖνος ἐφανερώθη Col. 1 ; 15. πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

These parallels, borrowed from Drummond, show close similarity in thought and phraseology. Yet stress cannot be placed on the likenesses, inasmuch as the same thought and forms of expression

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are to be found elsewhere, also that the context does not refer to our Epistle. Mr. Crombie (Antenicene Fathers II, 47) sees here a reference to I Peter, but Bishop Lightfoot fails to record it.

(10)

Sim. IX, xvi, 5	I Pt. 4 ; 6
οὗτοι οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κοιμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει καί πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγῖδα τοῦ κηρύγματος	οἱ ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκὶ ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι.

Bigg thinks Hermas here is explaining I Pt. 4 ; 6, and bases his argument largely on the occurrence of the "Petrine word ζωοποιεῖν" just before the reference cited. This is indeed suggestive, yet a dubious argument since the "Petrine word" is really a Pauline word. It occurs but once in our Epistle (3; 18), but Paul uses it seven or eight times. Cf. Rom. 4; 17, 8; 11, I Cor. 15; 22, 36, 45, II Cor. 3; 6, Gal. 3; 21. See also I Tim. 6; 13, Jn. 5; 21a, and b, 6; 63. The thought of the passage is close to that of I Peter, yet our Epistle no where speaks of the ἀπόστολοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι preaching to the dead. Just above in I Pt. 3; 19 our author has told of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison Possibly this may refer to I Peter, but the "harrowing of hell" is a mythological loan of early Christianity not confined to our Epistle. Drummond, Crombie and Lightfoot fail to record this as a parallel.

On the cumulative evidence of all the foregoing parallels it would seem that we are justified in claiming a higher degree of probable dependence of Hermas on our Epistle than Drummond, or even Monnier, who says, after pointing out that Westcott, Gebhardt and Harnack see striking resemblances, that: "On ne peut en dire autant de l'ecrit de Pierre; mais il est fort possible pourtant qu' Hermas le connaisse."

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DIDACHE

(120 or later)

D

d

(1)

Did. I, 3	I Pt. 2; 19
ποιά γὰρ χάρις ἐάν . . .	τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ . . .

Though the phrase is similar the passage does not deserve serious attention.

(2)

Did. I, 4	I Pt. 2; 11
ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν	ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμῶν

Professor Lake (N.T. in A.F.) thinks the connection, if any, comes through a later gloss of σαρκικῶν from our Epistle, and as evidence that the tautologous form σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν was not original, cites IV Macc. 1; 32, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι ψυχικαὶ αἱ δὲ σωματικαί. This argument however is based on an assumption that has less in its favor than the conjecture that it is an actual quotation. The context has nothing to suggest I Peter but this was to be expected inasmuch as the whole document is a mosaic of scriptural references taken almost at random. The evidence either way is too slight to warrant one recognizing more than a possible connection.

(3)

Did. II, 6	I Pt. 5; 5
ὑπερήφανος	ὑπερηφάνοις

This parallel, pointed out by Monnier, need not detain us, since the word is not peculiar to I Peter, nor is the context as suggestive of it as of " James."

(4)

Did. IV, 11	I Pt. 2; 18
ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν . . . ἐν φοβῷ	οἱ οἰκέται, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φοβῷ

In addition to this very similar phrasing, the context also has ideas which suggest our Epistle. Compare ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ, (v. 9,) with such passages as I Pt. 5; 5, 2; 17. Compare also οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι (v. 10) with ἀπροσωπολήπτως of I Pt. 1; 17 and the Petrine doctrine of election, The combination of these inferences makes dependence somewhat

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probable, yet there is very little here which cannot be paralleled in the Pauline Literature. Cf. Eph. 6 ; 5.

(5)	Did. XVI, 4	I Pt. 4; 3
	ἀθέμιτα	ἀθεμίτοις

Merely accidental.

(6)	Did. XVI, 5	I Pt. 4 ; 12
	εἰς τὴν πύρωσεν τῆς δοκιμασίας	πυρώσει πρὸς πειραομὸν
		I Pt. 1 ; 7
		διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένον

This figure is too common to betray dependence.

The foregoing study justifies us in claiming for the Didache no more than a very doubtful connection with I Peter.

Harnack, with Lightfoot and others, sees no connection here with our Epistle, but notes certain resemblances to Jude and II Peter. (See Art. in Schaff. Herzog Relig. Enc.) The Oxford committee notes but one parallel.

POLYCARP
Cir. 115

A*

a*

(1)	Poly. I, 3	I Pt. 1; 8
	εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καί δεδοξασμένῃ	ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ

This reference clearly depends upon I Peter.

(2)	Pol. II, 1	I Pt. 1 ; 21
	πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν	τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα

The dependence here is too obvious to require any comment.

(3)	Pol. VIII, 1	I Pt. 2 ; 24
	ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον,	ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον.

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(4)	Ibid.	I Pt. 2; 22
	ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ	ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ
(5)	Ibid.	I Pt. 2; 21
	ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς	ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
(6)	Ibid.	I Pt. 2; 24
	ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμενειν	ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν.
(7)	Pol. VIII, 2	I Pt. 4; 16
	ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζωμεν αὐτόν	εἰ δὲ ὡς χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ
(8)	Ibid.	I Pt. 2; 21
	τοῦτον γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε	ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν

These parallels in Pol. VIII have been pointed out by all scholars. That Polycarp drew in VIII, 1 from I Pt. 2 ; 21—24, seems to beyond all doubt. Though he has not followed the order of our Epistle he has not only reproduced its thought but its phraseology verbatim.

The first reference under VIII, 2 is drawn from another context but clearly echoes I Peter. The second reference returns to the context drawn from in VIII, 1. Since ὑπογραμμόν occurs no where else in the N. T., there can be but little doubt but that the last parallel presupposes our Epistle. Mr. Benecke notices that in the place where I Peter is dependent on Isaiah, Polycarp seems clearly to be dependent on I Peter. Cf. I Pt. 2 ; 22 with Isa. 53 ; 9. Isaiah employs ἀνομίαν where I Peter uses ἁμαρτίαν. Other differences occur, but Polycarp gives verbatim the form found in our Epistle.

(9)	Pol. X, 2	I Pt. 2; 12 (Vulg.)	I Pt. 2; 12
	Omnes vobis invicem subjecti estote, conversationem vestram irreprehensiblem habentes in gentibus ut es bonis operibus vestris et vos laudem	conversationem vestram inter Gentes habentes bonam ; ut in es, quod detrectant de vobis tamquam de malefactoribus vos considerantes, glo-	τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ὀν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσιν τῷ

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accipiatis et Dominus in vobis non blasphemetur.	rificent Deum in die visitationis. 5; 5 Omnes autem invicem, (subditi estote. 5; 4).	Θεῷ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς. ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον. 5; 5 πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις (ὑποταγητε 5; 4).

Benecke, after quoting the above, states : " the second clause in the passage seems to be a certain quotation from I Pt." Bishop Lightfoot thinks there may be a reference in the first part of the quotation to Eph. 5 ; 21. It is significant that in X. 1 the word " exemplar " occurs, corresponding to the ὑπογραμμὸν of Jesus in I Pt. 2; 21, in close conjunction with " fraternitatis," which likewise corresponds to another word peculiar to our Epistle. i. e. ἀδελφότητα of I Pt. 2 ; 17. These two words, it is noticed, occur in I Peter in rather close contextual connexion. These observations make Benecke's conclusion all the more certain, that Polycarp here shows dependence upon I Peter.

b

(10)

Pol. II, 1	I Pt. 1 ; 13
διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας δουλεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ	διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν

Although this citation has a certain affinity with Eph. 6 ; 14 the probabilities are that the Pauline thought reached Polycarp via our Epistle. The context seems to demand such a conclusion.

(11)

Pol. II, 2	I Pt. 3 ; 9
μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντι κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας	μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας

Benecke thinks this verbatin agreement may be accounted for, as a common proverb which both are quoting. This however is rendered highly improbable, inasmuch as Polycarp had just quoted from I Peter. If it is a common proverb, in all probability it was suggested by our Epistle.

c

(12)

Pol. I, 3	1 Pt. 1; 12
εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν	εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.

Though Lightfoot, Bigg and others fail to find any reference here to our Epistle, Benecke is correct in claiming a possible connection on the basis of the certain quotation just preceding it.

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(13)	Pol. V, 3	I Pt. 2; 11
	καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος στρατεύεται.	ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς

This is probably a free quotation from I Peter, yet its close relationship with such passages of Paul as Gal. 5 ; 16, 17, and Rom. 13 ; 14, render it somewhat doubtful.

The foregoing study in the Epistle of Polycarp seems to justify us, without further comment, though numerous other minor likenesses might be pointed out, in adopting Monnier's conclusion, " L'épitre de Polycarpe aux Philippiens contient les citations les plus expresses et les plus détaillées de l'épitre de Pierre, mais sans le nommer comme l'auteur." (" La Première Épitre De L'Apôtre Pierre " p. 307). Eusebius is also responsible for the statement that " Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians, still extant, has made use of certain testimonies taken from the First Epistle of Peter." Though Polycarp never mentions the name of Peter in connection with the quotations there can be no doubt but that he used the " First Epistle " that bears the Apostle's name.

TESTAMENTA XII PATRIARCHARUM

D

Bigg, in basing the date of this document on the authority of Sinker, who puts it in the latter part of the First Century or the early part of the Second, gives it a voice in deciding our problem. But if Professor Charles is right in dating the original in the closing years of the Second Century B. C.[1] there can be but little value in its testimony, since the date of the Christian interpolations is much more indefinite than the date of I Peter itself. (Cf. also the articles by F. C. Conybeare and K. Kohler in the Jewish Encyclopedia.) The Parallels between the two books may be due either to dependence by the writer of I Peter on the earlier Jewish document or to later Christian interpolations from I Peter. At all events this book complicates rather than helps to solve our problem.

[1] Greek Version of the " Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs ", p. ix.

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IGNATIUS
(Writing Cir. 110—117)

B

b

(1)

Mag. VIII, 2	I Pt. 1; 10 f.
ἐμπνεόμαι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος (αὐτοῦ) (X)	προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες .... ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ

Inspiration of the prophets by the preexistent spirit of Christ is not a common idea in the N. T., though it occurs in Heb. 2; 11—13. 10; 5—9. Since there are " several ideas in common " in the immediate contexts of the above passages, (cf. Lightfoot's Apos. Fathers, II, 125,) dependence on our Epistle is far more probable than on the Epistle to the Hebrews, the thought of whose context is quite foreign to the thought of Ignatius in this section.

c

(2)

Eph. V, 3	I Pt. 5; 5 c
ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται	ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται

It seems impossible to determine definitely whether the author was quoting Prov. 3; 34 directly, or whether he was influenced either by I Peter or James 4; 6 or Clement of Rome (30; 2). The order is neither that of the original in the LXX, not that of any of the later writers. The change of Κύριος for ὁ Θεὸς shows later influence. The context in wich the quotation occurs both in Clement and James is not in accord with the context in Ignatius. On the other hand the context of our Epistle is quite in accord with that of Ignatius, who gives immediately after the quotation σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, corresponding exactly to ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις of I Pt. 5; 5a. The context preceding the quotation is an exhortation to humility, quite in harmony with I Pt. 5; 5b. If there be literary dependence, therefore, it is probably on our Epistle, but we are dealing with a mere " winged word," a memoniter quotation. The value of the datum will be largely determined by the number of other instances in Ignatius.

(3)

Eph. IX, 1	I Pt. 2; 5
ὡς ὄντες λίθοι ναοῦ προητοιμασμένοι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρός	ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς

Both the thought and phraseology are very suggestive of our Epistle. Ignatius shows however some points of likeness to I Cor. 3; 16. The probabilities seem to be in favor of I Peter.

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(4) Mag. IX, 3

οὗ καὶ οἱ προφῆται μαθηταὶ ὄντες τῷ πνεύματι ὡς διδάσκαλον αὐτὸν προσεδόκων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὃν δικαίως ἀνέμενον, παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν

I Pt. 3 ; 19

ἐν ᾧ (πνεύματι) καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, 4 ; 6 νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη,

The idea that Jesus descended into Hades, (drawn probably from Eph. 4 ; 9, which is developed in I Pt. 3 ; 19, and 4 ; 6, into the doctrine that Christ preached there to release the spirits from prison) receives even fuller development here. This idea was too prevalent in the Second Century to enable us to be certain that Ignatius was depending directly upon our Epistle, though the general context seems to make it probable. See also Mt. 27 ; 51–53, Justin, Dial. 72; Hermas, Sim. IX, 16 and Clem. of Alex. Strom. II, 9.

d

(5) Mag. VIII, 2

οἱ γὰρ Θειότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν. Cf. Philad. V.

I Pt. 1 ; 11

ἔν αὐτοῖς (προφήταις) πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ

All depends on the interpretation of "κατὰ" as to whether this is a parallel or not.

This study of the Ignation Epistles has not discovered sufficient ground for asserting literary dependence on our Epistle. It merely shows the prevalence of certain ideas which are more likely to have been suggested by it than by any other writing to which we can definitely point.

CLEMENT OF ROME

(95)

A*

b

(1) Clem. Int.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη (ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) πληθυνθείη

I Pt. 1 ; 1

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη

Bishop Lightfoot observes that "χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη is the common salutation of Paul, excepting the Pastoral Epistles. With the addition πληθυνθείη, however, it occurs only in the two Epist-

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les of Peter, from whom probably Clement derived the form, as the First Epistle is frequently quoted by him." (Clem. of Rome I, p. 647.) Cf. also his "Notes on the Epistles of Paul", p. 8. Against this it may be urged that Clement is here borrowing from Daniel instead of from I Peter. Dan. (LXX) 3; 31 has εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πληθυνθείη. See also Dan. 4; 34. Dan. 11; 39 employs the phrase πληθυνεῖ δόξαν. Πληθύνω is a very common word in the LXX. It is rarely employed as in I Peter and Clement, but is frequently used to express the growth of evil. Cf. Ps. 118 (119); 69, Si. 47; 24, Am. 4; 4, Jl. 3 (4); 13, Is. 57; 9, Jer. 5; 6, 37 (30); 14, 15, etc. It is also to be observed that the word παντοκράτωρ does not appear in Daniel. The word, however, is common in the LXX, especially in Amos, where it is used no less than ten times. But it is never used in the O. T. in a connection similar to the above usage in Clement and I Peter. Nor is χάρις employed in this way in the O. T. It does not seem necessary therefore to think Clement selected words from different O. T. books to compose this clause when he could have taken the major portion of the expression directly from I Peter, from which he apparently drew in other connections. "Jude" has a very similar clause; ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη. but it need not detain us here as a rival of 1. Pt. 1; 1. On the whole it seems Lightfoot's conclusion is well grounded.

There is a further likeness in the salutation of Clement in the word παροικοῦσα. Though ἐπιδήμοις is used in I Peter instead, the idea is the same, as may be seen, both by I Pt. 2; 11 (where παροίκους and παρεπιδήμους are coordinated) and by Clement himself. Cf. salutation for παροικοῦσα and I, 2 for παρεπιδημήσας. In the salutation of no other N. T. book does either word, or a word expressing a similar idea occur. The nearest approach is in Jas. 1; 1 (ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ), But I Pt. 1; 1 also employs διασπορᾶς.

Clement uses κλητοῖς while I Peter has ἐκλεκτοῖς. The former occurs in the N. T. salutations only in Romans, I Corinthians and Jude, while the latter appears only in Titus and our Epistle. Though I Peter nowhere uses the form κλητός, the idea is the same. Thayer contrasts these words (Lex. in loco), but evidently there is no contrast to be understood here, since it is improbable that Clement would, in the salutation, upbraid his readers as "those who have shown themselves unfitted to obtain salvation". Paul does not contrast these forms, nor indeed is there a contrast here. (Th. Lex. κλητός,) Then if Clement shaped his salutation after

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the model of I Peter, as Lightfoot thinks, the change of form would not militate against it, since "ἐκλεκτός is indeed a rare word with Geeek writers", (cf. Th. Lex. on ἐκλεκτός) and he would, in quoting from memory, naturally employ the more familiar word expressing the same idea. He, however, uses ἐκλεκτός elsewhere, which will be considered later. Cf. 1 ; 1.

(2)

Clem. Int.	I Pt. 1 ; 2
ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυριοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἐν ἁγιασμῷ Πνεύματος εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This seems to express the thought of I Peter in contracted form. The likeness will be made clearer by the following analysis.

(1) ἡγιασμένοις	ἁγιασμῷ
(2) ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ	κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ
(3) διὰ τὸν Κυρίον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστου	εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

The forms of the verb ἁγιάζω are found in the salutations of but two N. T. writings, i. e., I Corinthians and Jude. The former has

ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

while the latter has,

ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγιασμένοις.

Attention has been called to the close parallel between the salutations of Jude and I Clement. It seems there is more probability of connection between I Clement and Jude than between I Clement and I Corinthians at this point. But it is to be noted that many of the best manuscripts of Jude have ἠγαπημένοις instead of ἡγιασμένοις, as in I Corinthians. In favor of the former Tregelles cites A. B. ℵ. Vulg., Syr., Hcl. Memph. Theb. Arm. (AEth.) Orig. III, 607c, etc. It appears therefore that I Clement was very probably influenced here by I Peter.

(2) Ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ is a very different form from that used in I Peter, but the thought of κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ . . . πνεύματος is far from alien to that of ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ. Indeed the latter may be a reminiscence of the former in contracted form.

(3) Διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ may be a general form drawn from ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, in which case διά takes the place of ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος.

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In the beginning of no other N. T. book is the same emphasis laid on " election," with the single exception of Ephesians, and there the dependence is on the side of I Peter. Cf. κλητοῖς of I Clem. Int. and ἐκλεκτοῖς of I Clem. 1 ; 1 with ἐκλεκτοῖς of I Pt. 1 ; 1 and πρόγνωσιν of I Pt. 1 ; 2. Cf. also 1 ; 3 ff.

Though some of the above " likenesses " may be imaginary, there seems to be, on the whole, a good basis for maintaining, notwithstanding Professor Carlyle's adverse conclusion (N. T. in Apos. Fathers p. 57), that the salutation of I Clement is in some way dependent upon I Peter.

(3)

I Clem. 22 ; 2—6	I Pt. 3 ; 10—12
τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωήν, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς; (3) παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ χείλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον· (4) ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν· (5) ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν. (6) ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ πρὸς δεήσιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά . . . . Cf. Ps. 34 ; 13—17a.	ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾷν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθάς. παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ χείλη αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον, (11) ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν. (12) ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά

We are certain that Clement is quoting here from the LXX, not only because of the verbatim agreement but also because he quotes at greater length. But that the scripture was suggested by I Peter (3 ; 10—12) is made most probable, since it is used as the scriptural authority for the lengthy Petrine exhortations just given in Chap. 21, precisely as it is employed in I Pt. 3 ; 10—12 after 3 ; 1—9. It is especially significant that the quotation is followed in both instances with a buoyant expression of God's providential care for His followers. Cf. Clem. 22 ; 1 with I Pt. 3 ; 13. This sequence can hardly be accidental.

(4)

I Clem. 49 ; 5	I Pt. 4 ; 8	Jas. 5 ; 20
ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτίων	ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτίων	ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ σώσει ψυχὴν ἐκ θανάτου καὶ καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν

Prov. 10; 12

πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία.

Lightfoot, Monnier and others think we have here a certain quotation from our Epistle. Professor Carlyle, however, views it as a

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mere possibility. Nor can he justify A. Resch (Agrapha p. 248) in his conclusion that both I Peter and I Clement are quoting a traditional saying of our Lord. (N. T. in A. F. p. 56–57. Clement's mind was certainly and deeply imbued with I Cor. 13. There is, however, no record that Paul ever alluded to this passage in Proverbs. The fact that this exact form of the quotation is to be found nowhere earlier than I Peter is indeed significant. Though Jas. 5 ; 20 and Prov. 10 ; 12 are similar, it seems evident that if there is dependence anywhere it is on our Epistle. It is also to be noted that Clem. 49 ; 6 is quite suggestive of I Peter. This parallel affords no conclusive proof that Clement used I Peter, but in view of the other parallels and quotations common to both Epistles, we are justified in regarding this verbatim agreement as very important.

(5)	I Clem. 59 ; 2	I Pt. 2 ; 9
	δι' οὗ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς, 36 ; 2 εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς. Cf. Eph. 1 ; 18, 5 ; 8—14.	τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς

This is a closer parallel to the above passage in I Clement than is to be found elsewhere in the N. T. In fact the two references in I Clement reproduce both the thought and phraseology of I Peter. Similar thought appears in Ephesians but the form is much different. The use of the word ἐπίσκοπον v. 3, finds its closest N. T. parallel in I Pt. 2 ; 25. Clement speaks of God as the bishop of πνευμάτων while our author makes Christ the bishop of ψυχῶν. In the same context both writers employ the same metaphorical expression for the believers, i. e., πρόβατα. The doctrine of election διὰ Χριστοῦ (cf. 64 ; 1) is particularly Petrine. Cf. I Pt. 1 ; 2, 21, 2 ; 9, 3 ; 18, 5 ; 10. It is important to note that " election through Christ " is thought of in both instances as a " calling from darkness to light. The similarities of thought and expression in chap. 59, make dependence here very probable.

(6)	I Clem. 1 ; 3	b—c I Pt. 1 ; 17
	ἀπροσωπολήμπτως	ἀπροσωπολήμπτως

Dependence here is made very probable since this word, which is not found elsewhere in the N. T., appears in a context suggestive of our text, which context also contains another word peculiar

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to I Peter, and others common with it but rare in the N. T. Cf. parallels No. 15–19, 27–30.

(7)

I Clem. 1; 3	I Pt. 3; 7
τιμὴν . . . ἀπονέμοντες	ἀπονέμοντες τιμὴν

Ἀπονέμω occurs but this one time in the N. T. That Clement uses τιμήν as its object in a context suggestive of I Peter can hardly be accidental.

(8)

I Clem. 2; 2, 7	I Pt. 4; 19
ἀγαθοποιΐᾳ	ἀγαθοποιΐᾳ

Professor Carlyle not only notes that this word occurs nowhere else in the N. T., but also that it is found neither in the LXX nor other Greek versions of the O. T. and Apocrypha ; and that apparently it does not occur in classical literature. The word is very significant in this connection.

(9)

I Clem. 2; 4	I Pt. 2; 17 5; 7
ἀδελφότητος	ἀδελφότητα

This word, which occurs in no other book of the N. T., Carlyle says, " appears in the LXX only in I Mac. 12 ; 10, 17, but in the sense of brotherly affection." He is also unable to find the word in classical literature. (N. T. in A. F. p. 57.) It is also significant that it is found in direct connection with . . . συνειδήσεως (τὸν ἀριθμὸν) τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ. Cf. I Pt. 2; 19, 3; 16, 21 and 1; 2, 2; 4, 6, 9.

(10)

I Clem. 2; 1	I Pt. 5; 1
τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν	ὁ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων

Although this is a favorite Petrine expression it affords, in itself, but little evidence for or against dependence, since it is also common in the letters of Paul. Yet taken in conjunction with parallels 8 and 9, and the general tone of the passage with its appeal to their witnessing, the probabilities are greatly increased.

Professor Carlyle is justified in not taking into account the last three citations, when viewed separately, but when so many likenesses, both in diction and thought, occur in such close contextual connection, one is justified in taking into account less striking resemblances and in giving to all a higher rating.

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(11)

I Clem. 16; 5, 6	I Pt. 2; 24, 25
τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. 6 πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν. Isa. 53; 5, 6.	οὗ τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε. ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι,

(12)

I Clem. 16; 10	I Pt. 2; 22
ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. Isa. 53; 9.	ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν στόματι αὐτοῦ

(13)

I Clem. 16; 14	I Pt. 2; 24
καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν. Isa. 53; 12.	ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν [ὑμῶν] αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν

Quotations 12–13 show they were not copied directly from I Peter but from the LXX. That these quotations from Isa. 53 follow the LXX rather than our Epistle is no proof that the latter did not suggest their use, especially since Clement did not consider the N. T. writings to be on the same level with the O. T. books. If he were following the thought of I Peter, he would, in that case, still be inclined to refer to the original and in so doing quote at greater length, just as he has done. 16; 10 follows I Pt. 2; 22 in using εὑρέθη δόλος instead of δόλον. Though the form used by Clement and our author is found in ℵ c. a., Swete rejects it and adopts δόλον instead. The latter reading agrees with the original. (וְלֹא מִרְמָה בְּפִיו.) While this is no proof that Clement was influenced by I Peter it is suggestive. Dependence here is indeed made very probable by the use of the word ὑπογραμμός in the immediate context with these quotations. See note on the following parallel.

(14)

I Clem. 16; 17	I Pt. 2; 11
ὁ ὑπογραμμὸς ὁ δεδομένος ἡμῖν	ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν

Professor Bacon has rightly noted that very probably Clement dipped his pen into our author's ink-well when he wrote "ὑπογραμμός of the suffering of Christ". Cf. also 33; 8. (Bacon's Introduction p. 151.) This word is not found anywhere else in the N. T., and it is indeed significant that St. Peter is mentioned by name in a context where the word is used. Cf. 5; 4 and 5; 7. This parallel is also strengthened by the occurrence of the word ταπεινοφρονέω. See Paral. 22.

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c

(15) I Clem. 1; 3

ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν

I Pt. 2; 13, 17

ὑποτάγητε . . . εἴτε βασιλεῖ . . . εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν (17) τὸν βασιλέα τίματε

Though Clement does not refer to secular rulers as does our author yet the phraseology is very suggestive in this context. Note that this passage stands between parallels 6 and 7.

(16) I Clem. 1; 3

τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις . . . ἐπετρέπετε

I Pt. 5; 5

νεωτέροι ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις

(17) I Clem. 1; 3

γυναιξίν τε ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν παρηγγέλλετε,

I Pt. 3; 1

διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναίκων ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται

ἄμωμος is a rare word in the N. T. Cf. I Pt. 1; 19. ἁγνῇ συνειδήσει also finds a similar phrase in συνειδήσιν ἀγαθήν of I Pt. 3; 16, 21.

(18) I Clem. 1; 3

στεργούσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν

I Pt. 3; 1, 6

ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν,

(19) I Clem. 1; 3

ἐν τε τῷ κανόνι τῆς ὑποταγῆς ὑπαρχούσας . . .

I Pt. 3; 6

ὡς Σάρρα ὑπήκουσε τῷ Ἀβραάμ, κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα·

When taken separately these references have little value, but in view of the Petrine phrasing and vocabulary, which includes two words not found elsewhere in the N. T. and others which appear but rarely, and the Petrine sequence of thought (cf. parallels 6, 15, 7, 16–19) in Chap. I, the passage suggests that Clement was acquainted with our Epistle.

(20) I Clem. 7; 2, 4

διὸ ἀπολίπωμεν τὰς κενὰς καὶ ματαίας φροντίδας, καὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐκλεῆ καὶ σεμνὸν τῆς παραδόσεως ἡμῶν κανόνα, . . . ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γνῶμεν ὡς ἔστιν τίμιον τῷ

I Pt. 1; 18, 19

εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ . . .

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θεῷ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκχυθὲν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ μετανοίας χάριν ἐπήνεγκεν

" These passages present many points of correspondence of phrase and thought, but the conception of redemption through the blood of Christ is not peculiar to St. Peter's Epistles in the N. T., and may well be supposed to have been current among all Christians." Among the " many points of correspondence " Professor Carlyle should have noted that αἵματι τίμιον is peculiar to our Epistle. It is also important to note that Clement alludes, in the immediate context, to the preaching of Noah. Cf. I Clem. 7 ; 6 with I Pt. 3 ; 20. It seems probable, therefore, that this Pauline thought traveled by the way of I Peter.

(21)

I Clem. 13 ; 1	I Pt. 2 ; 1
. . οὖν, ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν . . .	ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν . . . .

Monnier thinks there is a reference here to I Peter. This may be a mere coincidence, and indeed we should so conclude, were it not for the fact that this compound word (ἀποτίθημι) is not common in the N. T., and that it is used here in a connection resembling that of I Peter. The probabilities are increased in geometrical ratio to the number of times it is used in this way. Cf. I Clem. 30 ; 1 and 57 ; 2.

(22)

I Clem. 16 ; 1	I Pt. 5 ; 2, 3
ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. τὸ σκῆπτρον . . . . οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας οὐδὲ ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος, ἀλλὰ ταπεινοφρονῶν	ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ, μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς ἀλλὰ ἑκουσίως, μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως, μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου·

This parallel is significant in this context. Ποίμνιον is a rare word in the N. T. It is used in all five times, two of which are here. Neither Lk. 12 ; 32 nor Acts 20 ; 28, 29 shows as many points of likeness to I Clement. Acts 20 ; 28, 29 and I Pt. 5 ; 2, 3 have much in common and seem to be related, yet the context with its appeal to the " Suffering Servant " of II Isaiah is more in accord with our author's interpretation of Jesus. Clement uses ταπεινοφρονέω (16; 1, 17) in harmony with ταπεινοφροσύνη of I Pt. 5; 5 and ταπεινόω of 5 ; 6. As in I Peter those in authority are exhorted not to exalt

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themselves over the flock, but to be in a spirit of humility. Significantly enough, he follows our author's characteristic way of appealing to the example of Christ. Ὑπερήφανος of I Pt. 5 ; 5 is also a rare word in the N. T. It appears, therefore, that there is much here to suggest dependence. Cf. also parallels 6, 7, 15–19.

(23)	I Clem. 30 ; 2	Prov. 3 ; 34	I Pt. 5 ; 5
	θεὸς γὰρ, φησίν, ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν	Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.	ὁ θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν. Cf. Jas. 4; 6.

Clement is not following the Hebrew original here, which words the first clause very differently, but the LXX, I Peter or James. He follows the LXX in omitting the article "ὁ" with the subject, but agrees with the N. T. writers in changing κύριος to θεός. Reference to lusts, adultery and justification by works suggest dependence upon James, while the Petrine tone of the exhortation, before and after the quotation, plus the probable reference to I Peter in v. 1, make it more probable that he was influenced here by our Epistle.

(24)	I Clem. 61 ; 3	I Pt. 2 ; 25
	ἀρχιερέως καὶ προστάτου τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν	ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.

This parallel is close both in thought and form of expression. The balancing of ἀρχιρέως with προστάτου, corresponds exactly with ποιμένα and ἐπίσκοπον, while both are followed by the possessive genetive ψυχῶν.

(25)	I Clem. 64 ; 1	I Pt. 5 ; 10
	ὁ εκλεξάμενος . . . ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ	ὁ καλέσας . . . ἐν Χριστῷ

The membrans of the parallel are introduced by "ὁ" with an aorist participle of antecedent action. This identical construction of synonymous participles being followed by a phrase expressing Christ as means or agent is indeed suggestive.

(26)	I Clem. 64 ; 2	I Pt. 2 ; 10
	εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον . . . ἀρχιερέως	βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα . . . λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν

The "royal priesthood" of believers would very naturally suggest that Christ himself was the great "high priest."

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d

(27) I Clem. 1; 1 — I Pt. 1; 2, 2; 4, 6, 9

ἐκλεκτοῖς — ἐκλεκτός

This word appears four times in I Peter and but six times in all the Pauline literature.

(28) I Clem. 1; 2 — I Pt. 1; 1, 2; 11

παρεπιδημήσας — παρεπιδήμοις

This word is found in the N. T. only in Heb. 11; 13 and the two places noted above.

(29) I Clem. 1; 2 — I Pt. 2; 18

ἐπεικῆ — ἐπεικέσιν

A rare word in the N. T.

(30) I Clem. 1; 2 — I Pt. 4; 9

φιλοξενία — φιλόξενος

The form of the word used by Clement occurs in the N. T. only in Rom. 12; 13 and Heb. 13; 2. Though the form of the word which our author employed is slightly different the context is much more suggestive of his Epistle. Cf. parallels 6, 15, 7, 16–19, 27–30.

(31) I Clem. 7; 6 — I Pt. 3; 20

Νῶε ἐκήρυξεν μετάνοιαν, καὶ οἱ ὑπακούσαντες ἐσώθησαν — ... Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὀκτω ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος

This parallel should be considered in the light of No. 20.

(32) I Clem. 21; 6 — I Pt. 1; 19

οὗ (Χριστοῦ) τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη — ἐλυτρώθητε ... τιμίῳ αἵματι ... Χριστοῦ

This thought is common in the N. T.

(33) I Clem. 21; 6 — I Pt. 2; 13

τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν — ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει ... εἴτε βασιλεῖ ... εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν

The general tone is Petrine, but the rulers to which Clement alludes are Ecclesiastical and not Political as in I Peter.

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(34)

I Clem. 21; 6	I Pt. 5; 5
τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμησῶμεν, τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ	νεώτεροι, ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις

This is quite suggestive of our Epistle.

(35)

I Clem. 21; 6	I Pt. 3; 1 f.
τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν διορθωσώμεθα	γυναῖκες, ὑποτασσόμεναι ....

The thought is in accord but the phrasing is different.

(36)

I Clem. 21; 7	I Pt. 3; 2
τὸ ἀξιαγάπητον τῆς ἁγνείας ἦθος ἐνδειξάσθωσαν	ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἁγνὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν

The terms employed do not indicate acquaintance, yet the sequence (No. 35 and 36) is very suggestive.

(37)

I Clem. 21; 7	I Pt. 3; 1 b
τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τῆς γλώσσης ... διὰ τῆς σιγῆς . .	διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου ...

This citation finds a closer parallel in Paul's letters, and can have no value here further than to show that Clement thought in a sphere akin to that of our Epistle.

(38)

I Clem. 21; 8	I Pt. 5; 5
τὰ τέκνα ... μαθέτωσαν, τί ταπεινοφροσύνη παρὰ θεῷ ἰσχύει	νεώτεροι ... τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε

There is here a close parallel, though in itself not sufficient to make dependence probable.

None of the citations of chapter 21 considered separately justify any claim for dependence, but when the combined evidence is presented, the probabilities are increased in geometrical ratio of the number of the possible points of contect. See No. 32–38.

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(39) I Clem. 30; 1 — I Pt. 1; 15, 2; 9

ἁγίου μερὶς ὑπάρχοντες — Αγιοι γένεσθε γένος ἐκλεκτόν . . . λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν.

Monnier sees a likeness here between 30 ; 1 and I Pt. 1 ; 15. Though not as close in wording, his reference is related in thought more closely to I Pt. 2 ; 9.

(40) I Clem. 30; 1 — I Pt. 2; 1

φεύγοντες καταλαλίας — ἀποθέμενοι καταλαλίας

The thought in the contexts of these references is also much the same.

(41) I Clem. 36; 2 — I Pt. 2; 9

εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς — εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς

This verbatim agreement is indeed suggestive, but the context is thoroughly Pauline.

Order of Parallels.

I Clement		I Peter	I Clement		I Peter
Int.	=	1 ; 1	16 ; 14	=	2 ; 24
,,	=	1 ; 2	16 ; 17	=	2 ; 11
1 ; 1	=	1 ; 2, 2 ; 4, 6, 9	21 ; 6	=	1 ; 19
1 ; 2	=	1 ; 1, 2 ; 11	21 ; 6	=	2 ; 13
1 ; 2	=	2 ; 18	21 ; 6	=	5 ; 5
1 ; 3	=	1 ; 17	21 ; 6	=	5 ; 5
1 ; 3	=	2 ; 13, 17	21 ; 6	=	3 ; 1 f.
1 ; 3	=	3 ; 7	21 ; 7	=	3 ; 2
1 ; 3	=	5 ; 5	21 ; 7	=	3 ; 1 b
1 ; 3	=	3 ; 1	21 ; 8	=	5 ; 5
1 ; 3	=	3 ; 1, 6	22 ; 2	=	3 ; 10
1 ; 3	=	3 ; 6	30 ; 1	=	1 ; 15, 2 ; 9
2 ; 1	=	1 ; 11, 4 ; 13, 5 ; 1, 9	30 ; 1	=	2 ; 1
2 ; 2, 7	=	4 ; 19	30 ; 2	=	5 ; 5
2 ; 4	=	2 ; 17, 5 ; 7	36 ; 2	=	2 ; 9
7 ; 2, 4	=	1 ; 18, 19	49 ; 5	=	4 ; 8
7 ; 6	=	3 ; 20	59 ; 2	=	2 ; 9
13 ; 1	=	2 ; 1	61 ; 3	=	2 ; 25
16 ; 1	=	5 ; 2, 3	64 ; 1	=	5 ; 10
16 ; 5, 6	=	2 ; 24, 25	64 ; 2	=	2 ; 9
16 ; 10	=	2 ; 22			

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Conclusion.

The foregoing study has shown that Clement has used words which are peculiar to our Epistle in most significant connections, as well as O. T. quotations common with our Epistle in unmistakably Petrine contexts. Of course no one can, at the conclusion of a discussion of this nature, place his Q. E. D., but if Professor Sanday is correct in saying " the occurence of the same ideas in the same order must be accepted as conclusive evidence " (I. C. C. on Rom. p. lxxvi), we have shown that I Clement is dependent on I Peter. Monnier contends that " Clement connait l'êpitre. Il ne la cite pas expressement : il l'utilise." (Com. p. 307.) Knopf reaches a similar conclusion : " In Rom. wird noch vor der Jahrhundertwende I. Petri wahrscheinlich von I. Clem. benutzt." . . . (Das nachapostolische Zeitalter p. 34.)

Part II.—CANONICAL BOOKS

GALATIANS

B

b—c

(1) I Pt. 1 ; 23—25 Gal. 4 ; 4—7, 28—31

Professor Bacon (Com. on Gal. p. 8, 75, 93) notes a close parallel, in the doctrine of the new birth from " spiritual seed," in the above references. In his letter to the Romans (4 ; 19—21, 9 ; 7—9), Paul " reckons the children of the promise for a seed," 9 ; 9. They become sons through adoption, Gal. 4 ; 5, (Rom. 8 ; 15, 23, 9 ; 4, Eph. 1 ; 5). While the idea is the same in our Epistle, our author, in accord with later writers (Jn. 1 ; 13, 3 ; 5, Jas. 1 ; 18, I Jn. 3 ; 9) used the figure as a " new birth " instead of an " adoption." There seems to be evidence here not only of borrowing but also of a later stratum of thought.

(2) I Pt. 2 ; 16

ὡς ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀλλ᾽ ὡς Θεοῦ δοῦλοι

Gal. 5 ; 13

ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐκλήθητε ἀδελφοί· μόνον μὴ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν εἰς ἀφορμὴν τῇ σαρκί, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δούλευτε ἀλλήλοις

The likeness here is striking. defeat of persecutors precedes. In both cases a reference to the The freedmen are exhorted alike

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not to use their liberty as license but (notice the antithesis ἀλλά) to use it as becometh true servants. I Cor. 7 ; 22 is a close parallel. The δοῦλος Χριστοῦ or δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ is a common Paulinism, but on the whole certainly no reference can outdo Gal. 5 ; 13, as the probable source of I Pt. 2 ; 16. Cf. Hort's " First Epistle of St. Peter." p. 146.

(3)

I Pt. 2 ; 24	Gal. 3 ; 13
ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον	Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα . . . ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου

I Pt. 2 ; 24 from Isa. 53 ; 4, 5, 6, 11, probably was suggested by Galatians. Rom. 8 ; 3, II Cor. 5 ; 21, etc., contain the idea of vicarious suffering, as does I Pt. 2 ; 24a, but they do not specifically allude to the ξύλον as does Gal. 3 ; 13. Thus on both counts Gal. 3 ; 13 is more closely related to our Epistle.

c

(4)

I Pt. 1 ; 4	Gal. 4 ; 7, 3 ; 18
εἰς κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον, τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς	εἰ δὲ υἱός, καὶ κληρονόμος Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ 3; 18 κληρονομία

In Gal. 3 ; 18, Rom. 4 ; 13 f., (Heb. 6 ; 12,) the promise of the " inheritance " is already fulfilled. In Gal. 4 ; 7 (Rom. 8 ; 16 f.), as in I Peter, the " inheritance " is present, "being inseparable from sonship." (Hort " Ep. of St. Peter," p. 35). The idea is too common in the N. T., and the context too dubious to be sure of dependence, yet the parallel I Pt. 3 ; 6 = Gal. 4 ; 26 makes it quite probable.

(5)

I Pt. 1 ; 5	Gal. 3 ; 23
τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ φρουρουμένους διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἑτοίμην ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ	πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἐλθεῖν τὴν πίστιν, ὑπὸ νόμον ἐφρουρούμεθα, συγκεκλεισμένοι εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πίστιν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι

This parallel is very important. Paul said, " before faith they were kept under the law," I Peter then notes " they were kept through faith," whereas both have in view the " future revelation." This

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doctrine of the believer's security is common in the Fourth Gospel (Jn. 10 ; 28, 29, 17 ; 11, 12, 15), as well as in the Pauline Literature, but nowhere is the likeness so close in both members, i. e., the ideas of " the believer's security " and of " the future revelation."

(6)	I Pt. 1; 18	Gal. 3; 13
	οὐ φθαρτοῖς . . . ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου	Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου

As has been noted elsewhere this is a weakened form of Paulinism.

(7)	I Pt. 2; 11	Gal. 5 ; 17
	ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς	ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς· ταῦτα δὲ ἀντίκειται ἀλλήλοις

The internal warfare, of which St. Paul so frequently speaks, is here alluded to. Jas. 4 ; 1 likewise refers to it, but this later writer, of course, cannot have suggested it to either of these earlier authors. It is difficult to determine whether our author is following Rom. 7 ; 23 or Gal. 5 ; 13. The parallels I Pt. 2 ; 16 = Gal. 5 ; 13 and I Pt. 4 ; 3 = Gal. 5 ; 21, however, seem to make it more probable that he is influenced by Galatians at this point.

d

(8)	I Pt. 3 ; 6	Gal. 4; 26
	ὡς Σάρρα . . . ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα . .	ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλευθέρα ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν

Holtzmann calls attention to this similarity of thought. (Einl. p. 314.) Though there is nothing striking in the phrases, the likeness is worthy of consideration in view of the parallel to which Professor Bacon alludes, i. e., I Pt. 1 : 23–25 = Gal. 4 ; 4–7, 28–31.

(9)	I Pt. 4 , 3	Gal. 5; 20, 21
	τὸ θέλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατεργάσασθαι, πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις,	. . τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς . . . ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία,

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ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, πότοις, καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρείαις	ἔχθραι ἔρεις, ζῆλοι, θυμοὶ, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις, φθόνοι, φόνοι. μέθαι, κῶμοι . . .

Holtzmann thinks the similarity may show dependence, (Einl. p. 314,) yet there seems to be nothing to commend it over and above Eph. 2; 2, 3, 4; 17, I Thes. 4; 5, Tit. 3; 3, Rom. 13; 13, I Cor. 6; 9, Eph. 5; 5, etc.

Although the parallels are not numerous, and there are no words found only in these two Epistles, the combined evidence of those examples classed as " b—c " and " c " make it quite probable that there is here a literary dependence. Scholars are almost unanimous, of course, in giving to " Galatians " the priority. Bigg, however, thinks " if a writer calling himself Peter had read Galatians he would have made distinct allusion to the second chapter." The fact that no such allusion is to be found in I Peter may be regarded as a strong indirect argument in favor of its authenticity." Now our interest here is not whether the Epistle is authentic or not, but we are interested in the relative positions of these two Writings. Does it not seem, though, that the silence would be quite as natural for one " calling himself Peter " as for Peter himself? Certainly Peter would have chafed at such scathing allusions, while a later writer would not feel the sting of the thrust at Peter. Furthermore the letter comes, more probably, from a later period of mediation, though not so late as the Tübingen School would contend. To say " the author's silence, if writing before Galations, is natural " is almost naive. The circumstances under which the letter was written and the conditions revealed in it make it impossible to suppose it to have been written at such an early period.

I THESSALONIANS

D

d

(1)	I Pt. 1; 13	I Thes. 5; 6
	νήφοντες, τελείως ἐλπίσατε . .	γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφωμεν. Cf. 5; 8.

A closer parallel is to be found in Rom. 13; 11—13.

(2)	I Pt. 1; 14	I Thes. 4; 5
	ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις	μὴ ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας . . . μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Θεόν

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Cf. I Cor. 15 ; 34, Gal. 4 ; 8, Eph. 2 ; 12, 4 ; 18, 22, II Thes. 1 ; 8. See also Romans Ex. 9 (i. e., I Pt. 1 ; 14 = Rom. 12 ; 2), which more probably sustains some relation to this verse.

(3)

I Pt. 1; 15	I Thes. 4; 7
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσαντα ὑμᾶς ἅγιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε	οὐ γὰρ ἐκάκεσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἁγιασμῷ

The thought and wording are close, yet not such as to make dependence here more probable than in Rom. 11 ; 2. See Rom. Ex. 10.

(4)

I Pt. 1; 22	I Thes. 4; 9
ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς	ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους

Cf. Rom. 12 ; 9, 10, or Ex. 13.

(5)

I Pt. 2; 17	I Thes. 4; 9
τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε	περὶ τῆς φιλαδελφίας . . . ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους

Cf. Rom. 12 ; 10 a, or Ex. 44.

(6)

I Pt. 3; 9	I Thes. 5; 15
μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ	μή τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τινὶ ἀποδῷ

See Rom. 12 ; 17 for an exact parallel, which is also in a better context.

(7)

I Pt. 4; 7	I Thes. 5; 6
σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς	γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήφωμεν

In I Pt. 4 ; 7 b the exhortation is given in view of the imminent judgment (4 ; 7 a) likewise in I Thes. 5 ; 6, they are exhorted to watchfulness that they may be ready for the sudden coming of the Lord (5 ; 1—4). I Thes. 5 ; 5 seems to interrupt this thought and make the exhortation an appeal for consistent action on the part of the "children of light." Cf. Col. 4 ; 2, Mt. 26 ; 41, Lk. 21 ; 34.

(8)

I Pt. 4; 15	I Thes. 4; 11
[μὴ τις ὑμῶν πασχέτω] ὡς . . . ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος	πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια

The background here is very different.

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(9)

I Pt. 5 ; 8	I Thes. 5 ; 6
νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε	γρηγορῶμεν καὶ νήψωμεν

This parallel is very suggestive, yet is probably accidental. Cf. Examples 1 and 7.

(10)

I Pt. 5 ; 9	I Thes. 3 ; 2, 3
ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων τῇ τῷ κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότητι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι	παρακαλέσαι ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, τῷ μηδένα σαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσι ταύταις

Dependence may easily be inferred from this parallel, yet the context does not warrant us to consider it more than a mere possibility.

We are not to conclude from the above study that either Epistle presupposes the other.

II THESSALONIANS

D

d

(1)

I Pt. 1 ; 2	II Thes. 2 ; 13
ἐν ἁγιασμῷ Πνεύματος	ἐν ἁγιασμῷ Πνεύματος

"Election" through sanctification of the Spirit is set forth here in a way not found elsewhere in the N. T. The thought is Pauline and the verbal agreement closer than elsewhere. The context, however, is not suggestive of I Peter.

(2)

I Pt. 1 ; 13	II Thes. 1 ; 7
ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ

Again there is verbal agreement. It is significant that "angels" are spoken of in the immediate contexts, yet they play very different roles.

(3)

I Pt. 5 ; 3	II Thes. 3 ; 9
τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου·	ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δῶμεν ὑμῖν

(4)

I Pt. 5 ; 10	II Thes. 2 ; 17
στηρίξαι	στηρίξαι

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(5)

I Pt. 5; 10	II Thes. 3; 3
στηρίξαι, σθενώσαι	στηρίξει ὑμᾶς καὶ φυλάξει ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ

These last three parallels need not detain us.

As in I Thessalonians, there is no word common to these Epistles only, and clearly the evidence will not warrant any claim for dependence.

I CORINTHIANS

C

c—d

(1)

I Pt. 1; 13	I Cor. 1; 4, 7
ἐλπίσατε ἐπὶ τὴν φερομένην ὑμῖν χάριν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	χάριν . . . (7) ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι ἀπεκδεχόμενους τὴν ἀποκάυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

The hope of a great blessing at the " Parousia " is Pauline, though not peculiar to him. (Cf. II Thes. 1; 7.) "Ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is the Pauline term for the Parousia." (Cone, Com. on I Pet. p. 306). This is the closest parallel to I Pt. 1; 13 in the N. T., yet it is not conclusive.

(2)

I Pt. 2; 2	I Cor. 3; 2
ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήστε	ὡς νηπίοις ἐν Χριστῷ γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὔτω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε . .

Heb. 5; 12, 13 has a similar figure. Heb. 6; 5 also corresponds closely with I Pt. 2; 3. The passages in the above Parallel refer to those who are "tull of hearing." I Cor. 3; 1, 2 is followed in v. 3 by thought much like I Pt. 2; 1. Both textually and contextually then this is the nearest N. T. parallel, and may indicate a real point of contact. (Cf. Holtzmann's Einleitung p. 314.)

(3)

I Pt. 2; 16	I Cor. 7; 22
ὡς ἐλεύθεροι . . . ἀλλ' ὡς Θεοῦ δοῦλοι	ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθείς, δοῦλός ἐστι Χριστοῦ

No other N. T. passage reproduces this thought so closely, except Gal. 5; 13. The probabilities of dependence here are increased by the possible echo of I Cor. 7; 23 in I Pt. 1; 18.

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(4)

I Pt. 5; 3	I Cor. 3; 9a
μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων	ἐσμεν συνεργοί· Θεοῦ γεώργιον.

This parallel becomes more significant when taken in connection with Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε of I Cor. 3; 9b. Cf. also I Pt. 2; 5 = I Cor. 3; 16.

(5)

I Pt. 5; 4	I Cor. 9; 25
κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον	ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον

This figure may have been borrowed from I Cor. 9; 25. In neither of the other parallels (II Tim. 4; 8 and Jas. 1; 12) is the imperishable nature of the crown mentioned. Since I Peter cannot depend upon James, and the connection with II Timothy is very dubious the dependence of our Epistle upon I Corinthians is all the more probable at this point.

d

(6)

I Pt. 1; 7	I Cor. 3; 13
δοκίμιον ὑμῶν πίστεως . . . διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου . .	ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον . . . ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει

A closer duplicate is found in Jas. 1; 2, 3, though the figure here is much the same. Although the background is very different in these Epistles, I Cor. 3; 13 may have suggested the figure to our author.

(7)

I Pt. 1; 18	I Cor. 6; 20, 7; 23
οὐ φθαρτοῖς . . . ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς . . . ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι . . .	6; 20 ἠγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς 7; 23 τιμῆς ἠγοράσθητε

The idea is Pauline, though the deliverance from a vain manner of life is a mild statement as compared with Gal. 3; 13. Τιμῆς and αἵματι seem to refer to the same thing.

(8)

I Pt. 1; 21	I Cor. 15; 14
τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν . . ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς Θεόν	εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, [κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν] κενὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν. Cf. 13; 13.

The parallel is suggestive, but not so close as in Romans. Cf. I Pt. 1; 21 = Rom. 4; 24.

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(9)

I Pt. 2; 5	I Cor. 3; 16
λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς	ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν

The figure of a spiritual temple is common with Paul. Eph. 2 ; 20–22 very probably suggested this figure to our author. See the discussion loco citato.

(10)

I Pt. 2; 15	I Cor. 15; 34
ἀγνοσίαν	ἀγνοσίαν

Although this word appears only in these two places in the N. T., it is a mere coincidence here. It seems to be the only word which is found in these two Epistles only.

(11)

I Pt. 3; 1	I Cor. 14; 34
γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν	γυναῖκες ὑμῶν . . . ἀλλὰ ὑποτάσσεσθαι

A closer parallel is found in Eph. 5 ; 22. Cf. also 5 ; 33.

(12)

I Pt. 3; 1b	I Cor. 7; 14
ἵνα εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται	ἡγίασται γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ἄπιστος ἐν τῇ γυναικί

This similarity of thought is probably due to accident.

(13)

I Pt. 3; 9	I Cor. 4; 12
μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας τοὐναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες	λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογοῦμεν· διωκόμενοι ἀνεχόμεθα βλασφημούμενοι παρακαλοῦμεν

Though the thought is the same, a closer parallel is to be found in Rom. 12 ; 17, 14 ; the first clause of which is in verbal agreement. See the discussion on this passage in Romans.

(14)

I Pt. 3; 18	I Cor. 15; 3
Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν [ἔπαθεν]	Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν

The thought and phrasing are close, but too common to base any argument upon them. Cf. Rom. 5 ; 6, 8, 10, 11, Heb. 9 ; 28, etc.

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(15)

I Pt. 3; 22	I Cor. 15; 25
ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων	καταργήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν

The agreement is obvious, but the frequency with which this thought occurs in the Pauline Literature makes it almost implossible to determine which Epistle may have suggested it to our author. The probabilities, however, are in favor of Romans (8; 38) and Ephesians (1; 21, 22). Cf. also Col. 2; 10, 1; 16.

(16)

I Pt. 4; 10a	I Cor. 12; 5
ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα	διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσι

See Rom. 12; 6 for closer parallel.

I Pt. 4; 10b	I Cor. 4; 1
διακοῦντες ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι	ὡς ὑπηρέτας Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους . .

Thoroughly Pauline but not conclusive.

(17)

I Pt. 4; 12	I Cor. 3; 13
τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ	ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει

Paul here refers to the testing of the Judgment, of which our author thought the present persecutions were the immediate precursors. Cf. I Pt. 4; 7. Though the conditions under which they wrote were very different, the figure used by Paul would be picked up most appropriately during the trying ordeal.

(18)

I Pt. 5; 10	I Cor. 1; 9
ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πάσης Χάριτος, ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ	πιστὸς ὁ Θεὸς, δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This close parallel finds similar thought in I Tim. 6; 12, but is quite suggestive of dependence here.

(19)

I Pt. 5; 12	I Cor. 4; 17
διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . ἔγραψα	ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον . . . πιστὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ

(20)

I Pt. 5; 12	I Cor. 15; 1
χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ· εἰς ἣν στῆτε	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . ᾧ ἑστήκατε

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(21)	I Pt. 5; 13	I Cor. 16; 19
	Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ . . .	ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι . . .

(22)	I Pt. 5; 14	I Cor. 16; 20
	Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης	ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ

The last four parallels may be duplicated in most any of the Pauline Epistles.

The foregoing study shows the difficulty in ascertaining the exact relationship between these two Epistles. The combined evidence of a score or more of possible points of contact, and especially of those classed " c—d ", make dependence somewhat probable. No one instance requires this conclusion, nor do they all necessarily prove it since much of the thought is to be duplicated in Romans and Ephesians, with which dependence is far more probable. Hence we can do no more than assign to I Corinthians a low degree of probability.

II CORINTHIANS

C—D

c—d

(1)	I Pt. 2; 22	II Cor. 5; 21
	ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν	τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν

The doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ is common. See Jn. 8; 34, 46, Heb. 4; 15, I Jn. 3; 4, 8. Since II Corinthians antedates them all, none can surpass its claim to originality, yet all may draw from Isa. 53.

(2)	I Pt. 4; 5	II Cor. 5; 10
	τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς . .	τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ

This parallel is made more significant by the possible relation of 4; 1 to II Cor. 5; 15. Yet the doctrine is common. Cf. Acts 17; 31, Rom. 4; 10, 12; 1, I Cor. 15; 51, 52, Jas. 5; 9, Acts 10; 42 and II Tim. 4; 1, the last two of which are closer to I Pt. 4; 5 than to II Cor. 5; 10.

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(3)

I Pt. 5; 3	II Cor. 1; 24
μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων	οὐχ ὅτι κυριεύομεν ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως

II Cor. 1 ; 24 is a closer parallel to 5 ; 3 than is to be found elsewhere in the N. T. Dependence is somewhat probable, though not certain since the context is neutral.

d

(4)

I Pt. 1; 3	II Cor. 1; 3
Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Holtzmann calls attention to this parallel (Einl. p. 314), but as we have seen the dependence is much more likely upon Eph. 1 ; 3. See discussion on I Pt. 1 ; 3 = Eph. 1 ; 3.

(5)

I Pt. 1; 3	II Cor. 1; 3
ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος	ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν

Again the thought is not as close as in Ephesians.

(6)

I Pt. 1; 8	II Cor. 5; 7
εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες	διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν οὐ διὰ εἴδους

This thought is too common and the context too different to claim dependence. Cf. Jn. 20 ; 29, Rom. 8 ; 24, 25, I Cor. 13 ; 12, Heb. 1 ; 1, 27, I Jn. 4 ; 20.

(7)

I Pt. 1; 21	II Cor. 6; 6
φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον	ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτῳ

Although there is a parallel in I Pt. 2 ; 4 and II Cor. 6 ; 16, there is nothing to indicate dependence at this point. Cf. discussions on I Pt. 1 ; 2 = Eph. 1 ; 20 and I Pt. 2 ; 5 = I Cor. 3 ; 16.

(8)

I Pt. 2; 1	II Cor. 12; 20
καταλαλία	καταλαλία

This word occurs only in these two places in all the N. T., yet the context is not such as to lead one to infer dependence at this point.

(9)

I Pt. 4; 10	II Cor. 10; 13
ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα	κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεός

Our Epistle finds a closer parallel at this point in Rom. 12 ; 6, I Cor. 12 ; 4, 5 and Eph. 4 ; 7.

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(10)

I Pt. 4; 11	II Cor. 9; 10
χορηγεῖ	χορηγήσει

The usage of this word, which occurs only here in the N. T., seems to be independent.

(11)

I Pt. 4; 13	II Cor. 1; 7
καθὸ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε . . . χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι	ὥσπερ κοινωνοί ἐστε τῶν παθημάτων, οὕτω καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως

The thought is the same, yet Rom. 8 ; 17, 18 more probably suggested this to our author.

(12)

I Pt. 4; 14	II Cor. 12; 10
εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι	εὐδοκῶ ἐν ἀσθενείαις . . . ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ

The phrase ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ occurs now here else in the N. T. Persecution caused by confessing the name of Christ is specific. The passage in I Corinthians shows Paul's willingness to pay the price, that he might be " strong in Christ." The evidence for dependence here is slight.

(13)

I Pt. 5; 10	II Cor. 4; 17
ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ ὀλίγον παθόντας αὐτὸς καταρτίσει . . .	τὸ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν

The joyful optimism during suffering is noticeable in both cases. Paul was an " apostle of hope " quite as much as our author, and no doubt was a great inspiration to him. Dependence however can not be asserted here.

The concluding greeting (I Pt. 5 ; 13 = II Cor. 13 ; 13 and I Pt. 5 ; 14 = II Cor. 13 ; 12) has no more to commend it here than in the other Pauline Epistles.

The possible points of contact between these two Epistles are not such as to warrant any confidence in the probability of dependence. What may be termed real evidence is limited to the parallels classed " c—d ". Even these do not show more than a low degree of probability.

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ROMANS

A*

a*—b

(1)

I Pt. I; 20	Rom. 16; 25
προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων	κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένου, φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν

The significance of this parallel has been noted by many scholars. Professor Sanday (Com. on Rom. p. 434) makes the following comment on the passage in Romans ; " This is the thought which underlies much of the argument of chapters 9—11, and is directly implied in the first eight chapters. It represents in fact the conclusion which the Apostle had arrived at in musing over the difficulties which the problems of human history, as he knew them, had suggested. God .... is working out a purpose in the world. For ages it was a mystery, now in these last days it has been revealed ; and this revelation explains the meaning of God's working in the past." That I Peter here alludes to the Pauline idea of the μυστήριον is very probable. It is wholly in accord with the non-speculative nature of the author, as well as in harmony with his characteristic trait of expressing in a simple phrase or clause the equivalent of the more elaborate reasoning of Paul. This brevity has led B. Weiss to advocate the dependence of Paul. Yet Professor Sanday follows the general consensus of scholastic opinion in contending for the originality of Paul. That the above reference occurs in connection with the Pauline doctrine of the preexistence of Christ is very important to note.

(2)

I Pt. 2; 6	Rom. 9; 33
Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν . . .	ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν

(3)

I Pt. 2; 6 b	Rom. 9; 33 b
ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ	ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται

(4)

I Pt. 2; 8	Rom. 9; 33 a
λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου	λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου

The very important place these three parallels have in the problem of literary relation, necessitates quite extensive comment. Bigg says " It is unnecessary to suppose that St. Peter's version of Isaiah is derived from St. Paul." (I. C. C. p. 132.) B. Weiss after arguing

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that there is here a literary dependence says " Es ist nun aber auch in dieser Stelle völlig unmöglich, daß die Abhängigkeit auf Seiten des Petrus sein kann." (Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff. p. 422) Against this almost isolated example is to be given the general consensus of scholastic opinion. Furthermore Weiss does not seem to have met Brückner's argument. Monnier says : " la dépendance de I Pt. 2 ; 6 et 8 par rapport à Rom. 9 ; 33 est évidente." (Com. p. 38.) H. M. Holtzmann, (Einl. p. 314,) gives the following line of reasoning ; " Am wenigsten aber ist nur Zufall dabei im Spiele, wenn Jes. 28 ; 16 und 8 ; 14, letztere Stelle verschmolzen mit Ps. 118 ; 22, I. Pt. 2 ; 6—8, ganz ähnlich wie Röm. 9 ; 33 (Jes. 28 ; 16 mit Jes. 8 ; 14 verbunden, vgl. auch I. Pt. 2 ; 8 προσκόπτειν wie Röm. 9 ; 32 und paulinischer Determinismus wie Röm. 9 ; 14 f. und unmittelbar darauf 10. Hos. 2 ; 25 ganz in demselben Sinne, um den Unterschied des ehemaligen heidnischen und des gegenwärtigen christlichen Zustandes hervorzuheben, angeführt wird, wie Röm. 9 ; 25 eine solche Benutzung Bestätigung findet.) Gerade wie Pls., Rom. 9 ; 33, 10 ; 11 thut, ist der Spruch Jes. 28 ; 16 mit einem zu πιστεύων hinzutretenden ἐπ' αὐτῷ aus Jes. 8 ; 14 ausgestattet ; auch der beiderseitige Eingang des Spruches stimmt gegen LXX überein."

Zahn (Introduction II p. 188) gives the following against Weiss : " That Rom. 9 ; 32 f. and I Pt. 2 ; 6, still more 2 ; 4—8 were not written independently of each other is proved (1) by the fact that both apostles in quoting Isa. 28 ; 16 are practically agreed against the strongly variant reading of the LXX ; even the addition ἐπ' αὐτῷ (Rom. 9 ; 33, 10 ; 11, I Pt. 2 ; 6) is certainly spurious in the LXX ; (2) from the fact that after the quotation of Isa. 28 ; 16, following a quotation from Ps. 118 ; 22, in I Pt. 2 ; 7 f. are added the words λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου, which are taken from Isa. 8 ; 14, but vary greatly from the text of the LXX, and which Paul inserts in the quotation of Isa. 28 ; 16. Here also Peter does not copy Rom. ; he is familiar with the prophetic text from his own reading, since in 2 ; 6 he gives the characteristics of the stone,—as also earlier in 2 ; 3,—passed over by Paul. But there remains in his memory also the form in which Paul had quoted the words of the prophet, and, following the cue suggested by Paul's combination of Isa. 28 ; 16 and Isa. 8 ; 14 he also adds Ps. 118 ; 22."

To Professor Sanday we are indebted for the following important observations on the variations ; (1) The LXX reads ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβάλλω εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών. In both the passages in the N. T. the words are ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν. (2) For the LXX λίθον πολυτελῆ

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ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον, St. Peter reads ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον; while St. Paul substitutes λίθον πφοσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου taken from Isa. 8; 14 καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθον προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι. Here St. Peter 2; 8 agrees with St. Paul in writing πέτρα σκανδάλου for πέτρας πτώματι. (3) The LXX proceeds εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς, which both St. Peter and St. Paul omit. (4) The LXX proceeds καὶ ὁ πιστεύων οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθῇ. Both St. Peter and St. Paul bring out the personal reference by inserting ἐπ' αὐτῷ while St. Paul reads καταισχυνθήσεται and in 10; 11 adds πᾶς." (I. C. C. p 280 f.) Cf. also Hilgenfeld's Einleitung p. 633 f.

We may note in this connection that in the "Petrine" speech of Acts 4; 11, reference is made to Ps. 118; 22 and not to Isa. 28; 16. I Pt. 2; 6b = Isa. 28; 16, 2; 7b = Ps. 118; 22 and 2; 8a = Isa. 8; 14. Rom. 9; 33 combines I Pt. 2; 6a, 8a, and 6b into one short sentence, i. e., Isa. 28; 16b, 8; 14 and 28; 16c, omitting I Pt. 2; 7b, the quotation from Ps. 118; 22 which is given in "Peter's speech" in Acts 4; 11.

That there is literary dependence here scholars agree, and that the dependence is on the part of our author they are nearly all quite as ready to admit. Only B. Weiss and his pupil Kühl resist this conclusion. It seems fair therefore to say the arguments presented above by representative scholars prove the originality of Paul, who had thoroughly worked over these ideas and put them in compact form, while our author apparently was contented in his "practical treatise" to sort out and string together the scriptural pearls discovered by Paul. (For counter arguments see "Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff" by B. Weiss, p. 421 f.)

(5)

I Pt. 4; 10	Rom. 12; 6
ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς αὐτὸ διακονοῦντες . . .	ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα . .

Jülicher (Int. p. 209) agrees with Cone (Com. p. 319) "that the dependence of the writer on the Pauline passage is evident" in this and the following parallels. The Pauline thought is expressed in Pauline terms. Cf. also I Cor. 12; 4, 28.

(6)

I Pt. 4; 11	Rom. 12; 7
εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ Θεός	εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ

This citation in I Peter continues the thought of Paul in the same order, noted in the preceding parallel.

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(7)

I Pt. 4 ; 13	Rom. 8 ; 17, 18
καθὸ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. Cf. 5 ; 1.	εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν. 8; 18 οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς

(8)

I Pt. 5 ; 1	Rom. 8 ; 17, 19
μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, ὁ καὶ τῆς μαλλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός	εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν . . . (19) τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς

These last two parallels belong together. Weiss (Lehrbegriff p. 423) thinks there is here a clear case of Paul's dependence upon I Peter. Chase (H. B. D., III. p. 788) on the other hand thinks the dependence of I Peter is obvious. Practically all scholars are agreed that there is here a clear case of dependence. The priority must be given to Paul, as will appear later.

b

(9)

I Pt. 1 ; 14	Rom. 12 ; 2
μὴ συνσχηματιζόμενοι ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις	μὴ συνσχηματίζεσθε τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ

Συνσχηματίζομαι is found only in these two passages in all the N. T. Nor is the word used by the LXX. Our Epistle has an amplification of the simpler form found in Romans. This parallel receives added significance when placed alongside of I Pt. 2 ; 5 = Rom. 12 ; 1. Cf. H. J. Holtzmann's Einleitung p. 314.

(10)

I Pt. 1 ; 15	Rom. 12 ; 2
ἀλλὰ . . . . αὐτοὶ ἅγιοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε	ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς

The antithesis here is an important parallel construction, while the thought is equally striking. This and the foregoing example make a strong case for dependence.

(11)

I Pt. 1 ; 17	Rom. 2 ; 11, 6
τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔργον	οὐ γάρ ἐστι προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ 2 ; 6 ὃς ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ

This is a common N. T. parallel, but it is closer here than in James 2 ; 1 or Acts 10 ; 34. Our Epistle clearly refers to God's

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impartiality in the judgment in harmony with Rom. 2 ; 11. Cf. also 2 ; 6. A similar sentiment is expressed in Eph. 6 ; 9, and Col. 3 ; 25. That this is a closer parallel than in the " speech of Peter " is very significant.—We have seen another probable point of contact in this context of Romans, (i. e., I Pt. 1 ; 7 = Rom. 2 ; 10,) thereby justifying us in putting this parallel in class " b ".

(12)

I Pt. 1 ; 21	Rom. 4 ; 24
δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν	τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν

That God raised up Jesus from the dead, was a common belief, but that He did it to beget belief in Himself, hence be efficacious for salvation, is peculiar to these authors. Monnier says " La résurrection de J. C. est constamment rapportée à un acte de Dieu, à qui revient, en dernière analyse, la première initiative et la puissance supreme dans l'œuvre de salut . . ." Both the thought and phrasing are very close.

(13)

I Pt. 1 ; 22	Rom. 12 ; 9, 10
τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον ἐκ καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς.	ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος. ἀποστυγοῦντες τὸ πονηρόν, κολλώμενοι τῷ ἀγαθῷ, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι

This parallel is too close to require comment. Jas. 4 ; 8 approximates it but is not nearly so close. Furthermore the evidence seems to indicate that " James " is later than either of the above passages.

(14)

I Pt. 2 ; 11	Rom. 7 ; 23
ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς	βλέπω ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου

An obvious parallel to the Pauline doctrine of the σάρξ which " wars " against the πνεῦμα. Monnier (Com. p. 110) says: " Eph. 2 ; 3 est imité ici ", but in reality there is here a combination of Rom. 7 ; 23 and Eph. 2 ; 3 in one sentence. The passage in Ephesians fails to emphasise the " internal warfare " as do these passages.

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(15) I Pt. 2; 12

ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσι τὸν Θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς

Rom. 12; 20, 21

ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, ψώμιζε αὐτόν· ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακὸν

Holtzmann calls attention to this parallel. Though the background is different the thought is similar and the gap is filled which would have been left open by v. 12. The importance of the position of this parallel, it is thought, justifies this classification.

(16) I Pt. 2; 13

ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κυρίον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ . . . εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν

Rom. 13; 1

πάσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις, ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω· . . . αἱ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν

Concerning the extended parallel between I Pt. 2; 13–17 and Rom. 13; 1–7, Zahn says: "The sense is not only the same, but several expressions are alike, e.g., the aim for which civil authorities exist is described." (Int. II, p. 187.) Cf. I Pt. 2; 14 and Rom. 13; 3 f. Many commentators have discussed these parallels and are agreed in the main. Bigg rightly calls attention to the different backgrounds of the authors (I.C.C. p. 139). "Paul speaks of Caesar as holding his authority from god, not from the people. Rom. 13; 1. A doctrine of divine right could be built upon the words of Paul, but not upon those of Peter." To this most will agree, but many will not accept his conclusion, that "Peter's" attitude is due to his priority to Paul; i. e., that he viewed the government as a Republic, while Paul viewed it as a Monarchy. The reason is made obvious by the body of the letter, which indicates a shifting attitude of the State towards the Church. This shifted attidude quite clearly implies priority of Paul.

(17) I Pt. 2; 14

ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν

Rom. 13; 4

ἔκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι

The parallel is obvious, but the situations are different. Paul refers to social disturbances caused by evil doing, actual crime, but I Peter alludes to the accusation of "evil doing," brought on by their insubordination to the state religion being taken in "a

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false light." Cf. Holtzmann's Com. p. 137, also Gunkel, Abschnitt 3, p. 43. Regarding this and its relation to Romans the latter says it is "Ein Zusatz, begründet ganz in paulinischer Weise."

(18)	I Pt. 2; 14	Rom. 13; 3
	ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν	τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ἕξεις ἔπαινον

Dependence may quite easily be inferred here. Επαινος is only used by these two authors in all the N. T. Our author combines in his characteristic fashion the adjective and the verb. Out of the sixty-one words peculiar to I Peter forty-one are compounds. With this tendency of his in mind we can see a perfect parallel here. The closeness of the last three parallels, both in thought and textual sequence make a strong case for dependence.

(19)	I Pt. 2; 24	Rom. 6; 2, 11.
	ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν	οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ. 11 τοὺς νεκροὺς μὲν εἶναι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῶντας δὲ τῷ Θεῷ. Cf. 6; 18.

"This passage implies the writer's dependence upon the Pauline thought and phraseology." Cone Com. p. 312. Cf. Monnier Com. p. 136. The figure is too thoroughly Pauline for us to say with Bigg that "the Pauline images of death or burial with Christ do not cross the author's mind." (I.C.C. p. 148.)

(20)	I Pt. 3; 4	Rom. 2; 16
	ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος	ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. Rom. 7; 22 and II Cor. 4; 16.

An exact parallel to Paul's "inward man." Cf. Rom. 7; 22. Combining this parallel with I Pt. 2; 11 = Rom. 7; 23, they both receive added significance.

(21)	I Pt. 3; 8	Rom. 12; 16
	τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες	τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες 15; 5, δῴη ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις

(22)	I. Pt. 3; 8	Rom. 12; 5
	συμπάθεῖς	χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων

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(23)	I Pt. 3; 8	Rom. 12; 10
	φιλάδελφοι	τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι
(24)	I Pt. 3; 8	Rom. 12; 16
	ταπεινόφρονες	μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες ἀλλὰ ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι
(25)	I Pt. 3; 8	Rom. 12; 13
	εὔσπλαγχνοι	ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες

Following the canon of brevity we should be required to cast our vote in favor of the originality of I Peter at this point in accord with the contention of Weiss, but other considerations lead us to believe our author summed up the exhortation of Rom. 12 ; 5–16 into one sentence, i. e. 3 ; 8. The last five parallels afford a conspicuous example of expressing the content of Pauline phrases by single compound words. This is especially obvious in the next to the last parallel, where two words already used by St. Paul are combined. Separately these parallels do not merit such a high rating, yet when taken together they may well be placed in class " b ".

(26)	I Pt. 3; 9	Rom. 12; 17
	μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ	μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες

Prov. 20 ; 22 (μὴ εἴπῃς τίσομαι τὸν ἐχθρόν) can hardly be the original for these two passages as some contend. Nor is it probable they were quoting independently a logion of Jesus. Cf. Mt. 5 ; 39, and Lk. 6 ; 29, which have very different forms. The probabilities are therefore that one is quoting the phrase from the other. Paul uses it also in another connection. I Thes. 5 ; 15. See Zahn's Introduction II, p. 187.

(27)	I Pt. 3; 9 b	Rom. 12; 14
	ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας τουναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες	εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς εὐλογεῖτε, καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε

This parallel is strengthened also by I Pt. 2 ; 15. The context as well as the wording makes dependence very probable.

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(28)	I Pt. 3; 11	Rom. 12; 18, 14; 19
	ζητησάτω εἰρηνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν	μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες. 14; 19 τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης διώκωμεν

The thought, phrasing and context are very suggestive of literary dependence.

(29)	I Pt. 3; 18	Rom. 5; 6, 8
	Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτίων ἀπέθανεν. [ἔπαθεν] W. H.	Χριστὸς . . . ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανε, 5; 8 Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε

W. H. prefer ἀπέθανεν to ἔπαθεν, on the authority of ℵAC and all the versions. This rendering makes a very close parallel with Romans, yet the thought would not be materially altered by ἀπέθανε, which has in its favor BKLP.

(30)	I Pt. 3; 18	Rom. 5; 7
	δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων	μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται

An important parallel as Rom. 5; 7 connects vs. 6 and 8 given in the example I Pt. 3; 18 = Rom. 5; 6, 8. Rom. 5; 9 is also in accord with the Petrine doctrine.

(31)	I Pt. 3; 18	Rom. 5; 10
	ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ	κατηλλάγημεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. Cf. 5; 2.

This parallel is obvious. Jülicher thinks the agreement is closer with Rom. 5; 2. (δι' οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν) "Introduction" p. 209. This appears to be another example of condensing. What was done elsewhere in words is here done in phrases and clauses, as 3; 18 seems to be an abstract of Rom. 5; 2—10. The combined evidence of the last three parallels in direct contextual sequence makes dependence here very probable.

(32)	I Pt. 3; 22	Rom. 8; 34
	ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν . . .	ἐγερθείς, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ

This parallel is too close to require comment.

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(33) I Pt. 3; 22 b — Rom. 8; 38

ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων — ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ οὔτε δυνάμεις

Christ's leadership over angels, authorities and powers is distinctly a Pauline teaching. Bigg thinks the reference to Noah in I Pt. 3; 20 is a proof that our author was not borrowing from Paul but from Enoch 61 ; 10, "since the passage comes just before one of the Noachic fragments." (Com. p. 166.) Enoch 61 ; 10 reads as follows ; "And He will call on all the host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and all the host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect one, and the other powers on the earth, over the water, on that day." Charles says "the other persons on the earth, over the water, etc., refer to the lower angel-powers over nature." The "Noachic fragment" therefore seems too fragmentary to merit attention. On the other hand Charles says these (referring to Enoch 61 ; 10) are exactly St. Paul's principalities and powers. Cf. Rom. 8 ; 38, Eph. 1 ; 21, Col. 1 ; 16." (Book of Enoch p. 162.) Professor Sanday refers to the same passage in Enoch as a probable source of Paul's terminology. Cf. Com. on Rom. p. 222. The commonness of the idea with Paul, along with the variety of expression argue for his independence of I Peter. In addition to the passages cited by Charles cf. I Cor. 15 ; 24, Eph. 3 ; 10, 6 ; 12, Col. 2 ; 10, 15. This and the preceding parallel taken together makes the dependence of our author upon Paul highly probable, and very likely on Romans.

(34) I Pt. 4; 1 — Rom. 6; 7, 2

ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίαις — ὁ ἀποθανὼν δεδικαίωται ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. 6; 2 οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ

This seems to be a very probable case of dependence "for the thought that death annuls man's relationship to sin, which is only differently expressed in the two instances is very boldly applied in both cases, first to the death of Christ and then as the ground of moral obligation on the part of those who have been redeemed through His death. Similar relations do not exist between I Peter and any other of Paul's letters." (Zahn's Intro. II, p. 188.) Gal. 3; 23 and I Pt. 1; 5, quoted by Hilgenfeld, (Einl. p. 633), agree only in the use of the word φρουρεῖν. B. Weiss, whose judgment

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here regarding the connection is better than concerning the order of dependence, thinks the "Pauline mysticism, regarding the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, is borrowed from this passage in I Peter." ("Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff" p. 289.)

(35)	I Pt. 4; 7	Rom. 13; 11, 12
	πάντων τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν	νῦν ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία . . ἡ νὺξ προέκοψεν, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν

That these scriptures are followed by similar exhortations based upon them and that they occur in such close contextual connection with I Pt. 4 ; 3 = Rom. 13 ; 13, is a strong argument for literary dependence. Cf. Weiss' Lehrbegriff p. 420.

c

(36)	I Pt. 1; 2	Rom. 8; 29, 11; 2, 1; 7
	κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ	οὓς προέγνω 11 ; 2, τὸν λαὸν . . ὃν προέγνω 1 ; 7 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη

Πρόγνωσις and προγινώσκω are strictly Pauline and Petrine terms. The former is found only in I Pt. 1 ; 2 and Acts 2 ; 23. The latter in Acts 26 ; 5, Rom. 8 ; 29, 11 ; 2, I Pt. 1 ; 20, II Pt. 3 ; 17. Though I Peter shows a more extended likeness in the fore part to "Ephesians" than to "Romans", it is quite probable that our author was influenced just at this point by the latter, for the former uses προορίσας. On the whole it is to be noted that "The salutation of I Peter is formed in an independent manner after the model which had been created by St. Paul, especially as it appears in his Epistles to the Galatians and Romans". Hort's "First Epistle of St. Peter," p. 13. We should also add the Epistle to the Ephesians.

(37)	I Pt. 1; 9	Rom. 6; 22
	κομιζόμενοι τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν	ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζώην αἰώνιον

Nowhere is this thought more closely duplicated.

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(38)

I Pt. 2; 4	Rom. 9; 33
λίθον ζῶντα, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώτων μὲν ἀποδεδοκιμάσμενον	λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου

When considered along with I Pt. 2; 6–8 = Rom. 9; 33, this parallel deserves a higher rating.

(39)

I Pt. 2; 5	Rom. 12; 1
ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	παραστῆσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν

The thought is very similar. The sacrifice in both cases is to be pleasing to God.

(40)

I Pt. 2; 8	Rom. 9; 22, 18
εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν	σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτίσενα εἰς ἀπώλειαν. 18 ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει

Our author here echoes the Pauline doctrine that the disobedient were foreordained to spiritual hardness. Cf. I Tim. 2; 7, II Tim. 1; 4. That the thought occurs in these contexts is significant. See Rendel Harris' emendation of ἐτέθησαν to ἐτέθη. (Expos. 1909, p. 155 f.) The suggested change is indeed clever, but it in no way affects the doctrine at issue, since it is found elsewhere.

(41)

I Pt. 2; 9	Rom. 13; 12
ἐκ σκότους . . . εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς	ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, καὶ ἐνδυσώμεθα τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός

The figure is Pauline and the antithesis suggestive. The contextual connection should not be overlooked.

(42)

I Pt. 2; 10	Rom. 9; 25
οἱ ποτὲ οὐ λαὸς νῦν δὲ λαὸς Θεοῦ οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες	καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην

" Dasselbe Zitat und in demselben Sinne Röm. 9; 25, eine Stelle, die dem Verfasser vorzuschweben scheint." (H. Gunkel, Dritter Abschnitt, p. 40, " Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments. ") Cf. Holtzmann's comment on parallels between I Pt. 2; 6, 8 and Rom. 9; 33. This reference to Hosea is preceded in both cases by the statement that God had so " called " them. Cf. Rom. 9; 24 = I Pt. 2; 9.

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(43)	I Pt. 2; 17	Rom. 12; 10b
	πάντες τιμήσατε	τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι
(44)	I Pt. 2; 17	Rom. 12; 10a
	την ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε	τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι

Close parallels both in form and meaning, yet our author reverses the order.

(45)	I Pt. 2; 17	Rom. 13; 7
	τὸν Θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε	ἀπόδοτε τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον· τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμήν
(46)	I Pt. 2; 18, 19	Rom. 13; 5
	ὑποτασσόμενοι . . . 19 διὰ συνείδησιν Θεοῦ ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως	διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν

The last two parallels should be considered together. The form is similar, but the background is different. Dependence may readily be inferred from these passages.

(47)	I Pt. 3; 18	Rom. 8; 11
	ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι	τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν

This entire verse is thoroughly akin to the Pauline teaching on the subject. The suffering of Christ for sins accords with "gave himself for our sins" (Gal. 1 ; 4) and "died for our sins" (I Cor. 15 ; 3). It is significant also that the well known Pauline antithesis of the σάρξ and πνεῦμα appears here. (Cone Com. p. 214.)

(48)	I Pt. 3; 21	Rom. 4; 25, 10; 9
	δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν. πιστεύσῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ

It was noted in the parallel I Pt. 1 ; 21 = Rom. 4 ; 24 that these authors saw in the resurrection of Jesus, a special power or proof which would beget faith, which in turn would lead to justification, hence "salvation." Our author parallels Paul's whole train of reasoning with the simple phrase δι' ἀναστάσεως, apparently implying what Paul explicitly states.

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(49)

I Pt. 4; 5	Rom. 14; 10
τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς	πάντες παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Θεοῦ)

"So far as the dead are concerned, believers only are included in the writer's thought, just as the Pauline doctrine of the last things takes account of them alone. The believers were conceived of as being subject to judgment." Cf. II Cor. 5 ; 10. (Cone Com. p. 317.)

(50)

I Pt. 4; 8	Rom. 12; 9, 10
εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες	ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος 10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι

The context adds to the significance of this parallel. See "Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff" p. 420.

(51)

I Pt. 4; 9	Rom. 12; 13
φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους	τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες

Φιλοξενία is only found in Rom. 12; 13 and Heb. 13; 2. Φιλόξενος occurs only in I Tim. 3; 2, Tit. 1; 8, and I Pt. 4; 9. The use of this rare word, although in a slightly different form, in this context may indicate a real point of contact. This parallel occurs between two drawn from the same contexts, i. e., I Pt. 4; 8 = Rom, 12; 9, 10 and I Pt. 4; 10 = Rom. 12; 6.

d

(52)

I Pt. 1; 2	Rom. 1; 7
χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη	χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη

This verbatim agreement is very suggestive, yet this form is common with Paul. The "Pastoral Epistles" employ ἔλεος also. The expression also occurs in Rev. 1; 4, which is probably borrowed from I Peter. Πληθυνθείν suggests that II Peter copied the phrase from I Peter. The same word, as well as contextual reasons make it much more probable that our author is following Ephesians here rather than Romans.

(53)

I Pt. 1; 3	Rom. 15; 6
Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυριοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	δοξάζητε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυριοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. 1; 7.

Dependence may easily be inferred from this very close agreement. I Pt. 1; 2b and 1; 3a = Rom. 1; 7 and 15; 6, modelled

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on the plan of 1 ; 7. With the single exception of I Pt. 1 ; 3, this exact phrase is peculiar to Paul and at the same time very common with him. Though the close agreement is striking in the context, Eph. 1 ; 3 shows a much more probable connection.

(54)	I Pt. 1 ; 7	Rom. 2 ; 10
	εὑρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμήν	δόξα δέ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομενῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν. Cf. 2 ; 7.

This may be a real echo, though the evidence is inadequate for any degree of certainty.

(55)	I Pt. 2 ; 9	Rom. 8 ; 28, 30
	ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν	τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν .. οὓς προώρισε, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσε

Although the γένος ἐκλεκτόν may be borrowed from Isa. 43 ; 20 it is in thorough accord with Paul's doctrine of election.

(56)	I Pt. 3 ; 13	Rom. 8 ; 28, 31
	τίς ὁ κακώσων ὑμᾶς ἐὰν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ γένησθε	τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν. 31 εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τίς καθ' ἡμῶν

The parallel is closer in thought than in form.

(57)	I Pt. 4 ; 2	Rom. 6 ; 12
	εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις	μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι . . . ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις . . . ἁμαρτίᾳ

This parallel is strengthened both by the context and I Pt. 2 ; 24 = Rom. 4 ; 2, 11 and I Pt. 4 ; 1 = Rom. 6 ; 2, 7.

(58)	I Pt. 4 ; 2	Rom. 6 ; 12
	ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ	ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ

This antithesis may indicate Pauline influence, since it follows immediately after a possible point of contact.

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(59)

I Pt. 4; 3	Rom. 13; 13
πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, πότοις, καὶ ἀθεμίτοις εἰδωλολατρίαις	περιπατήσωμεν μὴ κώμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείας .

Though the thought is similar, the context is hardly in favor of dependence.

(60)

I Pt. 4; 11	Rom. 3; 3
λόγια Θεοῦ	λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ

In all probability this parallel is due to accident.

(61)

I Pt. 5; 5	Rom. 12; 10
πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὑποτασσόμενοι, τὴν ταπεινοφοσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε	τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι· τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι

The thought is similar but the form is different.

(62)

I Pt. 5; 13	Rom. 16; 16
ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ (ἐν Βαβυλῶνι)	ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ

(63)

I Pt. 5; 14	Rom. 16; 16
ἀσπάσασθε, ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης	ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ

These salutations are clearly built on the same specifications. The form is common with Paul, hence its occurence in I Peter can be no proof of dependence upon Romans.

The following table of parallel references will serve to make more apparent the relationship between Romans and I Peter.

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I Pt.	1; 2	= Rom.	8; 29, 11; 2	I. Pt.	3; 4	= Rom.	2; 16, 7; 22
„	1; 2b	= „	1; 7	„	3; 8	= „	12; 16, 15; 5
„	1; 3	= „	15; 16	„	3; 8	= „	12; 5
„	1; 7	= „	2; 10	„	3; 8	= „	12; 10
„	1; 9	= „	6; 22	„	3; 8	= „	12; 16
„	1; 14	= „	12; 2	„	3; 8	= „	12: 13
„	1; 15	= „	12; 2	„	3; 9	= „	12; 16, 17
„	1; 17	= „	2; 11, 6	„	3; 9	= „	12; 14
„	1; 20	= „	16; 25	„	3; 11	= „	12; 18, 14; 19
„	1; 21	= „	4; 24	„	3; 13	= „	8; 28, 31
„	1; 22	= „	12; 9, 10	„	3; 18	= „	5; 6, 8
„	2; 4	= „	9; 33	„	3; 18	= „	5; 10
„	2; 5	= „	12; 1	„	3; 18	= „	8; 11
„	2; 6	= „	9; 33	„	3; 21	= „	4; 25, 6; 4, 10; 9
„	2; 6b	= „	9; 33b	„	3; 22	= „	8; 34
„	2; 8	= „	9; 33a	„	3; 22	= „	8; 38
„	2; 8b	= „	9; 18, 22	„	4; 1	= „	6; 2, 7
„	2; 9	= „	8; 28, 30	„	4; 2	= „	6; 12
„	2; 9b	= „	13; 12	„	4; 3	= „	13; 13
„	2; 10	= „	9; 25	„	4; 5	= „	14; 10
„	2; 11	= „	7; 23	„	4; 7	= „	13; 11, 12
„	2; 13	= „	13; 1	„	4; 8	= „	12; 9, 10
„	2; 14b	= „	13; 4	„	4; 9	= „	12; 13
„	2; 14c	= „	13; 3	„	4; 11	= „	3; 3
„	2; 15	= „	12; 14, 20, 21	„	4; 11	= „	12; 7
„	2; 17	= „	12; 10b	„	4; 13	= „	8; 17, 18
„	2; 17b	= „	12; 10a	„	5; 1	= „	8; 17–19
„	2; 17c	= „	13; 7	„	5; 5	= „	12; 10
„	2; 18	= „	13; 5	„	5; 13	= „	16; 16
„	2; 24	= „	6; 2, 11, 18	„	5; 14	= „	16; 16

From the above table we may sum up the possible points of contact with Rom. 12, as follows ; 2, 2, 9, 10, 1, 14, 20, 21, 10b, 10a, 16, 5, 10, 16, 13, 16, 17, 14, 18, 9, 10, 13, 7, 10. Rom. 8 also contains a number of parallels, i. e., 12, 1, 4, 3, 7, 5, 13, 11, 12. Many of these it will be noted occur in groups in close contextual connection.

Bennet has an excellent analysis of the parallels in Rom. 12; 1–13; 14 in the "New Century Bible" on the Gen. Eps. p. 33 f.

SUMMARY

The foregoing parallels and notes it is believed show quite conclusively that "I Peter" is indebted to "Romans." The parallels have been too close, employing too similar phraseology, and too

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often of the same order to be independent. Nor have instances been lacking to show the priority of the Pauline Epistle.

Few indeed are the advocates of the priority of "I Peter." B. Weiss has made the most heroic effort of all to defend this position in his "Petrinische Lehrbegriff." His pupil Kühl follows a similar line of thought. The anonymous article on "Peter" in the "International Encyclopaedia" 1910, says "The opinion of Weiss and Kühl, has much in its favor, and appears on the whole, the most probable." Bigg is inclined to favor the independence of our author. Cf. also E. Scharfe's "Die petrinische Strömung der neutestamentlichen Literatur." (1893.)

With these exceptions the scholars of all schools are agreed that our author was the borrower. Strange to say not all the most enthusiastic defenders of this position are to be found in the "radical school." "Conservatives" claim, on the one hand, that this dependence upon Romans is a proof of its genuineness, while "radicals" maintain, on the other hand, that it proves the very opposite. At this point it may be well to review a few of the opinions and arguments of some of the leading conservative scholars.

Chase in his excellent article in H.B.D. says "there is no doubt that the author of I Peter was acquainted with this Epistle," i. e., Romans. Zahn, the worthy prince of German conservatives, says: "It is especially the hortatory portion of Romans to which I Peter shows numerous points of resemblance; Rom. 12; 2 = I Pt. 1; 14, μὴ συσχηματίζεσθαι, with substantially the same object in the dative; Rom. 12; 17 = I Pt. 3; 9, μηδενὶ (μη) ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ, in both instances standing between an exhortation to humility and the advice to preserve peace with non-Christians, while in the immediate context in both passages stands the command that they bless their persecutors instead of reviling them (Romans 12; 14). Taken in connection with such clear resemblances, a certain weight is to be given also to similarities in the same chapter, which cannot be used as positive proof, such as the similar use of λογικός,—not to be found elsewhere in the N. T. or LXX,—Rom. 12; 1, I Pt. 2; 2, and the conception of offerings, in a figurative sense, made by Christians, Rom. 12; 1, I Pt. 2; 5. In relatively close proximity to these parallels, Rom. 13; 1–7 and I Pt. 2; 13–17, occurs an exhortation with regard to civil authorities. The sense is not only the same but several expressions are alike, e. g. the aim for which civil authorities exist is described thus" (N. T. Intro. II, p. 187): Cf. parallels I Pt. 2; 13, 14 = Rom. 13; 1, I Pt. 2; 14b = Rom. 13; 4, I Pt. 2; 14c = Rom. 13; 3. For the continuation of Zahn's argument see note on I Pt. 2; 6, 8 = Rom. 9; 33.

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As a leader of English Conservatives we may quote Sanday (Com. on Rom. lxxv f.) : " The resemblance " between these parallels " is too great and too constant to be merely accidential. In I Pt. 2 ; 6 we have a quotation from the LXX that we find in Rom. 9 ; 32. Not only do we find the same thoughts, such as the metaphorical use of the idea of sacrifice (Rom. 12 ; 1 = I Pt. 2 ; 5), and the same rare words, such as συσχηματίζεσθαι, ἀνυπόκριτος, but in one passage (Rom. 13 ; 1—7 = I Pt. 2 ; 13—17) we have what must be accepted as conclusive evidence, the same ideas occurring in the same order. Nor can there be any doubt that of the two, the Epistle to the Romans is the earlier. St. Paul works out a thesis clearly and logically ; St. Peter gives a series of maxims for which he is largely indebted to St. Paul. For example in Rom. 13 ; 7 we have a broad general principle laid down, St. Peter, clearly influenced by the phraseology of that passage, merely gives three rules of conduct. In St. Paul the language and ideas come out of the sequence of thought ; in St. Peter they are adopted because they had already been used for the same purpose." For Sanday and Headlam's further argument see note on I Pt. 2 ; 6 = Rom. 9 ; 33.

Numerous quotations from the " liberal school " might be given in defence of the position here maintained by " conservatives," but let one suffice. Knopf rests the case, " vor allem an den starken Anleihen, die I Peter bei den Paulusbriefen macht, Anleihen, die das theologische Gedankengut im allgemeinen, aber auch besondere einzelne Gedanken in ihrer speziellen Formulierung betreffen. (Vgl. I Pt. 2 ; 13—17 mit Rom. 13 ; 1—7, I Pt. 3 ; 8 f. mit Rom. 12 ; 16 f.)" See " Das nachapostolische Zeitalter " p. 33 f.

EPHESIANS

A*

a—b

	I Pt. 1; 2	Eph. 1; 2
(1)	χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη	χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη

When considered alone, this parallel means little, but when placed alongside the following parallel which is also in exact verbal agreement, it is seen to be very important. It is indeed significant that this precise form occurs when so many others might have been employed.

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(2)

I Pt. 1; 3	Eph. 1; 3
εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ . . . ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς	εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς

Only in II Cor. 1 ; 3 is there to be found a duplicate of this perfect parallel. Though the " evidence for dependence here is weakened by II Cor. 1 ; 3 " (Salmon's Int. p. 553), the " weakening " is more than counterbalanced by the occurrence, in the immediate context of Ephesians, of the " Petrine " emphasis on the predestination of believers, which is wholly wanting in II Cor. 1 ; 1 ff. Eph. 1 ; 3b also leads off with " ὁ " and an aorist active participle used substantively (Burton's Moods and Tenses p. 165), governing ἡμᾶς just as in I Pt. 1 ; 3b. II Cor. 1 ; 4 has a similar construction but the participle is a present of simultaneous action, and is separated from its antecedent by an interpreting phrase. Though οἰκτιρμῶν of II Cor. 1 ; 3b is synonymous with ἔλεος of I Pt. 1 ; 3b, the thought is closer in the Petrine parallel. The evidence is in favor of the dependence of I Peter upon Ephesians at this point.

Zahn says : " In favor of the conscious dependence of I Peter upon Ephesians is the fact that they begin with exactly the same word, " εὐλογητὸς . . . . Χριστοῦ, ὁ " followed by a participle,—a construction which does not occur in this or similar form in any other N. T. Epistle. . . . The reference to the future κληρονομία, (cf. ex. I Pt. 1 ; 4, is found also in Eph., only farther from the beginning, 1 ; 14 ; while the thought which immediately follows Eph. 1 ; 4 f. (cf. 1 ; 9, 11), namely, that of election through the divine foresight and predestination, has been utilized already in I Pt. 1 ; 1 f. (Int. II, p. 186.) Alluding to 1 ; 5—13 and Eph. 1 ; 5—15, T. K. Abbot says : " the alternation of participles and relative pronouns is the same until the transition to the succeeding period is made, in the one case by διό, in the other by διὰ τοῦτο ". (I C. C. on Eph. p. xxivf.) The substance of the passage in I Pt. 1 ; 3—5 corresponds to that of the following passage in Eph. 1 ; 18—20, ἐλπίς (Ex. 34) being emphasised in both, and its object being designated the κληρονομία (Ex. 23), the connection with the resurrection (Ex. 35) of Christ as its ground being the same, and in both the δύναμις Θεοῦ being put in relation to the πίστις. (Ex. 24.) After making a careful analysis of the foregoing paralle's Von Soden says : " the priority cannot be determined with certainty by the text itself." (" Hand commentar zum Neuen Testament," III, p. 122.) He also considers the text of our Epistle to be more compact

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than that of Ephesians. These conclusions are affected, no doubt, by his doubts concerning the authenticity of Ephesians. Against the position of Von Soden may be urged the following line of argument presented by Monnier : " En réalité, c'est l'épître de Pierre qui tantôt résume et tantôt développe. C'est elle dont les idées se suivent d'une façon large, coulante, sans rien de rigoureux. Si le style des Ephesiens a des detours (1 ; 11–14) où la pensée semble se resaisir, il est plein, nerveux, original ; les idées forment un ensemble solide, bien lié, avec une indiscutable puissance." (Com. p. 261.) It would seem, therefore, that the general consensus of scholastic opinion is that " This form of benediction is copied from Eph. 1 ; 3." (Hort's Ep. of Pt. p. 27.)

(3)	I Pt. 1 ; 21	Eph. 1 ; 20
	τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα	ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ . . .

This is a striking parallel and in this context is very significant. " This connection of the resurrection of Christ with Christian faith and hope is distinctly Pauline." (Cone Com. p. 308.) Romans Ex. 12 affords a close parallel, but this one combines the exaltation of Jesus with the resurrection, and in this respect is the closest N. T. parallel.

(4)	I Pt. 2 ; 4–6	Eph. 2 ; 18–22
	πρός ὃν προσερχόμενοι λίθον ζῶντα . . .	δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν
	5) καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε, οἶκος πνευματικός	19) . . . οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ. 20) ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ . . . ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ . . . . . 22) συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ
	6) . . . λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον	

This arrangement, borrowed from Abbot (Com. p. xxv), shows the extended parallel in detailed form. In I Pt. 2 ; 4 and Eph. 2 ; 18 access to God is through Christ. Cf. also I Pt. 3 ; 18 and Eph. 3 ; 12. Holtzmann's theory, that the reference to Isa 28 ; 16 was suggested to our author by the ἀκρογωνιαίον of Eph. 2 ; 20, is quite plausible. The word is found in the N.T. only in these two passages. The reference in Acts 4 ; 11 may seem to indicate the originality of I Peter, yet stress cannot be placed upon this point, since Acts may depend upon I Peter. See also the discussion on Rom. Ex. 2–4. The believers are frequently thought of as a spiritual temple by Paul. (Cf. I Cor. 3 ; 16.) Cone thinks the

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application of the epithet "living" is not only obscure here but also has the appearance of a mixing of metaphors, and that the transition is abrupt from "new born" babes longing for the reasonable milk to "living stones" in a "spiritual house." These considerations are important in determining the order of priority. In favor of Paul's independence, Zahn offers the following: "Paul develops the figure briefly at the end of the discussion; Peter makes a varied and detailed use of the same, in connection with various O. T. expressions, and also sayings of Jesus. The building suggests the Lord of the building, who has chosen this particular stone for a cornerstone, and Himself has put it in place, after it had been rejected as worthless by the foolish master builders. From the thought of the living character of the person of Christ, who is represented as the corner-stone, is argued the living character of the stones built upon this foundation, as well as the freedom of their attachment to Him. The comparison of the building with the temple suggests the thought of the priesthood and the offerings. The corner-stone is also the curb-stone, over which passers-by stumble. It would seem almost as if in I Pt. 2; 4–8 one were hearing the voice of a preacher making various applications of the figure suggested by his text, Eph. 2; 20–22" (Int. II, p. 187.) Alluding to I Pt. 2; 4–6 Monnier says: "La même image se retrouve dans Eph. 2; 20, 21, dont ce passage dépend." (Com. p. 90–91.) Cf. Ignatius and Hermas for further development.

There seems to be a clear case of the independence of Paul at this point, but whether I Peter depends upon Ephesians, or Romans, or both is not so clear. Our study of Romans (Ex. 2–4) led us to believe it to be the original starting point for our author. The above discussion, it is believed, shows that he was also acquainted with Ephesians. "Il ne copie pas, il s'inspire. Son attitude est celle d'un disciple." (Monnier's Com. p. 264.)

(5)

I Pt. 3; 19	Eph. 4; 9
τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθείς ἐκήρυξεν	κατέβη πρῶτον εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς

Apparently Paul thought only of the descent of Christ from heaven to the present world; the abode of the power of death. Yet some think there is here an allusion to the idea as developed in I Peter. The doctrine of the "Harrowing of Hell" in its pre-Christian form probably goes back to Isa. 26; 12–19, which Cheyne dates cir. 104 B. C. (cf. also Ezek. 37.) It is based on the mythological conception of Yahweh smiting the dragon of darkness and delivering his people

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from the prison-house of the underworld. The Christians took over the doctrine with but few changes. They thought of God effecting the deliverance in the person of Christ. This passage in Ephesians marks the transition point, and from it our author apparently drew the doctrine of the mission of Christ to the underworld. The more developed form found in I Peter indicates the priority of Paul. The thought occurs in the fully developed form but this one time in the N. T., but is common in later writings. Sandwiched as it is here between thoroughly Pauline ideas and phrases, the probabilities are highly in favor of Abbot's theory of dependence. See Monnier's discussion Com. p. 172–178.

(6)	I Pt. 3; 21—22	Eph. 1; 20—21
	ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ, πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν. 22) ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων	ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις. 21) ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος. . . .

The exact sequence of thought and similar phrasing in this extended parallel thoroughly justify Zahn in saying: "these" parallels "go to confirm the correctness of the observation that Peter and Silvanus had Ephesians before them." (Int. II, p. 187.) Robinson also thinks there is here a clear case of dependence upon the Pauline Epistle. (Ep. to Eph. p. 151).

(7)	I Pt. 5; 8	Eph. 6; 11
	ὁ . . . διάβολος . . . περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίῃ· ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει . . .	ἐνδύσασθε τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς στῆναι πρὸς τὰς μεθοδείας τοῦ διαβόλου . .

"Dependence on the part of I Peter is evident from the fact that at the conclusion of both letters it is suggested that back of the men, through whose hostilities the readers are compelled to suffer, stands the devil, whom they are steadfastly to resist." (Zahn's Int. II, p. 187.)

		b
(8)	I Pt. 1; 3	Eph. 1; 7
	κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος	κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ

This parallel is very significant, since it follows one which is in complete verbal agreement. This usage can hardly be accidental. See Ex. 2.

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(9)

I Pt. 1; 10—12	Eph. 3; 5
περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηρεύνησαν προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες . . . . οἷς ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτά, ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων	ὁ ἐν ἑτέραις γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς νῦν ἀπεκαλύφθη τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ προφήταις ἐν Πνεύματι· 3; 10 ἵνα γνωρισθῇ νῦν

I Pt. 1 ; 10—12 finds a related thought in Heb. 11 ; 13, 39, 40, but Eph. 3 ; 5, 10 is the only other place in the N. T. where the meaning of the prophecies was not clearly known to the prophets themselves but has first become so to us. That I Peter goes beyond Ephesians in saying the prophets themselves were made acquainted by revelation with their own ignorance (Eph. 3 ; 5), indicates the priority of the latter. (Cf. Abbot's Com. on Eph. p. xxv). Hort thinks we have here a clear " clue to St. Peter's trend of thought." (Ep. of St. Pt. p. 64.)

(10)

I Pt. 1; 13	Eph. 6; 14
ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν	περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ

No other passage in the N. T. affords as close a parallel to our Epistle here as Eph. 6 ; 14. Dependence is made more probable by ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 ; 13), which is " a Pauline term for the Parousia." Cf. I Cor. 1 ; 7, II Thes. 1 ; 7. (Cone Com. p. 306.)

(11)

I Pt. 1; 20	Eph. 3; 11, 1; 4
προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου	κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐν Χριστῷ . . Cf. 3; 9, 10 ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου

The " preexistence of Christ " is a common Pauline conception. Monnier thinks with Hort (Ep. of Pt. p. 80), that πρὸ καταβοκῆς is " probablement empruntée à Eph. 1 ; 4." (Com. p. 76.) " I Pt. 1; 20 and Eph. 3 ; 9 correspond in the same reference to the mystery ordained πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, and hitherto hidden, but now revealed. And as in Eph. 3 ; 10 the wise purpose of God is now made known to angelic powers, so in I Pt. 1 ; 12 they desire to search into these things." (Abbot Com. p. xxvi).

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(12)

I Pt. 2; 18	Eph. 6; 5
οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις	οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις . . . μετὰ φόβου

On ὑποτάγατε f. of 2; 13, Dr. Hort comments as follows: "In Ephesians (5; 21–24, 6; 1–3, 5–8) subjection (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) is set forth only in so far as it concerns family and household relations, the subject of 2; 18–3; 7 here, but apparently as founded on a general principle of subjection (ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ), laid down at the outset in 5; 21, which likewise corresponds in drift to I Pt. 5; 5 as well as to this verse. (Ep. of Pt. p. 139).

(13)

I Pt. 3; 1	Eph 5; 22
γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις	αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε

(14)

I Pt. 3; 6	Eph. 5; 22b, 33
ὡς Σάρρα ὑπήκουσε τῷ Ἀβραάμ, κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα	ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ (ὅτι ἀνήρ ἐστιν κεφαλὴ τῆς γυναικὸς . . .) 33 ἡ γυνὴ ἵνα φοβῆται τὸν ἄνδρα

(15)

I Pt. 3; 7	Eph. 5; 25
οἱ ἄνδρες . . . τῷ γυναικείῳ ἀπονέμοντες τιμήν	οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν

Robinson, in commenting on Eph. 5; 33 b, claims "there is here a double reference to this passage in I Pt. 3; 1–6, which clearly is not independent of Ephesians: Ὁμοίως γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν . . . τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἁγνὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν; and then as if to guard against a false conception of fear, μὴ φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν πτόησιν." (Com. on Eph. p. 209). The general trend of the thought as well as the sequence in the last four parallels make dependence very probable. When taken separately these citations do not merit this classification.

(16)

I Pt. 3; 8	Eph. 4; 32
τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὔσπλαγχνοι . . .	γίνεσθε δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοι εὔσπλαγχνοι, χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς . . .

This form of exhortation is common in the Pauline literature. Cf. Rom. 12; 13–17, I Cor. 4; 12, I Thes. 5; 15. But since the passage, which contains a word (εὔσπλαγχνοι) not found elsewhere in the N. T., follows immediately after a context suggestive of Ephesians, dependence is made very probable.

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(17)

I Pt. 3; 18	Eph. 2; 18
ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ	δι' αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν τὴν προσαγωγὴν

"I Pt. 3 ; 18 reminds us of Eph. 2 ; 18, while the verses immediately following exhibit the ancient explanation of Eph. 4 ; 8–10." (Abbot Com. p. xxv.)

(18)

I Pt. 4; 2, 3	Eph. 2; 3
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις (4 ; 2) τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατειργάσθαι (4 ; 3).	ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκός

Monnier has pointed out this close parallel. (Com. p. 263.) R. Knopf also thinks there is here a clear case of dependence upon Ephesians. (Das nachapostolische Zeitalter p. 34).

c

(19)

I Pt. 1; 1	Eph. 1; 1
Πέτρος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This Pauline form of address is worthy of attention in a context so suggestive of Ephesians. Though "epistolary forms are not made by any one man," it is indeed significant that our author used the Ephesian form both at the beginning and at the end of his Epistle.

(20)

I Pt. 1; 1	Eph. 1; 4
ἐκλεκτοῖς	ἐξελέξατο

(21)

I Pt. 1; 2	Eph. 1; 5
κατὰ πρόγνωσιν	προορίσας

Election is a common Pauline doctrine, but it is alluded to in the opening verses of but three of his Epistles, i. e., Eph. 1 ; 4, I Thes. 1 ; 4 and Tit. 1 ; 1, granting the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles. Predestination is also a Pauline doctrine. Cf. Rom. 8 ; 29, 30, I Cor. 2 ; 7, and Eph. 1 ; 5, 11. But in the beginning of no other Epistle is it alluded to. Paul never uses the noun πρόγνωσις, yet he employs the verb προγινώσκω in the same way. Cf. Rom. 8 ; 29. See also Acts 26 ; 5. The occurrence of these ideas in the beginning of these two Epistles only, and in the same order is too significant to be passed over lightly.

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(22)	I Pt. 1 ; 2	Eph. 1 ; 3
	ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος	ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ 1 ; 4. εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους

These phrases are quite different, but they afford a close parallel in thought, and are suggestive in this connection.

(23)	I Pt. 1 ; 2	Eph. 1 ; 5
	εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος	εἰς υἱοθεσίαν (7) ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος

In the beginning of no other N. T. books is redemption through Christ's blood so mentioned, except in Col. 1 ; 4, I Jn. 1 ; 7 and Rev. 1 ; 5. It is clear, however, that our Epistle cannot depend upon either of the last two. Nor have we found sufficient evidence to suppose that it was influenced by the companion Epistle of Ephesians. There is, therefore, a closer parallel here than can be found in the beginning of any N. T. book earlier than I Peter. True, Paul never uses the term ῥαντισμός, yet the theology is the same. This exact usage is found only in later writers (e. g. Heb. 12 ; 24), which indicates the priority of Ephesians.

(24)	I Pt. 1 ; 4	Eph. 1 ; 18
	κληρονομία	κληρονομίας

The " inheritance reserved in heaven," is equivalent to the " hope reserved in heaven " (Col. 1 ; 5). Ephesians contains the doctrine of " the hope of his calling, and the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints." Dependence, therefore, seems somewhat probable in this connection.

(25)	I Pt. 1 ; 5	Eph. 1 ; 13
	διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν	πιστεύσαντες ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ Πνεύματι

The Pauline doctrine of justification by faith is obvious in both references.

(26)	I Pt. 1 ; 7	Eph. 1 ; 14
	εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν	εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης

That this close parallel follows the preceding one in direct contextual connection in both instances is significant.

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(27)

I Pt. 1; 14	Eph. 4; 22, 18
ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις	22 τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφήν. 18 διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς

The thought is thoroughly Pauline. Cf. Rom. 12; 2, I Thes. 4; 5, and Acts 17; 30. Ἄγνοία appears in the N. T. only in these passages and in Acts 3; 17 and 17; 30. The parallel suggests dependence.

(28)

I Pt. 2; 9	Eph. 1; 11, 12
ὑμεῖς γένος ἐκλεκτόν . . . ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε . .	προορισθέντες κατὰ πρόθεσιν . . . εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔπαινον τῆς δόξης

The sequence of thought is worthy of note. Cf. Ex. 25.

(29)

I Pt. 2; 9 b	Eph. 5; 8
τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς	ἦτε γὰρ ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ

"The transition from darkness to light is much emphasised in Eph. 5; 8–14, yet the phrase probably was suggested by Eph. 1; 17–19." (Hort's Ep. of St. Pt. p. 130.) The preceding parallel makes this one more significant.

(30)

I Pt. 2; 11	Eph. 2; 19
παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους	ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι

Πάροικος is found only here and in Acts 7; 6, 29. Παρεπίδημος occurs only in I Pt. 1; 1, 2; 11 and Heb. 11; 13. Ξένος, a comparatively rare word in the N. T., is used by our author in 4; 12. It is employed by no N. T. writer in the above sense earlier than I Peter, except in Eph. 2; 12, 19. This combination, following Exs. 27 and 28, is very suggestive.

(31)

I Pt. 3; 20	Eph. 5; 26
διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος (21) ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπτον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα	ἵνα αὐτὴν ἁγιάσῃ, καθαρίσας τῷ λουτρῷ τοῦ ὕδατος

Though the thought is more crassly expressed in our Epistle it is important to note that this reference is found between two very suggestive parallels, i. e., 5 and 6.

(32)

I Pt. 5; 5	Eph. 5; 21
ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε	ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις

See note on Ex. 12.

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(33)

I Pt. 5; 12	Eph. 6; 21
διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . ἔγραψα	Τυχικὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καὶ πιστὸς . . . ὃν ἔπεμψα

Attention is to be directed to the use of the word πιστός as well as to the general similarity. The proper names play similar parts in connection with the verb in the first person, Aor. Ind.

(34)

I Pt. 5; 14	Eph. 6; 23
εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ	εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς

Though this parallel is not very close it is significant that our Epistle closes with ἐν Χριστῷ, a Pauline phrase "par excellence." For further justification of this classification see note on Ex. 18.

d

(35)

I Pt. 1; 3	Eph. 1; 18
εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν	ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς κλήσεως αὐτοῦ

The wording is different but the thought is much the same. Considered alongside Ex. 23, this parallel deserves a higher classification.

(36)

I Pt. 1; 3	Eph. 1; 20
δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν	ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν

Suggestive here, though a closer parallel appears in Ex. 22.

(37)

I Pt. 1; 17	Eph. 6; 9
τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔργον	προσωποληψία οὐκ ἐστι παρ' αὐτῷ

This thought is suggestive in this connection, yet it is reproduced Rom. 2 ; 6, 11, Col. 3 ; 25, Jas. 2 ; 1 and Acts 10 ; 34. See discussion on Romans Ex. 11.

(38)

I Pt. 1; 18	Eph. 4; 17
ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς	ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν

(39)

I Pt. 1; 7	Eph. 1; 7
ἐλυτρώθητε . . . (19) τιμίῳ αἵματι . . . Χριστοῦ	ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ

Examples 37 and 38 show Pauline influence, though the term "redeem" is considerably weakened. The thought is too common with Paul to be sure of dependence here. See Gal. Ex. 6 and I Cor. Ex. 7.

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(40)

I Pt. 1; 20	Eph. 1; 10
φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων	. . . τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν

A common view.

(41)

I Pt. 2; 1	Eph. 4; 25
ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑπόκρισιν καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλίας	διὸ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος 31, πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία ἀρθήρω ἀφ' ὑμῶν . . .

This is a very suggestive parallel, yet the thought is common in the Pauline Epistles. Cf. Rom. 13 ; 12 and Col. 3 ; 8. See also Heb. 12 ; 1, and Jas. 1 ; 21.

(42)

I Pt. 2; 9	Eph. 2; 14
ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτὸν βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα ἔθνος, ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν	ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμφότερα ἓν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσας . . .

See Ex. 27 and Rom. Ex. 55.

(43)

I Pt. 3; 15	Eph. 3; 17
κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν	κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ

It does not seem probable that this Isaianic passage was suggested to our author by Eph. 3 ; 17.

(44)

I Pt. 4; 10	Eph. 4; 7
ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα	ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη ἡ χάρις κατὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ

The idea of the distribution of spiritual gifts according to the ability to receive is common in the letters of Paul.

(45)

I Pt. 4; 11	Eph. 3; 21
δοξάζεται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ

The glorification of God through Christ is common in the later literature.

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The following table will show the sequence of the foregoing parallels.

I Peter		Ephesians
1 ; 1	=	1 ; 1
1 ; 1	=	1 ; 4
1 ; 2	=	1 ; 5
1 ; 2	=	1 ; 3
1 ; 2	=	1 ; 5
1 ; 2	=	1 ; 2
1 ; 3	=	1 ; 3
1 ; 3	=	1 ; 7
1 ; 3	=	1 ; 18
1 ; 3	=	1 ; 20
1 ; 4	=	1 ; 18
1 ; 5	=	1 ; 13
1 ; 7	=	1 ; 14
1 ; 10	=	3 ; 5
1 ; 13	=	6 ; 14
1 ; 16	=	4 ; 18, 22
1 ; 17	=	6 ; 9
1 ; 18	=	4 ; 17
1 ; 18	=	1 ; 7
1 ; 20	=	3 ; 11, 1 ; 4
1 ; 20	=	1 ; 10
1 ; 21	=	1 ; 20
2 ; 1	=	4 ; 22, 25, 31
2 ; 4–6	=	2 ; 18–22
2 ; 9	=	1 ; 11, 12
2 ; 9	=	2 ; 14
2 ; 9b	=	5 ; 8
2 ; 11	=	2 ; 19
2 ; 18	=	6 ; 5
3 ; 1	=	5 ; 22
3 ; 6	=	5 ; 22, 33
3 ; 7	=	5 ; 25
3 ; 8	=	4 ; 32
3 ; 15	=	3 ; 17
3 ; 18	=	2 ; 18
3 ; 19	=	4 ; 9
3 ; 20	=	5 ; 26
3 ; 21–22	=	1 ; 20–22
4 ; 2, 3	=	2 ; 2–3
4 ; 10	=	4 ; 7
4 ; 11	=	3 ; 21
5 ; 5	=	5 ; 21
5 ; 8, 9	=	6 ; 11
5 ; 12	=	6 ; 21
5 ; 14	=	6 ; 23

SUMMARY

Other points of likeness and similar combinations have been noted by such men as Chase, Holtzmann, Scharfe, Weiss, Monnier, Abbott, Hort, Westcott, Cone, etc., but these will be sufficient to show the real or apparent dependence of one author upon the other. Though no one reference may prove dependence conclusively the cumulative evidence of a succession of forty-five parallels, at lowest count, is indeed formidable. The thought and many of the expressions are the same in I Pt. 1 ; 1–7 and Eph. 1, even to verbal agreement. The fact that the parallels in I Pt. 1 ; 1–7 are all in the first chapter of Ephesians, and that, on the whole, they show progress in the Ephesian order almost precludes doubt at the very outset, as to the relationship between the Epistles. (For order see the above table.) The close similarity in the salutation and final greetings, the sequence of thought, which is obscured by analysis, and the general structure, to say nothing of similar Christology, go to show not

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only that the writers were of the same school of thought but also that one was actually depending upon the other. Instances were noted in which the thought of our Epistle shows a development of the thought of Ephesians, while the latter, at many points, appeared to be the more original and logical. There are other considerations, not coming under the scope of this paper, which confirm the results of the foregoing study.

Practically all scholars agree that there is here a clear case of dependence. Von Soden is undecided on which side it should be reckoned. Hilgenfeld, B. Weiss and Kühl contend for the priority of I Peter, but the overwhelming weight of scholarship supports its dependence upon Ephesians.

Abbot concludes that " the parallels are so numerous that the Epistles may almost be compared throughout." (I. I. C. on Eph. xxiv.) In harmony with this observation Monnier remarks : L'épître a été rédigée en toute liberté d'esprit par un écrivain qui connaissait parfaitement les Ephésiens, et en reproduisait instinctivement les expressions essentielles. (Com. p. 261.) Dr. Hort thinks that " the connection, though close, does not lie on the surface, and that the question must be settled by identities of thought and similarities of structure rather than by identities of phrase." (Epis. of I Pt. p. 5.) Professor Ropes sees such a close similarity that he is ready to say " there is here a closer parallel to Paul's thought than some of the Epistles which bear Paul's own name." (Apos. Age, p. 213 f.) Seufert stands almost alone in ascribing to the two Epistles the same author, of course neither Paul nor Peter.

Numerous other authorities might be cited, but the general consensus of opinion is that " the acquaintance of our author with the Epistle to the Ephesians is especially evident." (Purves' " Christianity in the Apos. Age," p. 280.)

COLOSSIANS

D

d

	I Pt. 1; 4	Col. 1; 5
(1)	κληρονομίαν . . . τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς	τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμένην ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

" The thought of the ' hope ', i. e., the blessing hoped for, being already prepared is not expressed in this form by St. Paul elsewhere, except perhaps in I Tim. 6 ; 19, but is clearly put in I Pt. 1 ; 4. In

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substance it is involved in Phil. 3 ; 20, and, indeed, in Mat. 6 ; 20." (Abbot I. C. C. on Col. p. 197). Cf. discussion on Galatians Parallel 4. This is a close parallel, yet it is more probable that our author was influenced by Gal. 4 ; 7 or Eph. 1 ; 18 ; more likely the latter.

(2)

I Pt. 1 ; 17	Col. 3 ; 25
τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔργον	ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν κομιεῖται ὁ ἠδίκησε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι προσωποληψία

In both instances an impartial judgment is pronounced and the penalty is to be inflicted in accordance with the evil done. Cf. Rom. 2 ; 11, 12, 6, Eph. 6 ; 9b, Jas. 2 ; 1, Acts 10 ; 34—35. See discussion on Eph. 6 ; 9 = 1 Pt. 1 ; 17. The probabilities are that our author was following the lead of Ephesians here rather than Colossians.

(3)

I Pt. 1 ; 20	Col. 1 ; 26
προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων	τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . . νῦν δὲ ἐφανερώθη . .

See Eph. 3 ; 11, 1 ; 4 for closer parallel.

(4)

I Pt. 2 ; 1	Col. 3 ; 8
Ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ ὑπόκρισιν καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλιάς,	ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα, ὀργήν, θυμόν κακίαν βλασφημίαν, αἰσχρολογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ὑμῶν

See Eph. 4 ; 22, 25, 21, etc. for equally close parallels.

(5)

I Pt. 2 ; 18	Col. 3 ; 22
οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις	οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς . . κυρίοις

Cf. Eph. 6 ; 5.

(6)

I Pt. 3 ; 1	Col. 3 ; 18
γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν	γυναῖκες ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν

See Eph. 5 ; 22, which also agrees verbally.

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(7)

I Pt. 3; 7	Col. 3; 19
οἱ ἄνδρες συνοικοῦντες . . . ὡς ἀσθενεστέρῳ σκεύει τῷ γυναικείῳ ἀπονέμοντες τιμήν	οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ μὴ πικραίνεσθε πρὸς αὐτάς

Cf. Eph. 5 ; 25.

(8)

I Pt. 3; 8	Col. 3; 12
Τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὔσπλαγχνοι, ταπεινόφρονες . . .	ἐνδύσασθε . . . σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρμοῦ χρηστότητα, ταπεινοφροσύνην, πραΰτητα μακροθυμίαν . .

Cf. Eph. 4 ; 32.

(9)

I Pt. 3; 18	Col. 1; 22
θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ . .	νυνὶ ἀποκατήλλαξεν ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου

This thought is common in the Pauline Epistles.

(10)

I Pt. 3; 22	Col. 3; 1
ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανον	ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθήμενος

(11)

I Pt. 3; 22 b	Col. 2; 10, 1; 16
ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων	ἡ κεφαλὴ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . . . εἴτε θρόνοι, εἴτε κυριότητες, εἴτε ἀρχαί, εἴτε ἐξουσίαι

With the last two parallels cf. Rom. 8 ; 34, 6 ; 2, 7, and Eph. 1 ; 20—22, for better contexts.

(12)

I Pt. 4; 7	Col. 4; 2
σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς	τῇ προσευχῇ προκαρτερεῖτε, γρηγοροῦντες

Cf. Rom. 12; 12, Mt. 26 ; 41, Lk. 21 ; 34, I Thes. 5 ; 6, 17, etc. On the whole this reference shows no more similarities to I Peter than do some of the others mentioned.

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(13)

I Pt. 4; 8	Col. 3; 14
πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες	ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην

This parallel is made more important by the possible reference to Col. 4 ; 2 in I Pt. 4 ; 7. Yet we have reasons to think I Peter is borrowing, through this section, quite freely from Rom. 12.

(14)

I Pt. 5; 12	Col. 4; 7
διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . ἔγραψα	Τυχικός, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ πιστὸς . . . ὃν ἔπεμψα

This may be an accidental parallel, yet it is suggestive.

The following table will show that I Peter is following Ephesians rather than Colossians.

I Peter	Ephesians	Colossians	I Peter	Ephesians	Colossians
1 ; 1	1 ; 1	1 ; 1	2 ; 4—6	2 ; 18—22	
1 ; 1	1 ; 4		2 ; 9	1 ; 11, 12	
1 ; 2	1 ; 5		2 ; 9	2 ; 14	
1 ; 2	1 ; 3		2 ; 9b	5 ; 8	
1 ; 2	1 ; 5		2 ; 11	2 ; 19	
1 ; 2	1 ; 2		2 ; 18	6 ; 5	3 ; 22
1 ; 3	1 ; 3		3 ; 1	5 ; 22	3 ; 18
1 ; 3	1 ; 7		3 ; 6	5 ; 22, 33	
1 ; 3	1 ; 18		3 ; 7	5 ; 25	3 ; 19
1 ; 3	1 ; 20		3 ; 8	4 ; 32	3 ; 12
1 ; 4	1 ; 18	1 ; 5	3 ; 15	3 ; 17	
1 ; 5	1 ; 13		3 ; 18	2 ; 18	1 ; 22
1 ; 7	1 ; 14		3 ; 19	4 ; 9	
1 ; 10	3 ; 5		3 ; 20	5 ; 26	
1 ; 13	6 ; 14		3 ; 21–22	1 ;20–22	3;1. 2;10
1 ; 16	4 ; 18, 22		4 ; 2–3	2 ; 2–3	[1;16
1 ; 17	6 ; 9	3 ; 25	4 ; 10	4 ; 7	
1 ; 18	4 ; 17		4 ; 11	3 ; 21	
1 ; 18	1 ; 7		5 ; 5	5 ; 21	
1 ; 20	3 ; 11, 1 ; 4	1 ; 26	5 ; 8, 9	6 ; 11	
1 ; 20	1 ; 10		5 ; 12	6 ; 21	4 ; 7
1 ; 21	1 ; 20		5 ; 14	6 ; 23	
2 ; 1	4 ; 22, 25, 31	3 ; 8			

It appears from this table that all the thought, which we find in Colossians, that is paralleled in I Peter, is to be found also in Ephesians. On the other hand, there are many parallels in Ephesians that are not to be duplicated in Colossians. We have, therefore, on evidence that our author knew Colossians.

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PHILEMON

D

No one can determine with certainty from the Epistles themselves whether our author did or did not know Philemon, but that he made no use of it is obvious.

PHILIPPIANS

D

d

	I Pt. 2; 5	Phil. 4; 18
(1)	πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους	θυσίαν δεκτήν, εὐαρεστὸν τῷ Θεῷ

τῷ Θεῷ . .

Though the thought is much the same, there is a closer parallel in Rom. 12 ; 1.

	I Pt. 3; 8	Phil. 3; 16
(2)	τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες	τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν

See Rom. 12 ; 16, 15 ; 5.

	I Pt. 4; 7	Phil. 4; 5
(3)	πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν	ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς

See Rom. 13 ; 11, 12, which is in a more favorable context.

	I Pt. 4; 9	Phil. 2; 14
(4)	φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄνευ γογγυσμοῦ	πάντα ποιεῖτε χωρὶς γογγυσμῶν

Cf. Rom. 12 ; 13, Heb. 13 ; 2, II Cor. 9 ; 7, Philem. 14.

	I Pt. 4; 13	Phil. 3; 10
(5)	κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν	κοινωνίαν τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ

Verbally, no other passage is such an exact parallel. But the idea of sharing and participating in the sufferings of Christ is very common with Paul. Cf. Rom. 8 ; 17, 18, II Cor. 1 ; 7, 14 ; 10, Col. 1 ; 24. This similarity suggests dependence but the context is not in its favor.

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(6)

I Pt. 5; 3	Phil. 3; 17
τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου	καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμᾶς

Cf. II Thes. 3 ; 9, I Tim. 4 ; 12, Tit. 2 ; 7.

(7)

I Pt. 5; 5	Phil. 2; 3
ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε	μηδὲν κατὰ ἐρίθειαν ἢ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν.

See Rom. 12 ; 10 for better context and equally close wording. Cf. also Eph. 5 ; 21.

(8)

I Pt. 5; 13	Phil. 4; 22
Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ . . .	ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι . . .

(9)

I Pt. 5; 14	Phil. 4; 21
ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης	ἀσπάσασθε πάντα ἅγιον . . .

The last two parallels are common in the Pauline Epistles.

The foregoing study makes it clear that we have no real evidence that I Peter in any way rests upon Philippians.

I TIMOTHY

D

d

(1)

I Pt. 3; 3	I Tim 2; 9
ὧν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἔξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος	τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης, κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν, ἢ χρυσῷ, ἢ μαργαρίταις, ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ

Although this is suggestive it need not presuppose dependence, for exhortations to plainness seem to have been common in the early church.

(2)

I Pt. 3; 4	I Tim. 2; 10
ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος	ἀλλ' (ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβιαν) δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν

The wording is not close enough to show dependence, yet the antithesis leads one to suspect it.

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(3)

I Pt. 3; 4	I Tim. 2; 2
ἡσυχίου	ἡσύχιον

This word appears only in these references in all the N. T. and suggests dependence, yet the context does not seem favorable.

(4)

I Pt. 3; 9	I Tim. 5; 14
λοιδορίας	λοιδορίας

Although this word also appears only in these two places in the N. T., it seems to have been accidentally so employed.

(5)

I Pt. 4; 11	I Tim. 6; 16
ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν	ᾧ τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον· ἀμήν

This thought is too common in the Pauline literature to afford an argument for dependence.

(6)

I Pt. 4; 15	I Tim. 5; 13
(μὴ . . . πασχέτω) ὡς . . . ἀλλοτριο-επίσκοπος	περιερχόμεναι τας οἰκίας, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀργαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ φλύαροι καὶ περίεργοι

I Timothy refers to "tattling and meddlesome women," whereas I Peter alludes to fanatical zealots inspired either by religious or civil motives. "Erst unter K. Trajanus finden wir den ἀλλοτριο-επίσκοπος oder *delator*, den Denuncianten als Criminalverbrecher." (Hilgenfeld's Einl. p. 360.) It seems clear that I Timothy alludes to an individual weakness while our author had in mind a more serious offense.

(7)

I Pt. 5; 2	I Tim. 3; 3, 8
μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως	(ἐπίσκοπον) . . . αἰσχροκερδῆ, 3; 8, μὴ αἰσχροκερδεῖς

This qualification seems to have been a general requirement of church officials, especially of bishops.

(8)

I Pt. 5; 3	I Tim. 4; 12
τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου	τύπος γίνου τῶν πιστῶν

The thought is similar, yet compare Phil. 3; 17 and II Thes. 3; 9.

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	I Pt. 5; 10	I Tim. 6; 12
(9)	ὁ καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν	ἐπιλαβοῦ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς εἰς ἣν ἐκλήθης

Both clauses were written in view of trials to be endured. Timothy is to fight manfully in the moral conflict "whereunto he is called," whereas the Christians of Asia Minor are "to receive the glory of their calling" after enduring "fiery trials." There is, therefore, no necessary connection here.

Other minor points of similarity might be given, e. g. I Pt. 1 ; 2 = I Tim. 1 ; 2, 1 ; 16 = 3 ; 16, 1 ; 20 = 4 ; 2, 2 ; 18 = 6 ; 1, 3 ; 18 = 3 ; 16, 4 ; 9 = 5 ; 10, etc., but they do not make dependence probable.

From the foregoing data we have no reason to believe that one author knew the work of the other.

II TIMOTHY

D

d

	I Pt. 4; 5	II Tim. 4 ; 1
(1)	οἱ ἀποδώσουσι λόγον τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς	Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς
	I Pt. 4; 7	**II Tim. 4; 5**
(2)	νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς	νῆφε ἐν πᾶσι
	I Pt. 4; 11	**II Tim. 4; 18**
(3)	ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν	ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν
	I Pt. 4; 19	**II Tim. 1; 12**
(4)	οἱ πάσχοντες κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ πιστῷ κτίστῃ παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς	δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχω. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαισχύνομαι . . . πέπεισμαι ὅτι δυνατός ἐστι τὴν παραθήκην μου φυλάξαι
	I Pt. 5; 4	**II Tim. 4; 8**
(5)	κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον	ἀπόκειταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος

The points of contact between these Epistles are not of such a character, nor are they of sufficient number, to make dependence

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probable. Obviously neither author was influenced by the other to any appreciable extent. (Cf. Holtzmann's Commentar zum N. T. III, p. 110.)

TITUS

C—D

d

	I Pt. 1; 3	Tit. 3; 5
(1)	ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς	κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔλεον ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς

Titus refers to "salvation" per sē, whereas I Peter alludes to a "new birth," a new creation.

	I Pt. 1; 7	Tit. 2; 13
(2)	ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς δόξης . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

This thought is too common to afford any evidence for dependence. Cf. Col. 3; 4, II Tim. 4; 18, Heb. 9; 2, I Jn. 3; 2, etc.

	I Pt. 1; 20	Tit. 1; 2, 3
(3)	προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων	ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς Θεὸς πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, ἐφανέρωσε δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίοις τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ

The phrasing is closer than the thought of the passage.

	I Pt. 2; 9	Tit. 2; 14
(4)	λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν	λαὸν περιούσιν . . .

Our author probably borrowed περιποίησιν from the LXX. Cf. Exod. 19; 5.

	I Pt. 2; 12	Tit. 2; 8
(5)	τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσι τὸν Θεὸν, . 17 κρεῖττον γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας Cf. 3; 16	λόγον ὑγιῆ, ἀκατάγνωστον, ἵνα ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐντραπῇ, μηδὲν ἔχων περὶ ὑμῶν λέγειν φαῦλον 2; 7 σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων . . .

This suggests dependence, yet our author more probably used Rom. 12; 14, 17 here. Cf. also II Cor. 8; 21, Phil. 2; 15, etc.

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(6)	I Pt. 2; 13	Tit. 3; 1
	ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ . . . εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν . . .	ὑπομίμνησκε αὐτοὺς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι πειθαρχεῖν, πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἑτοίμους εἶναι

See Rom. 13 ; 1 for equally close thought and better context

(7)	I Pt. 2; 13	Tit. 2; 9
	οἱ τὸ μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις ἀλλὰ θελήματι	δούλους ἰδίοις δεσπόταις ὑποτάσσεσθαι

See Eph. 6 ; 5. It is important, however, to note here the possible reference to I Pt. 2 ; 12 in Tit. 2 ; 8.

(8)	I Pt. 3; 1	Tit. 2; 5
	γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν	ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν

An equally tlose parallel is seen in Eph. 5 ; 22, yet the sequence here is suggestive.

(9)	I Pt. 3; 3 - 4	Tit. 2; 3
	ὧν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἔξωθεν . . . ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος . . .	πρεσβύτιδας ὡσαύτως ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς . . .

Cf. I Tim. 2 ; 9 and Rom. 2 ; 29.

(10)	I Pt. 3; 21	Tit. 3; 5
	διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα	ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου

The thought is much the same though the wording is very different. Eph. 5 ; 26 is also a close parallel. The context is more in harmony with Romans and Ephesians, yet parallels 1, 6, and 12 suggest dependence.

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(11)

I Pt. 4; 2	Tit. 2; 12
εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον ἐν σαρκὶ βιῶσαι χρόνον	παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι

This thought may be paralleled in other Pauline Epistles, yet the sequence here is suggestive. Cf. Exs. 2, 4, 6, and 12.

(12)

I Pt. 4; 3	Tit. 3; 3
ἀρεκτὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ παρεληλυθὼς . . . εἰδωλολατρίαις	ἦμεν γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς . . . ἀλλήλους

Cf. Gal. 5 ; 21, Rom. 13 ; 13, Eph. 2 ; 2, 3.

(13)

I Pt. 5; 2	Tit. 1; 7, 11
μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς	ἐπίσκοπον . . . μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ . . . αἰσχροῦ κέρδους χάριν

This parallel is of very little consequence.

(14)

I Pt. 5; 3	Tit. 2; 7
τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου	σεαυτὸν παρεχόμενος τύπον καλῶν ἔργων

Though similar exhortations occur elsewhere, καλῶν ἔργων reminds one of our author's emphasis on "good works."

Holtzmann sees a parallel between I Pt. 1 ; 3–5 and Tit. 3 ; 4–7, (Handcommentar III, p. 110). Many other minor likenesses exist, but they are, in the main, such as are common in the Pauline literature.

Obviously, these parallels afford but little evidence for literary dependence, since many of those given above, however close, are not peculiar to these Epistles. The general structure of Titus, as Holtzmann notes, is more suggestive than the separate passages. But this cannot be conclusive, for it too has much in commom with other Epistles upon which we have more reason to suppose our Epistle depends.

The underscored text of I PETER on the following pages will show at a glance the probable influence of the Pauline Epistles upon our Epistle.

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The dotted line (·····) shows the points of contact with Romans; the black line (———) calls attention to the parallels with Ephesians; the broken line (------) represents all the other points of contact between I Peter and the Pauline Epistles (not found in Romans or Ephesians).

The lines in italic show the possible influence of Hebrews upon I Peter.

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1 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας, κατὰ
2 πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ πατρός, ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος εἰς ὑπακοὴν καὶ *ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*· χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη.
3 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος *ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν*
4 δι ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν, εἰς *κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον*
5 *καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον*, τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ φρουρουμένους διὰ πίστεως εἰς σωτηρίαν ἑτοίμην
6 ἀποκαλυφθῆναι ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ. *ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς*, ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς
7 πίστεως πολυτιμότερον χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμα-
8 ζομένου εὑρεθῇ εἰς ἔπαινον καὶ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, *εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες*
9 δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶτε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ, *κομιζόμενοι τὸ*
10 *τέλος τῆς πίστεως σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν*. Περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν
11 καὶ ἐξηραύνησαν προφῆται οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες, ἐραυνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδήλου τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα
12 *Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας· οἷς ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν*
αὐτά, ἃ νῦν ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελισαμένων ὑμᾶς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ, εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι.
13 Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν, νήφοντες τελείως, ἐλπίσατε ἐπὶ τὴν φερομένην ὑμῖν χάριν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
14 ὡς τέκνα ὑπακοῆς, μὴ συνσχηματιζόμενοι ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ

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15 ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν καλέσαντα ὑμᾶς ἅγιον καὶ αὐτοὶ
16 ἅγιοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε, διότι γέγραπται [ὅτι] Ἅγιοι
17 ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος. καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπο-
λήμπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἑκάστου ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικίας
18 ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε· εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ
χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου,
19 ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ,
20 προεγνωσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ'
21 ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι' ὑμᾶς τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεὸν τὸν
22 ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα, ὥστε τὴν πίστιν
ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς Θεόν. Τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ
ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον ἐκ καρδίας ἀλλήλους
23 ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς, ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ
24 ἀφθάρτου, διὰ λόγου ζῶντος Θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος· διότι

πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος,
καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου·
ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος,
καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν.

II. τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ ῥῆμα
τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς. Ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ
2 πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑπόκρισιν καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλιάς, ὡς
ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, ἵνα ἐν
3 αὐτῷ αὐξηθῆτε εἰς σωτηρίαν, εἰ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος.
4 πρὸς ὃν προσερχόμενοι, λίθον ζῶντα, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἀποδεδοκιμασ-
5 μένον παρὰ δὲ Θεῷ ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες
οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς εἰς ἱεράτευμα ἅγιον, ἀνενέγκαι
6 πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· διότι
περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ

Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον,
καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.

7 ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν· ἀπιστοῦσιν δὲ λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν
8 οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας καὶ λίθος προσκόμ-

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μματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου· οἱ προσκόπτουσιν τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες·
9 εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν. ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα,*
ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε
10 τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς· οἵ
ποτε οὐ λαὸς νῦν δὲ λαὸς Θεοῦ, οἱ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.
11 Ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ ὡς *παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους* ἀπέχεσθαι
τῶν σαρκικῶν, ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς· τὴν
12 ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλα
λοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσι
τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἡμέρα ἐπισκοπῆς.

Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς
13 ὑπερέχοντι, εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν
14 κακοποιῶν ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν· (ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ
15 Θεοῦ, ἀγαθοποιοῦντας φιμοῦν τὴν τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωσίαν·) ὡς
ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐπικάλυμμα ἔχοντες τῆς κακίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
16 ἀλλ' ὡς Θεοῦ δοῦλοι. πάντας τιμήσατε, τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε.
17 τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε. Οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν
18 παντὶ φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικέσιν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ χάρις εἰ διὰ συνείδησιν Θεοῦ
19 ὑποφέρει τις λύπας πάσχων ἀδίκως· ποῖον γὰρ κλέος εἰ ἁμαρτάνοντες
20 καὶ κολαφιζόμενοι ὑπομενεῖτε; ἀλλ' εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες
ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ Θεῷ. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, *ὅτι καὶ*
21 *Χριστος ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν* ἵνα
ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ· *ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν* οὐδὲ
22 εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· *ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοι-*
23 *δόρει,* πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει, παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως· ὃς
24 *τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ* ἐπὶ τὸ
ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν· οὗ
25 τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε. ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστρά-
φητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν *ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν.* Ὁμοίως
III γυναῖκες ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα εἴ τινες ἀπειθοῦσιν τῷ
2 λόγῳ διὰ τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναστροφῆς ἄνευ λόγου κερδηθήσονται

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3 ἐποπτεύσαντες τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἁγνὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν. ὧν ἔστω οὐχ ὁ
4 ἔξωθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων
5 κόσμος, ἀλλ' ὁ κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τοῦ
ἡσυχίου καὶ πραέως πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ πολυτελές.
6 οὕτως γάρ ποτε καὶ αἱ ἅγιαι γυναῖκες αἱ ἐλπίζουσαι εἰς θεὸν ἐκόσμουν
ἑαυτάς, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς Σάρρα ὑπήκουεν τῷ
Ἀβραάμ, κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα· ἧς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα ἀγαθοποιοῦσαι
7 καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι μηδεμίαν πτόησιν. Οἱ ἄνδρες ὁμοίως συνοικοῦντες
κατὰ γνῶσιν, ὡς ἀσθενεστέρῳ σκεύει τῷ γυναικείῳ ἀπονέμοντες τιμήν,
8 ὡς καὶ *συγκληρονόμοι χάριτος ζωῆς*, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐγκόπτεσθαι τας
9 προσευχὰς ὑμῶν. Τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι,
εὔσπλαγχνοι, ταπεινόφρονες, μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ
λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας τουναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες, ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο
ἐκλήθητε ἵνα *εὐλογίαν κληρονομήσητε*.

10 ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾷν
καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθάς
παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ
καὶ χείλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον.
11 ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν,
ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτο αὐτήν.
12 ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ Κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους
καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν,
πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.

13 Καὶ τίς ὁ κακώσων ὑμᾶς ἐὰν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ γένησθε; ἀλλ' εἰ
14 καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ
φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς
15 καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἕτοιμοι ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς
λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλπίδος, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραΰτητος καὶ φόβου,
16 *συνείδησιν ἔχοντες ἀγαθήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλεῖσθε καταισχυνθῶσιν*
17 *οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφήν*. κρεῖττον
γὰρ ἀγαθοποιοῦντας εἰ θέλοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, πάσχειν ἢ κακαο-
18 ποιοῦντας. ὅτι *καὶ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν*,
δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, *ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ*, θανατωθεὶς μὲν

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19 σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν
20 πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν, ἀπειθήσασίν ποτε ὅτε ἀπεξεδέχετο ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ
μακροθυμία *ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ εἰς ἣν ὀλίγοι,*
21 τοῦτ' *ἔστιν ὀκτὼ ψυχαί, διεσώθησαν* δι' ὕδατος. *ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς*
ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ
22 *συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν,* δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, *ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ὑποταγέντων*
IV *αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων.* Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος
2 σαρκὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν ὁπλίσασθε, ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ
πέπαυται ἁμαρτίαις, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιθυμίαις ἀλλὰ *θελήματι*
3 *Θεοῦ* τὸν ἐπίλοιπον ἐν σαρκὶ *βιῶσαι* χρόνον. ἀρκετὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς
χρόνος τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατειργάσθαι, πεπορευμένους ἐν
ἀσελγείαις, ἐπιθυμίαις, οἰνοφλυγίαις, κώμοις, πότοις, καὶ ἀθεμίτοις
4 εἰδωλολατρίαις. ἐν ᾧ ξενίζονται μὴ συντρεχόντων ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν
5 τῆς ἀσωτίας ἀνάχυσιν, βλασφημοῦντες· *οἳ ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ*
6 ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νεκροῖς
εὐηγγελίσθη ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους σαρκὶ ζῶσι δὲ κατὰ
Θεὸν πνεύματι.
7 *Πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν.* σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε εἰς
8 προσευχάς· πρὸ πάντων τὴν *εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες,* ὅτι
9 ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν· *φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους* ἄνευ
10 γογγυσμοῦ· ἕκαστος καθὼς ἔλαβεν χάρισμα, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς αὐτὸ διακο-
11 νοῦντες ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι ποικίλης χάριτος Θεοῦ· εἴ τις λαλεῖ, ὡς
λόγια Θεοῦ· εἴ τις διακονεῖ, ὡς ἐξ ἰσχύος ἧς χορηγεῖ ὁ Θεός· ἵνα
ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζηται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ*
τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.
12 Ἀγαπητοί, μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν
13 γινομένῃ ὡς ξένου ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ καθὸ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ
Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης
14 αὐτοῦ χαρῆτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι. *εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ,*
μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀνα-
15 παύεται. μὴ γάρ τις ὑμῶν πασχέτω ὡς φονεὺς ἢ κλέπτης ἢ κακοποιὸς

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16 ἢ ὡς ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος. εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω
17 δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ. ὅτι [ὁ] καιρὸς τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὸ
κρίμα *ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ*· εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τί τὸ
τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαγγελίῳ; καὶ εἰ ὁ δίκαιος
μόλις σώζεται, ὁ [δὲ] ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται; ὥστε καὶ
οἱ πάσχοντες κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ πιστῷ κτίστῃ παρατιθέσθωσαν
τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν ἀγαθοποιΐᾳ.

V Πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς
τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι
2 δόξης κοινωνός, ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς
3 ἀλλὰ ἑκουσίως, μηδὲ αἰσχροκερδῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως, μηδ' ὡς κατακυ-
4 ριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων ἀλλὰ τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου· καὶ φανερω-
θέντος *τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος* κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον *τῆς δόξης*
5 *στέφανον*. Ὁμοίως, νεώτεροι, ὑποτάγητε πρεσβυτέροις. Πάντες δὲ
ἀλλήλοις τὴν ταπεινοφροσύνην ἐγκομβώσασθε, ὅτι [ὁ] Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις
ἀντιτάσσεται ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσιν χάριν.

6 Ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς
7 ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ, πᾶσαν τὴν μέριμναν ὑμῶν ἐπιρίψαντες ἐπ' αὐτόν *ὅτι*
8 *αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν*. Νήψατε, γρηγορήσατε. ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν
9 διάβολος ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος περιπατεῖ ζητῶν καταπιεῖν· ᾧ ἀντίστητε
στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει, *εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων τῇ* ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
10 ὑμῶν *ἀδελφότητι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*. *Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πάσης χάριτος*, ὁ
καλέσας ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν Χριστῷ, ὀλίγον παθόντας
11 αὐτὸς *καταρτίσει*, στηρίξει, σθενώσει. αὐτῷ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

12 Διὰ Σιλουανοῦ ὑμῖν τοῦ πιστοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς λογίζομαι, *δι' ὀλίγων*
ἔγραψα, παρακαλῶν καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ
13 Θεοῦ· εἰς ἣν στῆτε. *Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς* ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ
14 Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου. *Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης*.
Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ.

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DEPENDENCE OF I PETER UPON THE PAULINE EPISTLES

(A)

Supporting Considerations

Zahn maintains, with others, that the churches addressed in I Pt. 1 ; 1 were not in existence long enough before Paul penned his letter to the Romans to permit of its dependence upon our Epistle. " According to the testimony of his own letters and of Acts, Paul was the missionary who, in the sense of Rom. 15; 20, I Cor. 3 ; 10, II Cor. 10 ; 15, laid the foundations of Christianity in all this region " (Zahn Int. II, p. 135). " The supposition that Paul found in Ephesus or Iconium Christian Churches already organised or even individual Christians, is contrary to the evidence of all existing sources of information." (ibid.) " Regarding the founding of the churches in Cappadocia, Pontus, and Bithynia, regions which Paul did not visit personally, we have no information. But it is probable that in these provinces . . . the gospel was preached somewhat later, but practically under the same conditions " (ibid. p. 136). " Nor were the provinces evangelized by persons from these districts, who heard the preaching at Pentecost. It must be remembered that these hearers were not pilgrims to the feast, who, after the feast, returned to the lands of their birth, but Jews from abroad residing in Jerusalem " (ibid. p. 138).

Jülicher also contends that " Paul would not have begun his missionary work in Galatia and Asia if flourishing Christian communities had already been founded there under the influence of Peter, as we should be obliged to assume from I Pt. 1 ; 2 ff." (Int. p. 211). The same author argues that : " (a) the independence asserted by Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians becomes a grievous delusion, since he would have owed not only the kernel of his Gospel but even his epistolary style to Peter ; (b) he must, contrary to his principles, have worked upon a field over which Peter had prior rights ; (c) the history of the Apostolic times becomes an absolute riddle, for we should find Peter, who had just been publicly rebuked by Paul at Antioch (Gal. 2 ; 11 f.) for exercising a moral pressure towards Judaism upon Gentile Christians, writing immediately afterwards to Christian communities in a manner by which it might be supposed that such a thing as a written norm for the social conduct of mankind —the Law—did not exist : that he knew only of Christians, not of Jewish or Gentile Christians ; and (d) we should be forced to admit that Peter already possessed everything in Paul's teaching which helped to form the common Christian consciousness."

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McGiffert, as against Weiss, claims : " There is no other early Christian document, by another hand than Paul's, whose Paulinism can begin to compare with that of I Peter. There can be no mistaking the fact that the author was a Paulinist, that his Gospel was the Gospel of Paul, and that his mind was saturated with Paul's ideas " (Apos. Age, p. 485).

Salmon says : " The Paulinism of Peter's Epistle proceeds beyond identity of doctrine, and is such as to show that Peter had read some of Paul's letters. In particular the proofs of his acquaintance with the Epistle to the Romans are so numerous and striking as to leave no doubt in my mind. There are isolated coincidences with other Pauline Epistles, but it is with the Epistle to the Ephesians that the affinity is closest. There are several passages in Peter's Epistle which so strongly remind us of passages in the Epistle to the Ephesians, that the simplest explanation of their origin is that they were suggested to the writer by his knowledge of Paul's Epistles. But the resemblance is often merely in the thoughts, or in the general plan, without any exact reproduction of the words. We might conjecturally explain this difference by supposing the Epistle to the Romans to have been so long known to St. Peter that he had had time to become familiar with its language, while his acquaintance with the Ephesian Epistle was more recent." For his argument see Introduction p. 553 f.

Bennett and Addeney maintain that " Peter here appears as having learned more from Paul than from Christ. There are many allusions to some of Paul's Epistles, certainly Romans and probably Ephesians " (Bib. Int., p. 442).

" This similarity "—between I Peter and the Pauline epistles— " certainly is traceable and is of a kind to lead us to suppose an acquaintance on the writer's part with several of our Pauline epistles." Among the Pauline epistles which the Apostle Peter seems to have had in mind in writing his, were those to the Colossians and Ephesians." Bleek's Int. II, p. 168 f.

" One seeks in vain in this supposed work of Peter, that head of Jewish Christianity, for a definite distinctness such as is seen in the writings of Paul and John. There are not only to be found in it reminiscences of the Pauline Epistles, which the author without doubt read, but also the doctrine and phraseology are essentially Pauline." (De Wette's Einl. in das N. T. p. 381.)

Reuss, after giving a list of parallels between I Peter and the Pauline Epistles notes that : " The circumstance that two epistles

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only furnish these parallels shows that the coincidence is not accidental." (Hist. of the N. T. p. 145.)

Examples like the above might be multiplied indefinitely, but let these suffice. Almost any N. T. Introduction, or Commentary on I Peter, to which we may turn will contain some such view as these cited above. That is to say the overwhelming weight of scholarship supports the claim that I Peter depends upon the Pauline Epistles. In addition to the authorities cited above, we may also add the names of Bleek, Credner, Ewald, Harnack, Hug, Hofmann, Lechler, Mangold, Pfleiderer, Reuss, Schmiedel, Schmidt, Schott, Sieffert, Wellhausen, etc., in Germany ; Alford, Bennett, Davidson, Cook, Farrar, Plumptre, Ramsay, etc., in England ; Loisey, Monnier, etc., in France and Bacon, McGiffert, etc., in America.

(B)

Opposing Considerations.

As has been noted at various points in the notes on the parallels, B. Weiss, in his " Petrinische Lehrbegriff," has said about all that can be said in favor of the dependence of Paul upon I Peter. He has gained so small a following that we need not discuss his position in detail. Practically all scholars to-day admit that I Peter contains a later stratum of thought than that found in the Pauline Epistles. This, of course, is accounted for by a very small minority, by the theory of a later redaction. (See P. Schmidt's article on " Zwei Fragen zum ersten Petrusbrief," in the " Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie," 1908, p. 24–52.) The above discussion assumes, on the authority of the greater number of scholars, the integrity of the Epistle. This may not be giving due consideration, either to the " partition theory," proposed by Schmidt, or to the claim of Pauline dependence, advocated by Weiss, yet, not only the evidence afforded by the 223 parallels given above, but also the consensus of scholastic opinion, seem to justify an apparently hasty disposition.

Some, very naturally, question " Petrine dependence," who do not advocate the reverse relation, e. g., Brückner, Davidson, Eadie, Huther, Mayerhoff, Rauch, Ritschl, Steiger, etc. A few of the arguments, which are advanced against the view of Petrine dependence, may now be reviewed.

It is urged that " I Peter has too large a vocabulary of words peculiar to itself to depend upon Paul." This becomes of little consequence, when the possibility of the reverse relationship is sug-

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gested. It would be much more difficult to account for the abscence of all the 61 words, which are peculiar to I Peter, in all the Pauline Literature, on the supposition that Paul depends upon I Peter, than to suppose the dependence is on the side of our author.

The objection is raised that "many of the Pauline expressions do not appear in the Epistle." This, all will concede, but it is also important to note that the book does contain many of the fundamental expressions of Paul. The following list of N. T. words, which occur in I Peter and the Pauline Epistles only, will show that this objection merits but little consideration. ἀγνωσία, ἀκρογωνιαῖος, ἀσωτία, ἄφθαρτος, εἰδωλολατρεία, εἴπερ, εἴτε, ἐκκλίνω, ἔπαινος, εὐπρόσδεκτος, εὔσπλαγχνος, ἡσύχιος, ἶχνος, καθό, καταλαλία, κῶμος, λογικός, λοιδορία, νηφόω, πνευματικός, πρόσκομμα, συσχηματίζομαι, τουναντίον, ὑπερέχω, ὑποφέρω, φθαρτός, φιλοξένος, φρουρέω, χάρισμα, χορηγέω. Twenty-two appear only in I Peter and the generally accepted Epistles of Paul; nine more are found in the Pastoral Epistles, making a total of thirty. Several more appear also in Hebrews, which, with I Peter depends upon Paul. Some of Paul's favorite terms may be found in this list, e. g. κρείσσων, μιμητής, περιποίησις, σαρκικός, συγκληρονόμος, ὑπακοή, φιλαδελφία, etc.

Bigg argues that "there are none of those words which belong especially to the circle of Paul's ideas to be found in I Peter," hence the inference is that it cannot depend upon Paul. The force of his argument is seen to be nil, by a glance at the following arrangement of the words which he cites.

	Rom.	I C.	II C.	Gal.	Eph.	Phil.	Col.	I Th.	II Th.	Philem.	I Tim.	II Tim.	Titus
ἀκροβυστία	11	2		3	2		2						
δικαιοῦν	14	2		8							1		1
περιτομή	14	1		7	1	2	4						1
ἐλλογεῖν	1									1			
ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι	1				1								
υἱοθεσία	3			1	1								
πλήρωμα	4	2		1	4		2						
μυστήριον	2	5			6		4		1			2	
ἀρραβών			2		1								
παράπτωμα	9		1	1	3	2							
παράβασις	3			1							1		
παραβάτης	2			1									
πρόθεσις	2				2							2	

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	Rom.	I C.	II C.	Gal.	Eph.	Phil.	Col.	I Th.	II Th.	Philm.	I Tim.	II Tim.	Titus
προορίζειν	2	1			2								
καυχᾶσθαι	5	4	17	2	1	1			2				
καταργεῖν	6	9	4	3	1				1			1	
σταυρός		2		3	1	2	2						
σταυροῦν		4	1	3									
μορφή						1							
ζύμη		4		1									
γράμμα	3		2	1								1	

No one denies that I Thessalonians came from the "circle of Pauline ideas," yet of all the words Bigg cites, not one is found in that generally accepted Epistle. They also appear in other Epistles so rarely that the argument is absolutely worthless.

One is puzzled to know how the same author can advance, as an argument against the Pauline influence upon our Epistle, the statement that "we do not find, in I Peter, δικαιοῦν or its family." True, the verbal form is not to be found in I Peter, neither is it to be found in eight of the Pauline Epistles. Hence from his premise these are not Pauline. On the other hand, if we may consider the kindship of δικαίως, δικαιοσύνη, and δίκαιος not too distant to belong to the household of δικαιοῦν, we shall be required to conclude Professor Bigg had incidentally overlooked many of the references, since our author employs δικαίως once (2 ; 23), δικαιοσύνη twice (2 ; 24, 3 ; 14), and δίκαιος three times (3 ; 12, 18, 4 ; 18).

Bigg notes (Com. p. 4–5) that "very few connecting particles occur" in the Epistle. He then gives the following examples :

	ἄν	ἄρα	γε	ἐπειδή	ἐπεί	τε	δή	που	πως
Matthew	41	7		1	2	4	1		
Mark	21	2			1	1			
Luke	29	6	4	1	2	7	1		
John	27				2	3			
Acts	20	6	3	3		136	2		2
Romans	7	11	1		4	16		1	3
I Corinthians	12	5	3	4	5	4	1		2
II Corinthians	3	3		1	2	1	1		5
Galatians	5	6							2
Ephesians		1				2			

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	ἄν	ἄρα	γε	ἐπειδή	ἐπεί	τε	δή	που	πως
Philippians	1			1		1			1
Colossians	1								
I Thessalonians	1	1							1
II Thessalonians		1							
I Timothy									
II Timothy									
Titus									
Philemon									
Hebrews	6	2			9	20		1	
James	3					1			
II Peter									
I John	5								
II John									
III John									
Jude						1			
Revelation	3					2			

"That ἄν is not to be found in the Epistle" he says "is alone sufficient to show that the writer was not a Greek." (Com. p. 5.) The weakness of this argument is made obvious by the above arrangement of the words which he cites. It is seen that this particle does not appear in a number of Paul's Epistles. True, Paul was not a Greek by birth, yet his native city was a center of Greek culture of no little consequence. He had abundant opportunity in Tarsus to learn the Greek language thoroughly. At any rate we are assured by his writings that he was a master of the Greek language. It is to be noted that in all his Epistles, which compose cir. 25% of the N. T., ἄν appears but thirty times, whereas in Matthew, which certainly goes back to a Semitic original, the word occurs forty-one times. The above table shows that Paul, or his amanuensis, employed the particle very freely at times and at other times not at all. That the word appears in Matthew about as often as in Luke and Acts combined, which, on the whole, are written in as good Greek as is to be found in the N. T., shows that Bigg's argument has practically nothing to support it. Furthermore it involves an inconsistency, in that, he admits that our author possessed "a remarkable correctness of usage." He also states that "the article is employed in more classical style than by any other writer in the N. T., and still more striking is the refined accuracy of his use of ὡς." (Cf. Com. p. 4.) These concessions certainly do not support his claim that our author "could not have been a Greek."

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On Bigg's premise, we should expect the particle to be of rare occurence in the "Petrine portion" of Acts, whereas out of its twenty appearances in the entire book, thirteen are in the first ten chapters. Many of them are also in the "speeches of Peter." It would seem, therefore, that the absence of ἄν, instead of being an argument against the dependence of our Epistle upon Paul, rather indicates the opposite, since the "Pauline portion" of Acts uses the word but rarely.

The study of ἄρα yields a similar result to that obtained through ἄν. It appears four times in the Petrine portion of Acts, and but twice in the Pauline section. It also shows a great variation of usage in the Pauline Epistles. Γε is found in Acts only in the first eleven chapters, which again would seem to show a closer relation between our Epistle and the Pauline section than with the Petrine portion, as might be expected. "Luke", who also "uses the language with freedom and not with an inconsiderable degree of correctness", does not use ἐπεί in the Acts at all, and but twice in the Gospel. If in fifty-two chapters he uses the word but twice, and in the acts not at all, we should not be surprised at its absence in a short Epistle of but five chapters. Ἐπειδή is used but six times by Paul and but five times by all the rest of the N. T. authors, so we should not think it strange that it does not appear in this little Epistle. Τε affords a good example of how an author may vary in the use of a particular word in different writings. It appears sixteen times in Romans, and not at all in Galatians, Colossians, I and II Thessalonians, and the Pastoral Epistles. "Luke" also employs it but seven times in his Gospel, whereas it appears one hundred and thirty-six times in Acts, fifty-four of which are in the "Petrine division." Δή is a very rare word in the N. T. The absence of the particle from I Peter is just what would be expected by those who assert its dependence, since Paul only uses it twice. Που is only used once in all the letters of Paul. Πως is strictly a Pauline term, yet he does not use it in seven of his Epistles. Πῶς is not used by our author, yet it occurs nine times in Acts, seven of which are in the Petrine section.

On the whole, therefore, the list of "missing particles," cited by Bigg, does not argue against, but for Petrine dependence upon the Pauline Epistles.

As a further test of the verbal argument, a careful classification and count has been made of all the words used in I Peter, which are also employed by no more than six other N. T. writers.

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Total occurrences in the generally accepted Epistles of Paul	344	
Total occurrences in the Pastoral Epistles	40	
Total in the Pauline Epistles		384
Number in Petrine section of Acts	23	
Number in Pauline section of Acts	41	
Total in Acts		64
Total in all the other N. T. books		333
Grand total		781
Of the N. T. the Pauline Epistles (excluding Pastorals)	=	22%
Of the N. T. the Pastoral Epistles	=	3%
Of the N. T. the Pauline Epistles compose cir.		25%
Normal proportion of occurrences in the Petrine section of Acts	29	
Normal proportion of occurrences in the Pauline section of Acts	35	

It is obvious, therefore, that the words of this list are below the normal in the Petrine section, contrary to the " one source " theory.

The Pauline Epistles which constitute but 25% of the N. T. contain almost 50% of these words.

It seems therefore, as against Professor Bigg, that there must be some relationship between I Peter and the Pauline Epistles.

Conclusion

We have seen that the opposing arguments, reviewed above, have proven to be of very little moment. Their testimony, what little they have to offer, seems to be in favor of the dependence of I Peter upon the Pauline Epistles rather than against it.

We have also noted that the great majority of scholars of all schools agree that our Epistle depends upon Paul. Even those, as Klöpper, who deny the genuineness of either I Peter or Ephesians, contend that Ephesians was used by our author. Moffat voices the opinion of the majority of scholars when he says : " The literary connection of I Peter with the later Pauline epistles is indubitable " (Hist. N. T. p. 246). A glance at the underscored text of the Epistle (cf. pgs. 101–106) would seem not only to justify this conclusion, but also to warrant McGiffert and Bennet and Adeney in saying that : " there is no other book in the N. T. not written by Paul himself that so closely resembles his writings (Apos. Age p. 485, and Bib. Int. p. 442).

As a result af the foregoing study we are led to say with Professor Bacon that : " It is one of the most solid results of criticism, that

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our Epistle stands in direct literary dependence on the great epistles of Paul, particularly Ephesians," (and Romans). Int. N. T. p. 153).

HEBREWS

B

b—c

(1)

I Pt. 1; 18—20	Heb. 9; 12, 14, 24—25
ἐλυτρώθητε . . . τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ, προεγνωσμένου μὲν· πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, φανερωθέντος δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων δι᾽ ὑμᾶς	τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ Θεῷ . . . Χριστός . . . οὐδ᾽ ἵνα πολλάκις προσφέρῃ ἑαυτόν ὥσπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ ἅγια κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν αἵματι . . . ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, νυνὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῦ πεφανέρωται

St. Paul frequently alludes to the redemption through Christ but not just as these authors do. The former never uses the word ἄμωμος just as the latter use it. "The physical perfection of the victim is regarded as typical of the sinlessness of Christ, which makes his blood τίμιον" (Bigg), all of which is in thorough harmony with Hebrews. Christ's blood as the means of redemption is emphasised by both authors. Both contrast the efficacy of the appointed means with other agencies. Both allude to the former conduct much in the same fashion. Cf. I Pt. 1 ; 18b with Heb. 9 ; 14 b. Compare also πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου with ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου; φανερωθέντος with πεφανέρωται; ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων with ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, and ἅπαξ . . . Heb. 9 ; 25 with ἅπαξ . . I Pt. 3 ; 18. Both Epistles have thought in common with Paul, yet the parallels noted above can hardly be due to common dependence. The thought runs through the whole chapter of Hebrews, whereas in I Peter it is more fragmentary, indicating the priority of the former. Dependence is made more probable by the close parallel between I Pt. 1 ; 17 and Heb. 12 ; 28.

(2)

I Pt. 2 ; 24	Heb. 9 ; 28
ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ	οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας

"The turn which St. Peter has given to the words represents Christ as not only the sin-offering who bore the consequences of

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the sins of his people on the cross of shame (ἤνεγκεν ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ), but as the priest who took the sins, or sin-offering and laid the sacrifice on the altar of the cross. Thus Alford appears to be right in giving ἀναφέρειν here a double meaning; but the two meanings 'bear' and 'carry' both belong to the one Greek word, and St. Peter has done his best to cure the ambiguity by expanding Isaiah's αὐτός into the highly emphatic αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ, which, reinforced as they are by the following μώλωπι, clearly mean, He Himself, by His own personal suffering, carried the sins up; in other words, the Priest was also the Victim." Bigg. That Christ was both priest and victim is dwelt upon at length in Hebrews, e. g. 9; 11, 12, 14, 24–28. This un-Pauline chapter of Hebrews seems to form the basis of our author's allusion to the "Suffering Servant." Not only the peculiar thought but also the phraseology is very suggestive of literary dependence. The phrase ἀναφέρειν ἁμαρτίας appears only in these two places in all the N. T. Note also the other possible points of contact in these contexts, e. g. I Pt. 2; 23 = Heb. 12; 3, and I Pt. 2; 25 = Heb. 13; 20.

(3)

I Pt. 2; 25	Heb. 13; 20
ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν	ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν

Professor E. J. Goodspeed (Epis. to the Heb. p. 122) calls attention to this striking parallel. It is indeed suggestive since the only reference to the favorite Petrine "doctrine of the resurrection of Jesus," in the whole Epistle, appears in this connection. "The great shepherd of the sheep is a Messianic designation. Cf. also I Pt. 5; 4 (the arch-shepherd). Not simply the shepherd of the sheep, of Isa. 63; 11 LXX, but the *great* shepherd." Goodspeed. Cf. also Jn. 10; 11, 14, 21; 16, which were probably influenced by the above passages. Paul never uses the metaphor ποιμήν except of the Christian minister. Cf. Eph. 4; 11 (Acts 20; 28). Though it is easy to draw the figure used here either from Paul or the O. T., it seems more probable in this connection that I Peter was influenced by Hebrews. Note I Pt. 2; 22 = Heb. 4; 15, 2; 23 = 12; 3, 2; 24 = 9; 28, 2; 25 = 13; 20.

(4)

I Pt. 3; 18	Heb. 9; 28
Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περι ἁμαρτιῶν ἀπέθανεν (ἔπαθεν)	Χριστὸς ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας . . .

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Only in these two places is ἅπαξ so employed. Cf. Heb. 9; 26. The same doctrine of the atonement is here set forth in a similar fashion. This shows that both authors moved in the same sphere of thought, if indeed, it does not prove dependence. Salmon thinks that ἅπαξ is accounted for by the ἐφάπαξ of Rom. 6; 10. (Int. p. 556.) But against this view it is to be urged that the phrase ἀναφέρειν ἁμαρτίας only appears in I Peter and Hebrews. See Ex. 2 above. The conjunction of these two peculiar usages in a suggestive context makes dependence highly probable.

(5)	I Pt. 3; 18 b	Heb. 12; 22
	ἵνα ὑμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ	προσεληλύθητε Σιὼν ὄρει καὶ πόλει Θεοῦ ζῶντος, Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐπουρανίῳ

I Peter and Hebrews both represent the Christians as mere strangers and sojourners in the world and that Christ leads them through this wilderness of life to God, the heavenly home, the New Jerusalem. This non-Pauline thought shows a real point of connection. The above parallel is made more significant by the ones immediately preceding and immediately following.

(6)	I Pt. 3; 20	Heb. 11; 7
	ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε κατασκευαζομένης κιβωτοῦ . . . ὀκτὼ ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν	Νῶε . . . κατεσκεύασε κιβωτὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ

" Salvation " is mentioned by both authors as the purpose of preparing the ark. No other N. T. writers so allude to it. Heb. 11 is an excursus on " faith," calling up the Patriarchs in order as examples. Hence the passage was not suggested by our Epistle to the author of Hebrews, but the reverse relation seems highly probable in this context. Cf. Exs. 5 and 7.

(7)	I Pt. 3; 21	Heb. 9; 24, 10; 22
	ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν	ἀντίτυπα . . . ῥεραντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ συνειδήσεως πονηρᾶς καὶ λελουσμένοι τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καθαρῷ

Ἀντίτυπον occurs only in these two places in the N. T. The ethical and symbolical signification of baptism is here set forth in similar ways. Both see great efficacy in the baptismal ordinance.

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not as a cleansing of the body but as a cleansing of the conscience. No other N. T. writers so allude to it. Both refer to the physical ablution in suggestive phraseology. It is also to be noted that ῥαντισμένοι is similarly used by I Peter in other connections.

(8)

I Pt. 4; 11	Heb. 13; 21
ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. See also 5; 11	ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν

That no earlier writer addresses doxologies to Christ is most significant. II Tim. 4; 18 is hardly an exception. The similar phrasing in this peculiar usage is most easily accounted for on the basis of some real connection.

(9)

I Pt. 5; 4	Heb. 13; 20
τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος	τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν

Monnier, Goodspeed and many others think that there is here some connection. See comments on Ex. 3.

c

(10)

I Pt. 1; 2	Heb. 12; 24
ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησου Χριστοῦ	διαθήκης νέας μεσίτῃ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ. 10; 22

The parallel is striking since it is used by no other N. T. writers. "The idea is foreign to Paul but recurs in Barnabas." (Bigg.) The possible reference in I Pt. 4; 6 to Heb. 12; 23 b is significant in this connection. Note also I Pt. 1; 3 may refer to Heb. 6; 18.

(11)

I Pt. 1; 11	Heb. 12; 2
πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας	ὑπέμενεν σταυρὸν αἰσχύνης καταφρονήσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τε τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκάθικεν

Though Paul frequently alludes to the σταυρός he does not think of Jesus "enduring" it that glory should follow. Nor does he think of Jesus as the suffering Servant of Isa. 53, as is here presented. Ὑπέμενεν σταυρὸν and παθήματα are quite different in form yet the meaning is the same and probably shows some connection. No doubt both authors are influenced here by Paul yet it is to be noted that

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I Peter may also be influenced by Hebrews, for the latter, in accordance with the former, lays, greater stress upon Christ's sufferings than does Paul. Christ's glorification is a common teaching of this period.

(12)

I Pt. 1 ; 12	Heb. 11 ; 13
οἷς ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτοις ὑμῖν δὲ διηκόνουν αὐτά . .	ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν αὐτὰς ἰδόντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι

Both authors may draw independently from such O. T. passages as Num. 24 ; 17 or Deut. 18 ; 15, but because of the close resemblance between Heb. 11 ; 13b and I Pt. 1 ; 17 (2 ; 11), I Pt. 1 ; 11 and Heb. 12 ; 2 dependence is rendered quite probable.

(13)

I Pt. 1 ; 17	Heb. 12 ; 28
ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε	λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους

These authors emphasise the " fear of God " whereas Paul lays the stress on the " love of God." The contextual connection makes it more probable that I Peter was influenced by Hebrews. Heb. 12 ; 5, 6 is echoed in I Pt. 1 ; 17a and Heb. 11 ; 13 in I Pt. 1 ; 17b. Cf. also I Pt. 2 ; 11.

(14)

I Pt. 2 ; 2	Heb. 5 ; 12
ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε . .	γεγόνατε χρείαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μετέχων γάλακτος ἄπειρος λόγου, δικαιοσύνης, νήπιος γὰρ ἐστιν

Both authors may be influenced by Paul at this point. Paul employs with Hebrews the word νήπιος, whereas I Peter uses βρέφος. " This passage (I Pt. 2 ; 2) marks better than any other the difference between St. Peter, Hebrews, and St. Paul. In St. Peter's eyes the Christian is always a babe, always in need of mother's milk, growing not to perfection but to deliverance. In Heb. 5 ; 12, 6 ; 2, milk is the catechism, the rudiments of faith . . . contrasted with the " solid meat." St. Paul is vexed with the babe, who is the weaker brother the formalist. Hebrews represents (here) a *via media* between St. Paul and St. Peter " (Bigg). It would seem therefore that the Pauline figure was modified in our author's mind by the use made of it in Hebrews.

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(15)

I Pt. 2; 3	Heb. 6; 5
εἰ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος	καλὸν γευσαμένους Θεοῦ ῥῆμα

I Peter refers here to Ps. 34; 9 (γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος), but probably at the suggestion of Hebrews since the similar usage follows the preceding parallel so closely in both books.

(16)

I Pt. 2; 5	Heb. 3; 6
οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς	τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ οὗ οἰκός ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς

" These authors alone insist on the believers' privileges as members of the house of God." Possibly I Peter drew independently from Paul, yet the following parallel makes dependence here seem probable.

(17)

I Pt. 2; 5	Heb. 13; 15
ἀνενέγκαι πνευματικὰς θυσίας εὐπροσδέκτους Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰ παντὸς τῷ Θεῷ

Though these passages suggest Rom. 12; 1 f., these are the only N. T. authors who use the phrase ἀναφέρειν θυσίαν. They may have drawn the phrase from the LXX, where it is frequently employed, but in view of the other possible points of contact with Hebrews in this context is seems very probable that our author was also influenced by the more copious treatment of the sacrificial figure in that book.

(18)

I Pt. 2; 11	Heb. 11; 13
παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους	ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι

The exact form used in Hebrews is peculiar to that book. Ξένοι καὶ πάροικοι appears only in Eph. 2; 19. Παρεπίδημος is found in the N. T. only in the above passages. By eliminating the term ξένοι, common to the earlier authors, it would appear that our author combined the remaining terms. It is also to be noted that no other N. T. books lay so much stress upon the thought that Christians are but sojourners in the world.

(19)

I Pt. 2; 21, 23	Heb. 12; 3
ὅτι Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν -ὸς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει	ἀναλογίσασθε γὰρ τὸν τοιαύτην ὑπομεμενηκότα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀντιλογίαν

The appeal to the sufferings of Christ as a reason for the Christians endurance under persecution is not made by Paul. Though the

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phraseology is different the thought is very suggestive. The probabilities of dependence are heightened by the following parallels. I Pt. 2 ; 22 = Heb. 4 ; 15, Heb. 12 ; 2 = I Pt 3 ; 22, I Pt. 2 ; 24a = Heb. 9 ; 28a, Heb. 9 ; 26 = I Pt. 3 ; 18.

(20)

I Pt. 3 ; 16	Heb. 13 ; 18
συνείδησιν ἔχοντες ἀγαθήν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαλεῖσθε καταισχυνθῶσιν οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφήν	καλὴν συνείδησιν ἔχομεν, ἐν πᾶσιν καλῶς θέλοντες ἀναστρέφεσθαι

" These are the only N. T. authors who connect ' the good conscience ' with good habits of life." The phrase ἐν Χριστῷ suggests that our author is influenced here by Paul, yet the above usage seems to indicate that he also knew Hebrews. Note the parallel usage of ἀναφέρειν and its derivative.

(21)

I Pt. 3 ; 22	Heb. 1 ; 3, 4, 6
ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων	ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, τοσούτῳ κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων Cf. 2 ; 9, 12 ; 2.

Though I Peter may depend upon Paul at this point, the sequense of thought, which is so suggestive of Hebrews, should not be overlooked. Cf. I Pt. 3 ; 20 with Heb. 11 ; 7 and I Pt. 3 ; 21 with Heb. 9 ; 24, 10 ; 22.

(22)

I Pt. 4 ; 14	Heb. 11 ; 26, 13 ; 13
εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι	ἡγησάμενος . . . τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 13 ; 13 τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν αὐτοῦ φέροντες

" These writers only refer to the blessing pronounced by the ninth beatitude on those who suffer reproach for Christ's sake." Our author may draw independently from a logion of the Lord, but it seems quite natural in this context to suppose that he was influenced by Hebrews.

(23)

I Pt. 4 ; 17	Heb. 10 ; 21
ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ	ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Θεοῦ

I Peter may be influenced directly by Ez. 9 ; 6, yet the phrase is different. No other N. T. writers use the phrase with the meaning

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" household of God." The phrase appears in I Tim. 3 ; 15, but not in the above sense. Cf. Heb. 3 ; 6.

(24)

I Pt. 5; 4	Heb. 2; 7, 9
τῆς δόξης στέφανον	δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτόν

The " crown of glory " would very naturally be attributed to Christ first, then to his followers. If there is dependence shown here it would seem to indicate the priority of Hebrews. The thought " crown of glory " or " crowned with glory " occurs only here in the N. T. The contextual sequence is hardly accidental. Cf. I Pt. 2 ; 25, 5 ; 4 with Heb. 13 ; 20, also I Pt. 3 ; 22 with Heb. 2 ; 9, 12 ; 2.

(25)

I Pt. 5; 10	Heb. 13; 20
ὁ Θεὸς πάσης χάριτος . . . καταρτίσει	ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης . . . καταρτίσαι ὑμᾶς

It is very significant that in the immediate contexts, Jesus Christ is appealed to as the one through whom God works. Hebrews very probably depends here upon II Thes. 2 ; 17.

(26)

I Pt. 5; 12	Heb. 13; 22
δι' ὀλίγων ἔγραψα	διὰ βραχέων ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν

Though the thought is couched in different words, it is indeed suggestive.

c—d

(27)

I Pt. 1; 4	Heb. 9; 15
κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀμάραντον	τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας

These are the first N. T. writers to use the word ἀμίαντος. Cf. Heb. 7 ; 26, 13 ; 4. The imperishable nature of the inheritance is emphasised by both authors. Yet they may draw independently from Paul. Cf. Gal. 3 ; 18, Eph. 1 ; 14, 18, 5 ; 5, Col. 3 ; 24, I Cor. 6 ; 9, 10, 15 ; 15, Gal. 4 ; 30, 5 ; 21.

(28)

I Pt. 1; 6	Heb. 12; 11
ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς	πᾶσα μὲν παιδεία πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν οὐ δοκεῖ χαρᾶς εἶναι ἀλλὰ λύπης, ὕστερον δὲ καρπὸν εἰρηνικὸν

The phraseology is not so suggestive as the thought. The parallel receives additional significance by the possible reference to Heb. 12 ; 10b in I Pt. 1 ; 15, 16.

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(29)	I Pt. 1; 8	Heb. 11; 27
	εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες	πίστει . . . τὸν γὰρ ἀόρατον ὡς ὁρῶν

Faith in both instances consists in laying hold of the unseen. Cf. Heb. 11 ; 1, also 11 ; 13, which may be connected with I Pt. 1 ; 17, 2 ; 11.

(30)	I Pt. 1; 9	Heb. 10; 36, 39
	κομιζόμενοι τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν	κομίζησθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν . . . ἀλλὰ πίστεως εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς

Though this thought is Pauline, both the phraseology and the context are suggestive.

(31)	I Pt. 1; 21	Heb. 2; 9
	τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα	διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ ἐστεφανωμένον

Again the thought is Pauline, but suggestive in its context. Cf. I Pt. 1 ; 18–20 with Heb. 9 ; 12, 14, 24–25, and I Pt. 1 ; 22 with Heb. 13 ; 1.

(32)	I Pt. 2; 1	Heb. 12; 1
	ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν . . .	ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα

This parallel is made more suggestive by the possible reference to Heb. 5 ; 12, 13 in I Pt. 2 ; 2.

(33)	I Pt. 3; 7	Heb. 11; 9, 1; 14
	συνκληρονόμοι χάριτος ζωῆς	συνκληρονόμων τῆς ἐπαγγελείας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν

This may be a mere coincidence, yet I Pt. 3 ; 7 ff. is very suggestive of Hebrews. Cf. I Pt. 3 ; 8 with Heb. 13 ; 1, 3 ; 9 with 12 ; 17, 3 ; 11 with 12 ; 14, etc.

(34)	I Pt. 3; 9	Heb. 12; 17
	εὐλογίαν κληρονομήσητε	κληρονομῆσαι τὴν εὐλογίαν

This phrase appears only in these two places in all the N. T.

(35)	I Pt. 4; 1	Heb. 4; 12
	ἔννοιαν	ἐννοιῶν

Though this word appears only in these two places in the N. T., it may be wholly accidental. It is to be noted, however, that

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Pt. 4 ; 1 lays much stress upon the sufferings of Christ, in harmony with Hebrews.

(36)

I Pt. 4; 2	Heb. 9; 14
. . . θελήματι Θεοῦ . . . βιῶσαι	εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν Θεῷ ζῶντι

Cf. I Pt. 4 ; 1a with Heb. 9 ; 26, 4 ; 1b with 4 ; 12, also 3 ; 15 with 9 ; 15.

(37)

I Pt. 4; 5	Heb. 13; 17
οἱ ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον	λόγον ἀποδώσοντες

This exact usage is peculiar to these authors.

(38)

I Pt. 4; 7	Heb. 10; 25
πάντων τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν	βλέπετε ἐγγίζουσαν τὴν ἡμέραν

This idea, when considered alone, is too common in the N. T. to merit attention, but it must be viewed in the light of its context.

(39)

I Pt. 4; 8	Heb. 13; 1
εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες	ἡ φιλαδελφία μενέτω

The context makes this very common exhortation worthy of mention.

(40)

I Pt. 4; 9	Heb. 13; 2
φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους	τῆς φιλοξενίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε

Cf. Rom. 12 ; 13, I Tim. 3 ; 2, Tit. 1 ; 18. The probabilities of dependence are increased by the sequence of the last three parallels.

(41)

I Pt. 5; 9	Heb. 12; 8
εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων τῇ . . . ἀδελφότατι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι	εἰ χωρὶς ἐστε παιδείας, ἧς μέτοχοι γεγόνασιν πάντες

This close resemblance in thought may be due to the common background, yet the context is to be considered.

d

(42)

I Pt. 1; 3	Heb. 6; 18
ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν	κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος

The phraseology is very different and probably shows no connection.

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(43)

I Pt. 1; 15	Heb. 10; 14
ἅγιοι ἐν πάσῃ ἀναστροφῇ γενήθητε	. . . διώκετε . . . τὸν ἁγιασμὸν

Accidental.

(44)

I Pt. 2; 9	Heb. 12; 28
ὑμεῖς, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα ἔθνος ἅγιον, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ . . .	διὸ βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον παραλαμβάνοντες ἔχωμεν χάριν, δι' ἧς λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους

I Peter more probably shows acquaintance here with Eph. 1; 11, 12. Cf. Deut. 10; 15 or Ex. 19; 5, 6.

(45)

I Pt. 2; 22	Heb. 4; 15
ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν	. . . χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας

The doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ is too common to constitute an argument for literary dependence.

(46)

I Pt. 3; 11	Heb. 12; 14
ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν	εἰρήνην διώκετε

Our author is quoting directly from Ps. 34, very probably at the suggestion of Paul.

(47)

I Pt. 5; 7	Heb. 13; 5
ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν	οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ οὐδὲ οὐ ἐγκαταλίπω

Our author is probably borrowing here from Ps. 55; 22.

(48)

I Pt. 5; 13	Heb. 13; 24
Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ	ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας

(49)

I Pt. 5; 14	Heb. 13; 24
Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης	ἀσπάσασθε . . . πάντες τοὺς ἁγίους

These greetings are common in the Pauline literature. Cf. Rom. 16; 16, Phil. 4; 21–22, II Cor. 13; 12–13, etc.

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Order of Parallels.

I Pet.	Heb.	I Pet.	Heb.	I Pet.	Heb.
1 1 ; 2	= 12 ; 24	18 2 ; 9	= 12 ; 28	34 4 ; 2	= 9 ; 14
2 1 ; 3	= 6 ; 18	19 2 ; 11	= 11 ; 13	35 4 ; 5	= 13 ; 17
3 1 ; 4	= 9 ; 15	20 2 ; 22	= 12 ; 3	36 4 ; 7	= 10 ; 25
4 1 ; 6	= 12 ; 11	21 2 ; 22	= 4 ; 15	37 4 ; 8	= 13 ; 1
5 1 ; 8	= 11 ; 27	22 2 ; 24	= 9 ; 28	38 4 ; 9	= 13 ; 2
6 1 ; 9	= 10 ; 36	23 2 ; 25	= 13 ; 20	39 4 ; 11	= 13 ; 21
7 1 ; 11	= 12 ; 2	24 3 ; 7	= 11 ; 9	40 4 ; 14	= 13 ; 13
8 1 ; 12	= 11 ; 13	25 3 ; 9	= 12 ; 17	41 4 ; 17	= 10 ; 21
9 1 ; 15	= 12 ; 14	26 3 ; 11	= 12 ; 14	42 5 ; 4	= 13 ; 20
10 1 ; 17	= 12 ; 28	27 3 ; 16	= 13 ; 18	43 5 ; 4	= 2 ; 7, 9
11 1 ; 18f.	= 9 ; 12f.	28 3 ; 18	= 9 ; 28	44 5 ; 7	= 13 ; 5
12 1 ; 21	= 2 ; 9	29 3 ; 18b	= 12 ; 22	45 5 ; 9	= 12 ; 8
13 2 ; 1	= 12 ; 1	30 3 ; 20	= 11 ; 7	46 5 ; 10	= 13 ; 20
14 2 ; 2	= 5 ; 12	31 3 ; 21	= 10 ; 22	47 5 ; 12	= 13 ; 22
15 2 ; 3	= 6 ; 5	32 3 ; 22	= 1 ; 2f.	48 5 ; 13	= 13 ; 24
16 2 ; 5	= 3 ; 6	33 4 ; 1	= 4 ; 12	49 5 ; 14	= 13 ; 24
17 2 ; 5	= 13 ; 15				

CONCLUSION

The many suggestive parallels between these two Epistles would form a conclusive argument for literary dependence, were we not certain that they both rest upon the Epistles of Paul. It is difficult to determine whether one author is drawing from Paul independently or at the suggestion of the other. Nor is it easy to tell whether one is drawing directly from the other or whether they are expressing thought due to a common background. Through this labyrinth of possibilities we can only hope to discover a somewhat circuitous trail. From the marked text on page 101 f. it would appear that these authors sometimes follow paths over which Paul had never traveled. Since these paths are quite clearly defined in some instances of resemblance here one may readily infer that there is some literary connection between I Peter and Hebrews.

Furthermore there are places where we were led to believe that one author pointed out the Pauline path to the other. In view of the many striking parallels one is tempted to assert that these Epistles show a direct literary connection. Though the case seems very certain, the complication of possibilities lessens the degree of certainty until it would seem advisable to claim no more than that one author very probably knew the work of the other.

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The next question to be determined is the order of probable dependence. We have noted several points in the discussion where Hebrews more probably blazed the way for our author. Cf. Exs. 2, 4, 5, 8, 18, 22, etc. Hebrews is a carefully thought out homily, logical and rethorical, whereas I Peter is halting in its logic and disconnected at many points. In contrast to the former the latter is a mere literary mosaic. Instances are not wanting in which the contexts of the members of the parallels considered show Hebrews to be the more original. For instance, in Ex. 6 it will be noted that Noah is referred to in Hebrews as but one of a long list of ancient worthies, whereas I Peter alludes to him as if at the suggestion of another. Cf. Exs. 1, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, etc.

It can hardly be accidental that Hebrews 12—13 contain 26 of the 49 possible points of contact with I Peter. The first 8 chapters contain but 9 points of contact, whereas the last 4 chapters have 40. Apparently then our author used that part of Hebrews most which is in closest harmony with the purpose for which he was writing, i. e. to strengthen and encourage the Christians during a fiery persecution.

Although much of the thought and phraseology of these books may be due to common dependence upon Paul or to a common background, it would seeem that we are justified in claiming that our author was very probably acquainted with Hebrews.

"Q" SOURCE

D

d

(1)

I Pt. 1; 6, 8	Mt. 5; 11, 12 = Lk. 6; 22, 23
ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς . . . 8 ἀγαλλιᾶτε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ	μακάριοί ἐστε, ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμαι. χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε

Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε serves as a catch word. Though a rare word in the N. T. it does not show dependence. Cf. Lk. 1 ; 47, 10 ; 21, Acts 2 ; 26, 16 ; 34, Rev. 19 ;7, Jn. 5 ; 35, 8 ; 56. The word does not occur in the parallel account in Luke. There is no more reason to suppose that our author was influenced by " Q " at this point than by Paul Cf. Rom. 12 ; 12, Phil. 3 ; 1, 4 ; 4, I Thes. 5 ; 17, etc.

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(2)

I Pt. 1; 10	Mt. 13; 17 = Lk. 10; 24
περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ ἐξηραύνησαν προφῆται . . .	πολλοὶ προφῆται [καὶ βασιλεῖς] ἐπεθύμησαν ἰδεῖν ἃ βλέπετε καὶ οὐκ εἶδαν

This is indeed a suggestive parallel. If there is any literary dependence it must be on the side of our author, as " Q " surely antedates our Epistle some decades. But the thought is not close enough to make this probable. Cf. Eph. 3 ; 3 f. Col. 1 ; 25, Rom. 16 ; 25, Eph. 1 ; 9, etc.

(3)

I Pt 1; 17	Mt. 6; 9 = Lk. 11; 2
καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε	[Οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε] ὑμεῖς· πάτερ . . .

Harnack, in his " Sayings of Jesus " p. 134, does not place the bracketed phrase in the " Q " source, as A. Huck seems to do in his " Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien " s. 28. At all events, this parallel has no evidential value in the solution of our problem, though Bigg, Chase and Holtzmann point it out.

(4)

I Pt. 3; 9	Mt. 5; 39 = Lk. 6; 29
μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας τουναντίον δὲ εὐλογοῦντες. Cf. 3 ; 16.	Ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν [δεξιὰν], σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην. Cf. Mt. 5 ; 44 = Lk. 6 ; 28.

The doctrine of " nonresistance " is clearly set forth in both instances, but the words in which it is couched are very different and not at all suggestive either of dependence or of a common source. A close parallel appears in the Markan source, i. e. 15 ; 29. The doctrine here taught is not wholly new in the N. T., e. g. Prov. 17 ; 13, 20 ; 22, 24 ; 29, etc. As we have seen elsewhere I Peter most certainly depends upon Rom. 12, so we need not go back of Paul for the doctrine taught in I Pt. 3 ; 9. See Rom. 12 ; 17, 19, I Thes. 5 ; 15, I Cor. 6 ; 7, etc. Though Chase, Bigg, Holtzmann, Monnier and others have pointed out the above parallel it does not so much as prove a common source.

(5)

I Pt. 3; 20	Mt. 24; 37, 38 = Lk. 17; 26
τοῦ Θεοῦ μακροθυμία ἐν ἡμέραις Νῶε	ὥσπερ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Νῶε

Though the reference to ταῖς ἡμέραις Νῶε suggests some literary connection, it will be observed that the phrase occurs in contexts

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which have nothing else in common. Our author thinks of the ark as a symbol of salvation by water baptism, whereas Q alludes to the unconcern of Noah's contemporaries in view of the approaching destruction as analogous to the conditions at the imminent parousia. There is, therefore, no necessary connection between these passages.

(6)	I Pt. 4; 10	Mt. 24; 45 = Lk. 12; 42
	διακονοῦντες ὡς καλοὶ οἰκονόμοι . . .	ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος, ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκετείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ

Clearly this parallel, cited by Dean Plumtre, does not show the dependence of our Epistle upon " Q " to be any more probable than upon Paul. Cf. I Cor. 4 ; 1, 2, Tit. 1 ; 7.

(7)	I Pt. 5; 6	Mt. 23; 12 = Lk. 14; 11
	ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ	Ὅστις ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται

Chase, Holtzmann, Monnier and others have recorded this very suggestive parallel. The citation in " Q " resembles the thought of our Epistle at this point more than any other N. T. passage. But that the Christian should be humble is a very common teaching in the Pauline Epistles. Cf. Rom. 12 ; 16, II Cor. 7 ; 6, 10 ; 1, 11 ; 7, 12 ; 21, Eph. 4 ; 2, Phil. 2 ; 3, 8, 4 ; 12, Col. 2 ; 18, 23, 3.; 12, etc. II Cor. 11 ; 7 is a very close parallel to I Pt. 5 ; 6. This logion pertains to social distinctions whereas, I Peter alludes to the Christians' resignation during the fiery ordeal of persecution, which is viewed as a providential neans of exaltation. Consequently there is not such a close resemblance here as at first appears. Hence it cannot be asserted from this parallel that our author was acquainted with " Q," nor that he remembered a saying that he had heard from the lips of Jesus.

(8)	I Pt. 5; 8	Mt. 5; 25 = Lk. 12; 58
	ὁ ἀντίδικος	τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ

Dean Plumtre gives this among other resemblances to show that " one of the most dominant influences upon St. Peter was the personal teaching of our Lord." But it would seem that a single word like this, occurring as it does in contexts differing so widely, could no real evidential value.

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(9)	I Pt. 5; 10	Mt. 7; 25 = Lk. 6; 48
	θεμελιώσει	τεθεμελίωτο

Granting that this word belonged originally in I Peter, we should still have to question the propriety of considering it as a datum to proove that "Peter was influenced by the personal teaching of our Lord." Especially is it hazardous to depend upon this "datum," since many of the best Manuscripts do not contain the word. See W. H. in loco.

It seems quite clear from the above study that we cannot claim either that there is any literary connection between "Q" and I Peter or that they both go back to a common source.

MARKAN SOURCE

D

d

(1)	I Pt. 1; 18	Mk. 10; 45 (Mt. 20; 28)
	ἐλυτρώθητε . . . τιμίῳ αἵματι . . . Χριστοῦ	δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν. Cf. Mk. 14; 24.

The Markan source represents "the life of the Son of Man" to be the "ransom," whereas our author alludes to the redemption price in symbolic terms, i. e. "the precious blood of Christ." I Tim 2; 6, Tit. 2; 14, Gal. 1; 4, 2; 20, Rom. 4; 45, etc. resemble the thought of Mark more closely, but Eph. 1; 7, 5; 2, Col. 1; 14, Rom. 3; 24, 25, Acts 5; 2, etc. are closer to I Peter. Cf. also Heb. 9; 12. It is obvious that the Pauline doctrine of the atonement is here heard from the lips of Jesus. No one can be certain as to the genuineness of Mk. 10; 45, yet it is conceded by the majority of modern scholars to be more in accord with the theology of Paul than with what we know of the teaching of Jesus concerning himself. That Mark was a disciple of Paul we are assured. Cf. Acts 12; 25. All things considered there is no reason to claim that there is here any literary connection. There is, however, an obvious Pauline influence back of the members of this parallel.

(2)	I Pt. 1; 18 b	Mk. 7; 3 (Mt. 15; 26)
	πατροπαραδότου	τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων

This parallel of Dean Plumtre's need not detain us.

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(3)

I Pt. 1; 23	Mk. 4; 14 (Mt. 13; 18 f. = Lk. 8; 12f.)
ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς . . . διὰ λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ	ὁ σπείρων λόγον σπείρει ff.

Bigg thinks that there is some connection here. But cf. I Cor. 4; 15, Gal. 3; 16, 26, 29, 4; 19, etc. There is no reason to think that our author depends upon Mark at this point nor that both draw from a common source.

(4)

I Pt. 2; 2	Mk. 10; 15 (Mt. 18; 2 = Lk. 18; 17)
ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αὐξηθῆτε εἰς σωτηρίαν	ὃς ἂν μὴ δέξηται τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς παιδίον, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς αὐτήν

Chase notices this parallel but he does not advance it as an argument for literary dependence. Closer resemblances both in thought and phraseology are to be found in the Pauline Epistles. Cf. I Cor. 3; 1 f., 14; 20, Eph. 4; 14, etc.

(5)

I Pt. 2; 7	Mk. 12; 10 (Mt. 21; 42 = Lk. 20; 12)
λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας	λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες, οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας

Verbal agreement, in this quotation from Ps. 118; 22, leads us to suspect that some literary connection exists in this parallel. Yet there is nothing in the contexts which suggests it. Mark also quotes Ps. 118; 23, showing that he is probably following the original independently. Our Epistle, as we have seen elsewhere, surely depends upon Rom. 9; 33 and Eph. 2; 20–22 at this point. Assuming that this is a genuine saying of Jesus, as it purports to be, we still have no special reason to conclude that Peter is the common source back of these quotations.

(6)

I Pt. 2; 13, 17	Mk. 12; 17 (Mt. 22; 21 = Lk. 20; 26)
ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν 17 τὸν Θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε	τὰ Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ

This parallel is very suggestive, yet it is to be noted that Rom. 13; 1 is even more suggestive of our Epistle. There is practically nothing in the immediate context in Mark to suggest I Peter, whereas Rom. 12–13 has numerous points of probable connection. Cf.

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especially Rom. 13 ; 1, 6, 7, 8 with I Pt. 2 ; 13, 17. Certainly there are more obvious reasons for believing that our author was influenced at this point by Paul than by Mark or the Petrine source back of Mark. Mark in like manner may equally be dependent upon Romans.

(7)

I Pt. 2 ; 21	Mk. 8 ; 34 (Mt. 10 ; 38 = Lk. 9 ; 23)
Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν ἵνα ἐκακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ	εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι

Dean Plumtre thinks that this is one of "Peter's reminiscences of the Lord's teaching." But the thought and phraseology of I Pt. 2 ; 21 a is too common in the Pauline Epistles to render such a view tenable. Furthermore the ἴχνος of I Pt. 2 ; 21 b occurs only here and in Rom. 4 ; 12 and II Cor. 12 ; 18, in which places, significantly enough, it is employed in the same sense in which our author uses it. Hence it is not necessary for us to suppose that these scriptures come from a common Petrine source.

(8)

I Pt. 2 ; 23	Mk. 14 ; 61, 15 ; 5 (Mt. 27 ; 14)
ὃς λοιδορούμενους οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει	ὁ δὲ ἐσιώπα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο οὐδέν. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη

Our author is drawing from Isa. 53 all through this section. Cf. I Pt. 2 ; 23 with Isa. 53 ; 7. The word λοιδορέω is not found in the Synoptic Gospels, but it is used in I Cor. 4 ; 12 and in the Pauline portion of Acts (23 ; 4). Δοιδορία is used only by Paul and our author, while λοίδορος is only to be found in I Cor. 5 ; 11, 6 ; 10. Ἀντιλοίδορος is peculiar to above citation. Hence this would be a slender thread on which to suspend an argument either for literary dependence or a common source.

(9)

I Pt. 2 ; 24	Mk. 15 ; 15 (Mt. 27 ; 26)
οὗ τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε. Cf. Isa. 53 ; 5.	παρέδωκεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας

Again we cannot follow Plumtre in his "reminiscences of St. Peter." The language of Mk. 15 ; 15 is much more in accord with a real reminiscence than I. Pt. 2 ; 24. The quotation from Isaiah seems to indicate that our author was musing on the picture of the "Suffering Servant" of II Isaiah rather than upon the concrete instance depicted in Mark.

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(10) I Pt. 2; 25

ἦτε ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν

Mk. 6; 34 (Mt. 9; 36 = Lk. 15; 4)

ἦσαν ὡς πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα

Chase records this striking parallel, yet he is unable to find any evidence in it for literary dependence. The quotation in Mark does not claim to have come from the lips of Jesus, consequently it is a later interpretation in accord with the O. T. symbolism. Cf. Num. 27; 17, I Ki. 22; 17, Ezek. 34; 6, 37; 24, Zech. 10; 2, etc. See Isa. 53; 6 for the probable original of I Pt. 2; 25.

(11) I Pt. 4; 7

πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν. σωφρονήσατε οὖν καὶ νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς

Mk. 13; 33 (Mt. 24; 42 = Lk. 12; 37)

βλέπετε ἀγρυπνεῖτε οὐκ οἴδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ καιρός [ἐστιν]. Cf. Mt. 25; 13, 26; 41 and Lk. 21; 34.

Though the thought here is much the same the phraseology is very different. Exhortations to watchfulness in view of the approaching parousia were too common during the early period for this parallel to be of any evidential value either for dependence or for a common source. Cf. Rom. 13; 11, I Thes. 5; 6 f., etc.

(12) I Pt. 5; 3

μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων . . .

Mk. 10; 42 (Mt. 20; 25 = Lk. 22; 24)

Οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατακυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι αὐτῶν κατεξουσιάζουσιν αὐτῶν

Κατακυριεύω is a rare word in the N. T., yet it is not sufficient in these contexts to make literary acquaintance probable. The reference in I Peter could have been suggested, quite as naturally, by II Cor. 1; 24 or Ezek. 34; 4.

A study of the above points of contact (which, it is believed, exhaust the more important ones) shows that the Pauline Literature, upon which we are quite sure our author depends, furnishes, in nearly every instance, equally close thought and phraseology: and in not a few cases is the resemblance even more striking. It has also been seen that Mark has been influenced by Paul. Whether or not Mark and I Peter alike go back to Peter, we are quite sure that they are deeply indebted to Paul. At all events literary dependence cannot be claimed between I Peter and the Markan Source.

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PECULIAR TO MATTHEW

D

d

(1)

I Pt. 1; 4	Mt. 25; 34
εἰς κληρονομίαν . . . τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς. Cf. 3; 9 b.	κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου

Κληρονομεῖν with its family is a very common word in the N. T., especially in the Pauline Epistles. "Inheriting the Kingdom" is mentioned in I Cor. 6; 10, 15; 50, Gal. 5; 21, Eph. 5; 5. That the "inheritance is laid up in heaven" is also alluded to in Col. 1; 5 and inferred in Eph. 1; 14. Ἑτοιμάζω is a common word in the Gospels, but rare elsewhere, occurring in the Pauline Epistles only three times and in I Peter not at all. Therefore literary dependence cannot be argued from this parallel.

(2)

I Pt. 2; 5	Mt. 16; 18
ὡς λίθοι ζῶντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικὸς . . .	σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . .

The change of Simon's name to כיפא or Πέτρος, and the allusion to ἐκκλησία lead many to think that there is here an anachronism. Unfortunately the Siniatic Syriac (Ss) fails us at this point. Both the Curetonian (Sc) and the Peshito (P) follow the Greek text in using ܟܐܦܐ. We have concluded elsewhere that our Epistle depends upon Rom. 9; 33 and Eph. 2; 20-21 at this point, so if either of these authors influenced the other, Matthew is the borrower. Knowing what we do about the rapidly developing tradition of the early church we should conclude, apart from literary considerations, that the thought of Mt. 16; 18 antedates our Epistle. Therefore we cannot so much as argue a common source for these scriptures.

(3)

I Pt. 2; 12	Mt. 5; 16
τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν ἵνα, . . . ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσι τὸν Θεὸν	οὕτως λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅπως ἴδωσιν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς

Mt. 5; 16 resembles our Epistle at this point more closely than any other N. T. passage. It is quite natural to suppose that Matthew

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preserves a genuine logion of our Lord, which was current in the church, but which was not used by the other Synoptic writers. Yet the form in which the thought is expressed suggests that there is here no literary connection.

(4)	I Pt. 3; 14 a	Mt. 5; 10
	εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι	μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης

This parallel may be accounted for in the same way as No. 3. Certainly no one will affirm that these must go back to a common origin.

(5)	I Pt. 3; 14 b	Mt. 10; 26
	τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε	μὴ οὖν φοβηθῆτε αὐτούς

Chase calls our attention to this parallel, yet he is unable to find in it any evidence for literary acquaintance. The resemblance can hardly be more than a mere coincidence.

We may conclude from the above possible points of contact that there is nothing peculiar to Matthew which warrants any claim for literary acquaintance.

PECULIAR TO LUKE

D

d

(1)	I Pt. 1; 11	Lk. 24; 26
	πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας. Cf. v. 21.	οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. Cf. vv. 44, 46.

This close parallel suggests literary dependence. Acts 26; 22. 23, which is in a "speech of Paul," also resembles our Epistle very much at this point. That the sufferings of Christ were foretold was a common doctrine: belief in his subsequent glorification also grew up very early. Consequently there need be no literary connection here, though the thought is very suggestive. Both passages bear evidence of Pauline influence.

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(2)

I Pt. 1; 13	Lk. 12; 35
Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὀσφύας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν	Εστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι

Certainly this parallel, cited by Holtzmann and Plumtre, need not detain us. The phrase is not of the sort that suggests dependence Furthermore, a closer resemblance to our Epistle here is to be found in Paul. Cf. Eph. 6 ; 14, which uses the common phrase in a tropical sense more in accord with I Pt. 1 ; 18 than with Lk. 12 ; 35.

(3)

I Pt. 1; 13 b	Lk. 17; 30
ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται

The ἀποκάλυψις of Christ is too common in the Pauline Epistles to make it necessary for us to suppose that there is any literary connection here. Cf. II Thes. 1 ; 7, I Cor. 1 ; 7, I Thes. 4 ; 16, etc.

(4)

I Pt. 2; 12	Lk. 10; 44
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῆς	τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς

That the word ἐπισκοπή is used in this sense only in these two places in all the N. T. seems quite significant. It would not be wise, however, to place too much stress upon this usage, which is probably accidental.

(5)

I Pt. 2; 23, 4; 19	Lk. 23; 46
παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως 4 ; 19 πιστῷ κτίστῃ παρατιθέσθωσαν τὰς ψυχάς . . .	Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμα μου

Though παρατίθημι is a common word in the N. T., it is employed just in this way but rarely. I Peter uses παραδίδωμι and παρατίθημι interchangeably, consequently this resemblance has but little value as a datum for literary dependence. For similar usage of παρατίθημι see Acts 14 ; 23, 20 ; 32. Cf. also Acts 7 ; 59 for similar idea.

(6)

I Pt. 4; 5	Lk. 16; 2
οἱ ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ . . . κρίνοντι . . .	ἀπόδος τὸν λόγον τῆς οἰκονομίας σου

Cf. Mt. 12 ; 36, 22 ; 21, Mk. 4 ; 20, Acts 19 ; 40, etc.

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(7)

I Pt. 4; 8	Lk. 7; 47
ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν	ἀφέωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῆς αἱ πολλαί, ὅτι ἠγάπησεν πολύ

Occurring, as it does, in a context so thoroughly Pauline, this quotation from Prov. 10; 12 very probably has no connection with the citation in Luke.

(8)

I Pt. 5; 1	Lk. 24; 48
μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων	ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες τούτων

Connection here is very dubious.

Sir John Hawkins shows in his Horae Synopticae (p. 190 f.) that Luke is linguistically more closely related to Paul than either of the other Synoptic Gospels. In view of the close dependence of our Epistle upon Paul we should be surprised not to find close parallels between Luke and I Peter. Indeed, these likenesses have been such as lead Bigg to say that " I Peter shows upon the whole the nearest resemblance to Luke " (i. e. of the Gospels). In favor of this it may also be said that the literary style of Luke and I Peter is much the same. Both have large vocabularies. They very frequently employ compound words. They have an abnormally large number of words peculiar to each, as well as common to each. Yet with all these likenesses we cannot claim that either author knew the work of the other.

ACTS

D

d

(1)

I Pt. 1; 4	Acts 20; 32
εἰς κληρονομίαν . . . τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς	δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν

Very clearly these scriptures come from the same circle of ideas. Acts 20; 32 purports to give Paul's own words, whereas I Peter, as we have seen elsewhere, very probably depends directly upon Paul. Cf. Eph. 1; 14, Col. 1; 5, II Tim. 4; 8.

(2)

I Pt. 1; 11	Acts 26; 22-23
προφῆται . . . πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν πα-	ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι ααὶ Μωυσῆς, εἰ

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θήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δό-	παθητὸς ὁ χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ
ξας	ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν

This close parallel suggests literary dependence. Obviously the passage in Acts is closely related to I Cor. 15 ; 20 f. Acts 3 ; 18 is also a close parallel to I Pt. 1 ; 11a, but it makes no reference to Christ's glorification through suffering. Apparently, therefore, the citation in the Pauline portion of Acts affords the closer parallel, although we cannot assert that it shows literary dependence.

(3)

I Pt. 1 ; 12	Acts 2 ; 4
πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀποσταλέντι ἀπ'	καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες πνεύματος
οὐρανοῦ	ἁγίου

The doctrine of the gift of the Spirit is too common in the Pauline Literature to make it necessary for us to suppose that there is here any literary connection.

(4)

I Pt. 1 ; 14	Acts 17 ; 30
ταῖς πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ ὑμῶν	τοὺς οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑ-
ἐπιθυμίαις	περιδὼν ὁ Θεὸς . .

It seems significant that ἀγνοία occurs in " Paul's speech." Thought resembling this is also to be found in another one of Paul's speeches, i. e. Acts 14 ; 16. These passages suggest acquaintance, yet our Epistle more probably depends upon Rom. 3 ; 25, while Acts 17 ; 30 comes from the " ἡμεῖς document," which is obviously older than I Peter. Literary dependence, therefore, cannot be claimed for these passages.

(5)

I Pt. 1 ; 17	Acts 10 ; 34
πατέρα . . . τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπ-	οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήμπτης ὁ θεός
τως . . .	

That God is no respecter of persons is a common doctrine, both in the N. T. and contemporary literature. Neither of the above words expressing this idea is to be found elsewhere in the N. T. Paul uses προσωποληψία in Rom. 2 ; 11, Eph. 6 ; 9 and Col. 3 ; 25. Rom. 2 ; 11 alludes, as in I Peter, to the impartial judgment of God ; an idea which is not on the surface in Acts 10 ; 34. The story of Peter's visit with Cornelius in Acts 10 makes Peter the Apostle to the Gentiles very early in his ministerial career, whereas we are told in Gal. 2 that this vision of a world wide mission came later : through the mediation of Paul. Consequently we are certain that Pauline influence is not wanting here in Acts 10 ; 34. There is, therefore, no literary relation between the members of this parallel.

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(6)

I Pt. 1; 18, 19	Acts 20; 28
ἐλυτρώθητε . . . τιμίῳ αἵματι . . . Χριστοῦ	τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου

Since, as we have seen elsewhere, I Pt. 1 ; 18, 19 quite certainly depends upon Paul (cf. Eph. 1 ; 7, Col. 1 ; 14, I Cor. 6 ; 20, 7 ; 23, Gal. 3 ; 13), and since the account in Acts comes from a document which antedates I Peter, we cannot suppose that there is any literary connection here.

(7)

I Pt. 1; 21	Acts 2; 32
Θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα	Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεός, . . . τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψωθεὶς . . .

There is here a close resemblance. The doctrine of the resurrection and exaltation of Christ is too common, however, to permit us to use this parallel as an argument for dependence. Cf. Acts 2 ; 32, 3 ; 15, 4 ; 10, 10 ; 40, 13 ; 30, 34, 17 ; 31, Rom. 4 ; 24, 8 ; 11, I Cor. 6 ; 14, 15 ; 15, II Cor. 4 ; 14, Gal. 1 ; 1, Eph. 1 ; 20, Col. 2; 12, I Thes. 1 ; 10, etc.

(8)

I Pt. 1; 22 b	Acts 15; 9
τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας	τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν

The reference in Acts is a clear allusion to the doctrine of " Justification by Faith," so common with Paul, whereas the citation in I Peter shows progress in the Johannine direction ; cf. Jn. 14 ; 15, 21, 23, 15 ; 7, 10, I Jn. 2 ; 5, 5 ; 3, etc.

(9)

I Pt. 2; 7	Acts 4; 11
λίθος ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας	ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας

Ps. 118 ; 22 was, during the early history of the church, a favorite proof text for the Messiahship of Jesus. Mark 12 ; 10, followed by Matthew and Luke, records it as having been quoted by Jesus with reference to himself. It is significant that the text in Mark is exactly the same as that used by our author, whereas the text used in the " speech in Acts," which purports to be Peter's, has important variations. Assuming the historicity of Acts 4 ; 11, tradition, which tells us that Mark drew from Peter, would in that case lead us to

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expect closer resemblance between Mark and Acts than between Mark and I Peter, since we are quite certain that the latter depends upon Rom. 9 ; 33 and Eph. 2 ; 20—22. Granting that Jesus did allude to this Psalm, there would be no reason for us to suppose that there is any literary relation between Acts and I Peter, nor need we think that they are derived from a common source, unless Paul, upon whom I Peter surely depends, gained his information from Peter, which he would seem in Gal. 1 ; 11 f. to repudiate.

10) I Pt. 2; 9 — Acts 20; 28

λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν — ἐκκλησίαν . . . περιεποιήσατο

Connection here is very doubtful.

11) I Pt. 2; 9 b — Acts 26; 18

τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος, εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς· — τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς

The Pauline source is too obvious here to require comment. Cf. Eph. 5 ; 8, Col. 1 ; 13, I Thes. 5 ; 4, etc.

(12) I Pt. 2; 12 — Acts 24; 5

τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλαλοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν. Cf. 3 ; 16. — λοιμὸν καὶ κινοῦντα στάσεις πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην

Apparently there is here no direct connection.

(13) I Pt. 3; 8 — Acts 4; 32

τὸ δὲ τέλος πάντες ὁμόφρονες — ἦν καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία

Though the thought is similar the phraseology is different. Pauline influence is obvious here. Cf. Rom. 12 ; 16, 15 ; 5, 6, II Cor. 13 ; 11, Phil. 1 ; 27, 2 ; 2, 3 ; 16.

(14) I Pt. 3; 22 — Acts 10; 36

πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανὸν ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων — οὗτος (Ἰ. Χ.) ἔστιν πάντων Κύριος

For closer parallels see Eph. 1 ; 20—22, Col. 1 ; 16 f., 2 ; 15, I Cor. 15 ; 24 f.

(15) 1 Pt. 4; 1 — Acts 17; 3

Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ . . — ὅτι τὸν χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν

This thought is too common to show dependence.

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(16)

I Pt. 4; 3	Acts 14; 16
ἀρκετὸς γὰρ ὁ παρεληλυθὼς χρόνος τὸ βούλημα τῶν ἐθνῶν κατειργάσθαι, πεπορευμένους ἐν ἀσελγείαις . . .	ὃς ἐν ταῖς παρῳχημέναις γενεαῖς εἴασεν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν. Cf. 15; 20, 17; 30.

Again the Pauline influence is obvious. Cf. Rom. 3; 25, Eph. 2; 2, 4; 17, Col. 1; 21, 3; 7, I Thes. 4; 5. See also Ex. 3 above.

(17)

I Pt. 4; 4	Acts 13; 45
βλασφημοῦντες	λαλουμένοις βλασφημοῦντες

(18)

I Pt. 4; 5	Acts 10; 42
τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς	οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν

This parallel affords no real evidence either for literary dependence or for a common Petrine source. A common Pauline source seems more apparent. Cf. Acts 17; 31, Rom. 2; 16, 14; 10, 12, II Cor. 5; 10, II Tim. 4; 1. It is important to note that Acts 17; 31 comes from a much better source than Acts 10; 42.

(19)

I Pt. 4; 14	Acts 5; 41
εἰ ὀνειδίζεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι (16) εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός, μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ	οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ . . . ὅτι κατηξιώθησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀτιμασθῆναι·

"Suffering for the name" in Acts 5; 41 is obviously an anachronism. It is more natural to suppose that this phrase comes from a time at least as late as I Peter. The resemblance in the above parallel seems to be accounted for sufficiently well by the assumption that these passages have a common background. Though the conditions are different, Paul has much to suggest these citations. Cf. Rom. 5; 3, Eph. 3; 13, II Cor. 12; 10, Phil. 2; 17. See also Jas. 1; 2, 12 which was probably written soon after I Peter. Dependence upon the apostle Peter is very improbable at this point.

(20)

I Pt. 5; 2	Acts 20; 28
ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, (ἐπισκοποῦντες) μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς . . .	προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν

This parallel is very close. Though this "charge" may not come directly from Paul, his influence upon this section of Acts

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is obvious and in all probability he prepared the way for the suggestion in our Epistle, which the author of the Appendix to the Fourth Gospel wove into an anecdote. Mk. 14 ; 27 may bear some relation to these passages. Cf. also I Pt. 2 ; 25.

(21)

I Pt. 5; 9	Acts 14; 22
ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει, εἰδότες τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν παθημάτων τῇ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὑμῶν ἀδελφότατι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι	παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει καὶ ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ

In both members of this very suggestive parallel, to which Holtzmann calls our attention, reference is made both to continuing in the faith, and to the afflictions that are rife. Though the backgrounds are different, both passages show Pauline influence. Cf. Rom. 8 ; 17, Eph. 6 ; 11, I Thes. 3 ; 3, II Tim. 2 ; 11, 12, 3 ; 12, etc. It appears that there is no direct literary connection here.

(22)

I Pt. 5; 12	Acts 20; 24 b
ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ταύτην εἶναι ἀληθῆ χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ	διαμαρτύρασθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ

The Pauline influence is too obvious here to require comment. I Cor. 15 ; 1b not only has close resemblance in thought to the above parallel but also contains the phrase " wherein ye stand," which appears in I Pt. 5 ; 12b.

Acts 3 ; 13, 26, 4 ; 27, 30 and I Pt. 2 ; 21 f. allude to the עבד יהוה of II Isaiah. The title παῖς is rarely applied to Christ. It is important to note that the death of the " suffering servant " in the early chapters of Acts has no atoning significance as in our Epistle. Though our author never uses the title παῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ he employs the doctrine of the " suffering servant " in its most developed form. I Peter does not rest upon Paul here, as the latter rarely alludes to this Isaianic teaching. Nor do these passages in Acts depend upon I Peter, for the theology of the former is quite primitive. Neither can we be certain that there is a common source back of the scriptures in question, inasmuch as the " servant " is alluded to so differently.

Conclusion.

Of the twenty-two parallels just cited, but eight are in the Petrine portion of Acts, and in almost every instance equally close thought is to be found in the Pauline Epistles. Of course, the fourteen

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parallels in the non-Petrine portion of Acts all show strong Pauline influence. Our study has revealed many suggestive points of contact between Acts and I Peter, yet they are not such as to justify the conclusion that one author knew the work of the other. If there is any dependence it would seem that " Luke " is the borrower. It is generally agreed that Luke, the author of the " we document," was a disciple of Paul. Our author also appears to have been a student of Paul. Consequently these authors would naturally have similar thoughts and forms of expression and still be independent of each other. The resemblances between I Peter and Acts 1–12 are due, it would seem, not to a common Petrine source, but (1) to the dependence of our author upon the Pauline Epistles and (2) to the influence of Paul upon the author of Acts. That is to say, the common source is Pauline rather than Petrine.

JAMES

A*

b

(1)	I Pt. 1; 6, 7	Jas. 1; 2, 3
	ἐν ᾧ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὀλίγον ἄρτι εἰ δέον λυπηθέντες ἐν ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς (7) ἵνα τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως	πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε . . . ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις (3) γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως κατεργάζεται

Nearly all commentators have recognized a dependence between these two passages. Mayor says : " it is proven beyond all doubt by the recurrence in both phrases ποικίλοις πειρασμοῖς and τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως with its usual order of words. Assuming then, as we must, that one copied from the other, we find the trial of faith illustrated in I Peter (as in Ps. 66 ; 10, Prov. 17 ; 3, Job 23 ; 10, Zech. 13 ; 9, Mal. 3 ; 3) by the trying of the precious metals in the fire ; we find also the addition, ὀλίγον ἄρτι, εἰ δέον, λυπηθέντες, which looks as if it were intended to soften down the uncompromising Stoicism of St. James' πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἡγήσασθε". (Com. on Jas. p. xcvi.) That there is here a case of dependence, practically all agree, yet the order of dependence many question. Πειρασμοῖς ποικίλοις seems somewhat weak prior to the Neronian persecution, which is assumed in the argument, inasmuch as it refers in I Peter to " trials and persecutions of the Christians". (For πειρασμός see any Gk. Lex. Cf. also Cone's com. p. 273 ; Schmidt and Holzendorf Com. III, p. 158 ; etc.)

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Against the argument that the longer form in I Peter is a proof of its priority may be advanced the general consensus of even conservative opinion regarding the alleged dependence of Romans and Ephesians on I Peter. Cf. Sanday's Com. on Rom. p. lxxvf. Many of the "illustrations of I Peter," no doubt, were originally from the O. T., but they do not appear to have been dragged in unnaturally. They have been called out by a concrete situation, whereas the passage in James is lacking not only in local coloring but also in clearness of purpose. The phrase alluded to above may be "a softening down of James' harder expression," but as a matter of fact the tendency was towards an increase in the fanaticism for suffering as we approach the second Century. Cf. Acts 5 ; 41 and the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans.

Again, in I Peter, the successful endurance of the present trial has an important bearing on the condition of the Christians at the imminent "parousia," a most vital and burning issue, whereas in James it is advanced merely as a motive for "patience." Jas. 1 ; 2 has nothing to recommend its priority in this context. On the other hand I Pt. 1 ; 6 is the continuation of a line of thought begun in the preceding verses, i. e., (3) God has begotten the believers to a lively hope (4) of an inheritance reserved for those (5) who are kept through faith unto salvation, (6) in which thought they may find comfort in the present persecutions (7) which will turn out to their good in the approaching parousia.

In view of the foregoing considerations the position of Mayor and Monnier seems untenable. The probabilities are in favor of the dependence of James on I Peter, at this point.

(2)	I Pt. 1 ; 23	Jas. 1 ; 18
	ἀναγεγεννημένοι . . . διὰ λόγου	βουληθεὶς ἀπεκυήσεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας

The "birth" here is accomplished "by the word of God," or "of truth." Mayor thinks that ; "I Peter expanded the simpler thought of James" (p. xcvi), to which Monnier adds : "d'une façon oratorie" (p. 269). Yet the ἀναγεγεννημένοι of 1 ; 23 refers back to the ἀναγεννήσας of 1 ; 3 which shows close sequence of thought. Some have felt a difficulty here in finding a logical connection of Jas. 1 ; 18 to its context. (See note on Ex. 11.) Ἀποκυέω is peculiar to James, being found only in 1 ; 15, 18, while ἀναγεννάω occurs only in I Pt. 1 ; 3, 23. The closeness of thought and phraseology make dependence probable. The priority seems also to belong to I Peter.

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(3)

I Pt. 1; 23, 24	Jas. 1; 10, 11
διὶ ὅτι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς, ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου· ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει	ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου παρελεύσεται ἀνέτειλεν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος . . . καὶ ἐξήρανεν τὸν χόρτον καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσεν

Professor Bacon thinks that ; "the thought here is reproduced from I Peter." He also maintains that James is the borrower in Ex. 2. (Com. on Gal. p. 8 n.) The language of James shows a close relation to Ps. 90 ; 6, 103 ; 15, Job 14 ; 2 and Isa. 40 ; 6—8, but it is more closely related to the last. Dependence here is made very probable by the next parallel.

(4)

I Pt. 2; 1	Jas. 1; 21
ἀποθέμενοι οὖν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πάντα δόλον καὶ ὑπόκρισιν καὶ φθόνους καὶ πάσας καταλαλιάς, ὡς ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν . . . γάλα ἐπιποθήσατε ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ αὐξήθητε εἰς σωτηρίαν (resumes 1 ; 13). Cf. 3 ; 21 σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου	διὸ ἀποθέμενοι πᾶσαν ῥυπαρίαν καὶ περισσείαν κακίας ἐν πραΰτητι δέξασθε τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον τὸν δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχάς. Cf. 3; 14, 17 and 4 ; 11.

The identical use of the introductory participles is striking. The wording and general plan are also very similar. That I Pt. 2 ; 1 is preceded by a possible reference to James is significant, as well as the fact that 2 ; 2 finds a parallel in the " new born babes " to the "new birth " of Jas. 1 ; 18, which is in a close context. Monnier compares the " Word of Truth " which saves our souls (Jas. 1 ; 21) to " le lait λογικόν par lequel on grandit en vue du salut." I Pt. 2 ; 2 (Com. p. 269). I Pt. 2 ; 1 is an exhortation based upon 1 ; 23a. If Jas. 1 ; 21 is in any way connected with the preceding context, it too must go back a few verses, i. e. to 1 ; 18. Obviously the connection is better in I Peter. That this similar exhortation follows three verses below the common reference to the " new birth," makes a strong case for dependence. I Peter also employs the " Word " in 2 ; 2, which James used in the foregoing connection.

(5)

I Pt. 4; 8	Prov. 10; 12	Jas. 5; 12, 20
πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτε-	LXX πάντας τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει. Heb.	πρὸ πάντων μὴ ὀμνύετε (20) γινώσκετε ὅτι

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νῆ ἔχοντες, ὅτι ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν

עַל כָּל־פְּשָׁעִים תְּכַסֶּה אַהֲבָה

ὁ ἐπιστρέψας ἁμαρτωλὸν . . . καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν

Monnier thinks that the thought of James is the more primitive, and that the citation in I Peter is of a homiletical character (Com. p. 270–271). Others take it to be a " proverbial expression not appropriately employed by James." (Cf. Cone's Com. p. 295.) Mayor says : " James makes use of a familiar phrase without regard to the bearing of the context, applying it to the conversion of the erring, while St. Peter keeps the original application " (Com. p. xcix). With this we agree, but on this basis, we are inclined, with Bigg (Com. p. 173), to turn Mayor's argument against himself and infer the priority of I Peter. If our author " keeps the original application," James cannot have influenced him to any appreciable extent. Bigg gives the following summary of the argument : " If there is any connection here between St. James and St. Peter, it is clear that the former is the borrower, for the connection of his phrase with verse of Proverbs can only be made clear by taking the phrase of the latter as a help. If. St. Peter had not first written ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, St. James never could have said that he who converteth a sinner καλύψει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν." (For more complete discussion see Mayor p. 170 f., and Bigg p. 173.) From the above parallels it is obvious that these N. T. authors do not follow either the LXX or the original Hebrew as we now know them. The verbal agreement, therefore, is best explained on the basis of literary dependence, and reasons have not been wanting to give to I Peter the priority.

(6)

I Pt. 5; 4	Jas. 1; 12
κομιεῖσθε τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον	λήψεται τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς

(7)

I Pt. 5; 5	Jas. 4; 6
ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν	ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν

(8)

I Pt. 5; 6	Jas. 4; 10
ταπεινώθητε οὖν ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ὑψώσῃ ἐν καιρῷ	ταπεινώθητε ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ὑψώσει ὑμᾶς

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(9)	I Pt. 5; 8	Jas. 4; 7 b
	ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος . . .	ἀντίστητε τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ φεύ-
	9) ᾧ ἀντίστητε στερεοὶ τῇ πίστει	ξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν

Dependence is indisputable in parallels 6–9. The phrasing and general structure are remarkably alike. The sequence cannot well be considered accidental. Following the quotation in both cases is the exhortation to submission to God with the view of exaltation, which will follow after resisting the devil. Ex. 9. The evidence of Ex. 20 should also be considered here. These quotations are too constant and too close to permit a doubt of dependence.

The importance of these parallels justifies us in quoting somewhat at length from Bigg (p. 191) where the priority of our Epistle is defended in a convincing way. " Reasons why we should assign the priority to I Peter : (1) in James the mention of humility is sudden and unexpected ; (2) though he gives the quotation from Prov. 3 ; 34 in the same shape as I Peter, he writes, in ver. 10, ταπεινώθητε ἐνώπιον τοῦ Κυρίου, as if he were aware that ὁ Θεός was not quite correct : we may infer perhaps that he had somewhere seen the quotation in its altered shape ; (3) the mention of the devil in I Peter is not only more natural but more original ; (4) in ver. 8. St. James has ἁγνίσατε τὰς καρδίας, which may be suggested by τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες of I Pt. 1 ; 22: if this is so, St. James is combining different parts of the Petrine Epistle."

c

(10)	1 Pt. 1; 1	Jas. 1; 1
	ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς	ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ

This leads one to infer literary dependence. Our Epistle addresses people of a definite location while James refers to the Diaspora in general. Mayor argues that the definiteness of I Peter is an unconscious enlargement of the general address of Jas. 1 ; 1, but others see in it an evidence of originality. Ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς cannot be very early if it refers to the children of Abraham by faith, rather than by birth, which the body of the Epistle requires. Many scholars believe that James bears a literary relation to Romans. If this were not so the διασπορά might be understood to refer to the Jews as such—assuming an early date—but if James depends upon Romans the διασπορά must refer to the faithful regardless of race. That the author had the latter class in mind is evident from the con-

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text. Cf. ver. 18. The distorting effect that a theory of date may have an interpretation is illustrated by Mayor, not only when he makes "James" address "the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion," but also when he says; "St. Peter addresses the Jews of Asia Minor". (Com. on Jas. p. xcvi.)

(11)

I Pt. 1; 3	Jas. 1; 18
ὁ κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδα ζῶσαν	βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας

The reference to the "new birth" comes in more naturally in I Peter than in James. It is difficult to see any connection with the context in the latter, unless it be preparatory to the following exhortation. (Cf. Cone p. 277.) Since there is nothing in the preceding context to suggest it, the probabilities are that the borrowing is on the part of James.

(12)

I Pt. 1; 3	Jas. 1; 27, 2; 5
εἰς κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀμίαντον	θρησκεία καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος . . κληρονόμους τῆς βασιλείας

Ἀμιάντος occurs in the N.T. only here and in Heb. 7; 26; and 13; 4. Dependence here is made probable by the possible points of contact in the immediate context of James. Cf. parallels 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 24 and 30.

(13)

I Pt. 1; 12	Jas. 1; 25
εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι	ὁ δὲ παρακύψας εἰς νόμον τέλειον τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας

Παρακύπτω is a rare word in the N. T., being found elsewhere only in Lk. 24; 12 and Jn. 20; 5, 11. It is used in the perceptual sense in the latter references, whereas it is employed in the conceptual sense in the above parallel. The context in James is suggestive of I Peter. Dependence here seems quite probable.

(14)

I Pt. 1; 17	Jas. 2; 1
τὸν ἀπροσωπολήμπτως κρίνοντα	μὴ ἐν προσωποληψίαις . . .

Προσωποληψία is found also in Rom. 2; 11, 3; 25, 6; 9, and may suggest dependence of James upon Paul. The verbal form appears only in Jas. 2; 9. Προσωπολήπτης occurs in "Peter's speech" in Acts 10; 34. "A" privative is employed with this word only by our author. It appears then that Paul is the source for I Peter. The usage in I Peter is more in favor of its priority than in James.

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I Peter employs it in a chain of thought whereas James uses it, as if suggested by another, to introduce an exhortation quite foreign to the previous context. This parallel is made more significant by Exs. 12, 24 and 30.

(15)

I Pt. 2; 11	Jas. 4; 1
παρακαλῶ . . . ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς	πόθεν πόλεμοι· . . . οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῶν ἡδονῶν ὑμῶν τῶν στρατευομένων ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ὑμῶν

Obviously these passages are closely related. I Peter depends very probably upon Paul (cf. Rom. 5 ; 17, Gal. 5 ; 17, etc.), rather than upon James, inasmuch as the influence of Romans is apparent all through this section. The verse contains nothing that cannot be duplicated in the Pauline Literature. Jas. 4 ; 1b agrees with I Pt. 2 ; 11 in making the warfare internal in accordance with Paul's doctrine of the "σάρξ against the πνεῦμα." But the preceding and succeeding contexts lead one to think "James" alludes to social disturbances. If so μέλεσιν should refer to "persons", but this is wresting the word out of its most obvious meaning. The phrase 4 ; 1 b, therefore, seems to be borrowed.

(16)

I Pt. 2; 12	Jas. 3; 13
τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν . . . ἔχοντες καλὴν ἵνα . . . ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες δοξάσωσι τὸν Θεὸν. Cf. 3 ; 2 τὴν ἐν φόβῳ ἁγνὴν ἀναστροφήν, 16, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ	δειξάτω ἐκ τῆς καλῆς ἀναστροφῆς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἐν πραΰτητι σοφίας

The sequence of thought is better in I Peter. A difficulty is felt in the attempt to bring the verse in James into connection with the idea implied in the analogies of the foundation, etc. (Cf. Cone's Com. p. 286.) This author says : " the connection, if any, is strained." The writer begins here a new theme of the " Meekness of Wisdom," whereas in I Peter the verse is a continuation of the thought begun in the foregoing context. If I Peter shows dependence at this point it is upon Paul. Cf. ver. 11.

(17)

I Pt. 2; 15	Jas. 1; 25, 2; 12
ὡς ἐλεύθεροι . . . ἀλλ' ὡς Θεοῦ δοῦλοι	νόμος ἐλευθερίας 1 ; 1 Θεοῦ δοῦλος

This is a close parallel on the Pauline basis. Cf. Gal. 2 ; 4, 5 ; 1, 13, etc. We have seen in another connection that this section of

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I Peter depends upon Romans, hence, if there is dependence here between James and I Peter it must be on the part of the former. This parallel is made more significant by Exs. 4, 6 and 20.

(18)

I Pt. 2; 20, 21	Jas. 5; 10, 11
εἰ ἀγαθοποιοῦντες καὶ πάσχοντες ὑπομενεῖτε, τοῦτο χάρις πάρα Θεῷ· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκλήθητε, ὅτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμόν	ὑπόδειγμα λάβετε τῆς κακοπαθίαις καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας τοὺς προφήτας . . . ἰδοὺ μακαρίζομεν τοὺς ὑπομείναντας. Cf. 1 ; 12.

Patient endurance in suffering is at a premium in both cases, though they appeal to different examples. The appeal of James to the O. T. worthies does not show the Christian trait as distinctly as I Peter in its appeal to Christ, nor is it in accord with Jas. 1 ; 1. Ἀγαθοποιοῦντες of Peter is in accord with "James' polemic" against the misunderstanding either of Paul's doctrine of "Justification by Faith," or of Hebrews 11.

(19)

I Pt. 3; 10	Jas. 1; 26
παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ	μὴ χαλιναγωγῶν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ

Here is a close parallel in thought. I Peter probably quoted 3; 9 a from Prov. 17; 13 at Paul's suggestion. Cf. Rom. 12; 14, 17, I Thes. 5; 15. On the basis of Mayor's criterion, the brevity of James here indicates its priority, but against this is Jas. 3, which is more explicable as a discourse preached on the text of I Peter against the growing zeal to become teachers. Cf. I Cor. 14; 16–22.

(20)

I Pt. 4; 5	Jas. 5; 9
τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι	ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἕστηκεν

The thought is too common during the early period to be decisive, yet the general trend of the contexts is quite alike in both cases.

(21)

I Pt. 4; 7	Jas. 5; 8
πάντων τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν· σωφρονήσατε οὖν	στηρίξατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν ὅτι ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου ἤγγικεν. v. 3 ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις

This parallel is made more significant by Exs. 20 and 22.

(22)

I Pt. 5; 10	Jas. 5; 8
ὁ Θεὸς . . . ὀλίγον παθόντας αὐτὸς . . . στηρίξει	μακροθυμήσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς, στηρίξατε τὰς καρδίας

Note the sequence in parallels 20–22.

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(23)

I Pt. 1; 1	Jas. 1; 1
Πέτρος ἀπόστολος Ἰησου Χριστοῦ	Ἰάκωβος, Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησου Χριστοῦ δοῦλος

On the supposition that the author of " James " was an apostle it is significant to note that δοῦλος is used instead of ἀπόστολος. Δοῦλος Paul uses, in Phil. 1; 1, for an apostles associate. In the salutations of five of Paul's epistles he alludes to himself as an ἀπόστολος, also in two of the Pastoral epistles. Only Titus and Romans employ δοῦλος in this connection, which may be used as a datum for the dependence of James upon Romans. Or on the supposition that the author is the Lord's brother one would expect to find ἀδελφός. Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου are important additions.

(24)

I Pt. 1; 19	Jas. 1; 27, 5; 7
τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου	ἄσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου. 5; 7 τίμιον καρπόν

(25)

I Pt. 1; 22	Jas. 4; 8
τὰς ψυχὰς ἡγνικότες	ἁγνίσατε καρδίας

(26)

I Pt. 1; 22	Jas. 1; 18
ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας	λόγῳ ἀληθείας

When taken separately these three parallels need not detain us.

(27)

I Pt. 2; 18, 3; 1	Jas. 4; 7
ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς δεσπόταις, ὑποτασσόμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. τὸν Θεὸν φοβεῖσθε. 2; 17.	ὑποτάγητε τῷ Θεῷ

See Ex. 8 for a closer parallel.

(28)

I Pt. 2; 25	Jas. 5; 19
πλανώμενοι ἐπεστράφητε	ἐάν τις ἐν ὑμῖν πλανηθῇ . . . καὶ ἐπιστρέψῃ τις αὐτόν

Suggestive but not conclusive.

(29)

I Pt. 3; 15	Jas. 1; 21
μετὰ πραΰτητος. Cf. v. 4.	ἐν πραΰτητι

Probably accidental.

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(30)

I Pt. 4; 14	Jas. 2; 1
τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεῦμα	τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, τῆς δόξης

This furnishes no argument either for or against dependence.

(31)

I Pt. 4; 16	Jas. 2; 7
εἰ ὡς χριστιανὸς (πάσχει) . . . δοξαζέτω τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ	τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς

While this is suggestive the background is different.

Conclusion

J. P. Mayor says : " I think no unprejudiced reader can doubt the resemblances between the Epistle of St. James and the Epistle of St. Peter. The recurrence in them of the same words and phrases and their common quotations from the O. T. are such as to prove conclusively that the one borrowed from the other. Nor can there be much doubt as to which of the two was the borrower if we observe how in almost every case, the common thought finds fuller expression in St. Peter." (Epis. of St. Jas. p. xcv.) So Zahn says : " it is plain that the author of I Peter was well acquainted with James and had read the letter reflectively." (Int. I, p. 134.) Salmon thinks that " the proofs of the use by Peter of the Epistle of James are decisive." (Int. p. 556.) Falconer maintains that " there is a close relation between the Epistles, but the order of priority can be determined only on the basis of the date of James." (H. B. D. p. 716.)

That these Epistles are in some way directly related, critics of all schools are agreed, but as to the order of priority they differ widely. Luther long ago contended for the priority of I Peter. He has been followed by an illustrious line of scholars, e. g. W Brückner (S. 35), Hausrath (IV, S. 253), Hilgenfeld (S. 638), Holtzmann (Einl. S. 315, 336), von Soden (H.C., III 2 ; 2, S. 2 f., 110), Pfleiderer (S. 417, 424, 427), Knopf (N. Z. S. 34), Bacon (Int. p. 160), Bigg (p. 23), Cone (E. B., Com. p. 269).

Jülicher contends that : " James has considerable literature behind it not only O. T. Apocrypha, but Christian writings also : Paul, Hebrews, I Peter and the Gospels. The points of resemblance, too, between it and the First Epistle of Clement are so many and so striking that it is impossible to explain them satisfactorily

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except by supposing our author to have been acquainted with that Epistle. James shares its fundamental ideas with those of the Shepherd of Hermas, and even in expression it often approaches the latter remarkably closely." (Int. p. 224.)

Were we to grant the truth of Mayor's assertion—which is not supported by the facts—that "the common thought finds fuller expression in I Peter," it would still afford no conclusive argument for the priority of James. Cf. the relation of I Peter to Ephesians and Romans. What is much more conclusive is the naturalness with which the citations in question occur in their respective contexts. It has been noted at various points in the above study that the contextual connection is much better in I Peter and not unfrequently does it appear that the thought of James has been introduced at the suggestion of another. The priority of our Epistle seems evident in no less than half of the parallels, e. g. 1—9, 11, 14—17, 19. Apparently therefore those are correct who claim James depends directly upon the First Epistle of Peter.

JUDE

D

d

(1)

I Pt. 1; 1, 5	Jude 1
ἐκλεκτοῖς . . . ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος 5 (τετηρημένην) φρουρουμένους διὰ πίστεως . . .	τοῖς ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις . . . τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς

The occurence of the doctrines of the believers' election, sanctification and security in such close contextual connection makes dependence seem probable at the very outset.

(2)

I Pt. 1; 2	Jude 2
χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη	ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη

Jude reproduces the phraseology of our Epistle more perfectly at this point than any other N. T. writing, excepting II Pt. 1; 2, which was borrowed either from Jude or from I Peter. II Peter has the exact form found in I Peter, but it is a recasting of Jude by a student of I Peter, hence the priority must be given to our Epistle. The direct sequence of this close parallel with the one preceding it leads

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us to infer dependence. Yet the superscriptions Jas. 1 ; 1 and Jude 1—2 are peculiarly open to the suspicion of adjustment and assimilation in the process of formation of the canon.

(3)	I Pt. 2 ; 8	Jude 4
	. . . ἀπειθοῦντες· εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν	οἱ πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα

This parallel affords no argument for dependence. Cf. Rom. 9 ; 21, 22, I Thes. 5 ; 9, Prov. 16 ; 4, Jer. 18 ; 6 etc.

(4)	I Pt. 3 ; 19	Jude 6
	τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν	δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον τετήρηκεν

There is here no obvious connection.

The evidence afforded by the above possible points of contact is not such as to warrant the claim that one author knew the work of the other.

REVELATION

C

c

(1)	I Pt. 1 ; 19	Rev. 1 ; 5
	ἐλυτρώθητε . . . τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ. 1 ; 2 ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. 5 ; 6 ἀρνίον ἑστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον 5 ; 9 ἠγόρασας τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου

The purchase was made with the blood of the lamb. (Cf. Acts 20 ; 28, I Cor. 6 ; 20, Heb. 9 ; 14.) The words used for "lamb" and for "purchase" are different, yet the ideas are the same. It can hardly be accidental that this reference to "redemption" or "washing from sin" is contextually connected with parallels 2 and 3.

(2)	I Pt. 2 ; 9	Rev. 1 ; 6
	ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν	ἐποιήσεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ Θεῷ. 5 ; 10 τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς

Both authors may be following the original independently (i. e. Exod. 19 ; 6), yet the context in Revelation makes this very improbable.

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(3)

I Pt. 4; 11	Rev. 1; 6
ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. Cf. 5; 11.	αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. Cf. 5; 13.

"The collocation of words is rightly considered by Hoffmann, von Soden (and Swete) to show that the doxology is addressed to Christ, as are those in II Tim. 4; 18, II Pt. 3; 18, Apoc. 1; 6." (Bigg p. 176.) But in no other instance is there verbal agreement throughout. The textual sequence and very similar phraseology in these three parallels make a strong argument for dependence.

c—d

(4)

I Pt. 1; 20	Rev. 13; 8
προεγνωμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κοσμοῦ	τοῦ ἀρνίου ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου

If ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου limits ἐσφαγμένον, as one would naturally understand it, we have here a closer parallel than is to be found elsewhere in the N. T. On the other hand, if, as in 17; 8, it connects with γέγραπται, the thought is not the same. Cf. Swete's "Apoc. of St. John," p. 164. As the text of Rev. 13; 8 stands it really demands a direct connection between ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου and ἐσφαγμένον. Bigg so interprets it. (Com. p. 120.) "Qui occisus est ab origine mundi," of the Textum Vaticanum, and ܕܐܡܪܐ ܗܘ ܢܟܝܣܐ ܡܢ ܬܪܥܝܬܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ' of the Peshito, can only be taken as our revisers of 1881 rendered the Greek text. This parallel, therefore, is very significant, especially when taken in connection with Ex. 1.

(5)

I Pt. 2; 25	Rev. 7; 17
ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενοι ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα . . .	τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς . . .

It is interesting to note that our author uses the word referring to Christ, which is common with later authors. Cf. Jn. 10; 2, 11, 12, 14, 16, Heb. 13; 20, etc. See John Exs. 11–12.

(6)

I Pt. 4; 8	Rev. 12; 12
ὅτι ὁ ἀντίδικος ὑμῶν διάβολος, ὡς λέων ὠρυόμενος, περιπατεῖ ζητῶν τίνα καταπίῃ	ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει

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These passage show a common belief in the devil's activity during the fiery persecution then waging. Rome appears to be the base of his operations in the world and apart from there he is thought of as "a roaring lion going about seeking whom he may devour." I Pt. 1; 8. These references therefore, show similar conditions to have existed when the books were written, if, indeed, they do not show dependence.

d

(7)

I Pt. 1; 7	Rev. 3; 18
χρυσίου τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου	χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον

Though this parallel is suggestive it is not conclusive. It only shows that the two books have a common background.

(8)

I Pt 2; 16	Rev. 1; 1
δοῦλοι Θεοῦ	δούλοις αὐτοῦ

A very common thought in the N. T.

(9)

I Pt. 3; 10	Rev. 14; 5
καὶ χείλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον	καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὑρέθη δόλος, (ψεῦδος)

These passages suggest dependence, yet they may be drawn from the original directly. Cf. Ps. 34; 13 and 32; 2.

(10)

I Pt. 4; 7	Rev. 1; 3
πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικε	ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς

This idea is very common in the N. T.

(11)

I Pt. 5; 1	Rev. 1; 9
παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων	ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει . . . διὰ . . . τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ

This similarity is probably due to the similar conditions out of which these writings were produced.

(12)

I Pt. 5; 4	Rev. 2; 10
τῆς δόξης στέφανου	στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς

Though suggestive, dependence here is very doubtful.

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18)

I Pt. 5; 13	Rev. 14; 8
βαβυλῶνι	βαβυλὼν. Cf. 16; 19, 17; 5, 18; 2, 10; 21.

In view both of tradition and history, we need not consider any interpretation which does not identify βαβυλών with Rome. On this basis, which is the only tenable view, we must recognize a relation between I Peter and the Apocalypse. We cannot claim any literary relation, but that the circumstances and time of writing were closely related seems obvious. Rome was already drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus. Rev. 17; 6. C. A. Scott expresses the opinion of many scholars when he makes this passage, just quoted, presuppose the Neronian persecution. (New Cent. Bib. on Rev. p. 262.) On this basis the mystical name has meaning, but to place it before the Neronian persecution, or even at the beginning, as the "traditional view" would claim for I Peter, would be to involve us in an insoluble mystery. It is clear from our Epistle that the persecutions had not made as much progress in Asia Minor as they had in Rome. Cf. Rev. 17; 6 f. The persecutions alluded to in I Peter, were a "new thing," whereas in Rome they were of some duration. It would thus appear that the Apocalypse was written soon after I Peter.

The more obvious points of contact between these writings (e. g. Exs. 1—3) can hardly be satisfactorily accounted for on the basis of a common background, yet the evidence is not such as to make dependence very probable.

I JOHN

B

b—c

(1)

I Pt. 1; 8	I Jn. 4; 20
ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες πιστεύοντες . . .	ὃν ἑώρακεν, τὸν Θεὸν ὃν οὐχ ἑώρακεν οὐ δύναται ἀγαπᾶν

Dependence here is made very probable by the additional evidence of John Ex. 2.

(2)

I Pt. 1; 19	I Jn. 1; 7
ἐλυτρώθητε (φθαρτοῖς) τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ	τὸ αἷμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καθαρίζει ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας

The thought is very similar as well as the phrasing. Here Jesus' blood is thought of as "cleansing from sin," whereas in Jn. 1; 29

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it is the "Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world." Our author has used these two ideas together, if indeed they may be said to be two ideas. "Redemption is through the spotless blood of the Lamb." Dependence here seems probable. Cf. also John Ex. 3.

	I Pt. 1; 22 a	I Jn. 3; 3
(3)	τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες	καὶ πὰς . . . ἁγνίζει ἑαυτὸν καθὼς ἐκεῖνος ἁγνός ἐστιν

	I Pt. 1; 22 b	I Jn. 5; 2
(4)	ἐν τῇ ὑποκοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ Πνεύματος εἰς φιλαδελφίαν ἀνυπόκριτον, ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς	ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκομεν ὅτι ἀγαπῶμεν τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅταν τὸν Θεὸν ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν

Parallels 3 and 4 should be considered together. Our Epistle teaches that purification is effected by obedience to truth and that it issues in brotherly love. I John sets forth obedience to the commandments as the final test of love (I Jn. 3–5). The mere suggestion "ἐν τῇ ὑποκοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας" of I Peter is treated more extensively in I John. The author of the Fourth Gospel puts the teaching into the mouth of Jesus himself. Cf. Jn. 14; 15. 21, 23, 15; 10, 12, 14, etc. The reference to "brotherly love" of I Pt. 1; 22b (2; 17, 3; 8, 4; 8) is extensively elaborated in I John. (Cf. 2; 9, 10, 3; 10–20, 4; 7–21, 5; 1–3.) Jesus himself teaches it in John 13; 34, 35. All this seems to indicate that the Johannine literature presupposes our Epistle.

	I Pt. 1; 23	I Jn. 3; 9
(5)	ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σπορᾶς φθαρτῆς ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου	ὁ γεγεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ ὅτι σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ μένει

Σπορᾶς and σπέρμα are very significant parallels just in this connection. Obviously the expression "born of God" means the same as "born again", or from above (ἄνωθεν). Apparently I John elaborates the idea found in I Peter. (Cf. I Jn. 3; 9, 4; 7, 5; 1, 18.) This doctrine is definitely taught by Jesus himself in John 3. Note the sequence of thought in Exs. 3–5. It is also significant that there are other probable points of contact with I Peter in this context. Cf. Exs. 7 and 8. (For relationship of Jas. 1; 18 see note on John Ex. 6.)

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(6)

I Pt. 2; 21	I Jn. 2; 6
ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ	καθὼς ἐκεῖνος περιεπάτησε, καὶ αὐτὸς περιπατεῖν

See John Ex. 15 for a closer parallel in the fore part. Yet the περιπατεῖν of I John is more in accord with I Pt. 2 ; 21b than is John 13 ; 15. I Peter is probably the basis for Jn. 13 ; 15 and I Jn. 2 ; 6.

(7)

I Pt. 2; 22	I Jn. 3; 5 b
ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν	ἁμαρτία ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστι

Cf. John 8 ; 46, Ex. 7. It is to be noted again that this doctrine is taught by Jesus himself in the Fourth Gospel.

(8)

I Pt. 2; 24	I Jn. 3; 5 a
ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον	ἐφανερώθη, ἵνα τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἄρῃ. Cf. 2 ; 2, 4 ; 10.

I Jn. 4 ; 10 has ἱλασμός corresponding to ἱλαστήριον of Rom. 3 ; 25. Rom. 5 ; 8, 10 expresses in abstract form what is given in I Pt. 3 ; 18 and I Jn. 3 ; 16. I Pt. 2 ; 24 thinks of Jesus " bearing our sins in his own body," while I Jn. 3 ; 5 says ; " he bears them away," in accordance with the testimony of John the Baptist. Cf. John Exs. 2 and 3.

d

(9)

I Pt. 1; 24	I Jn. 2; 17
διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου . . . δὲ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	καὶ ὁ κόσμος παράγεται, καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτοῦ· δὲ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Cf. 1 ; 1, 3.

There is probably no connection here.

(10)

I Pt. 4; 7	I Jn. 2; 18
πάντων τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν	ἐσχάτη ὥρα ἐστί

This idea is too common to trace its course down to the Johannine Literature.

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II JOHN

D

I Pt. 4; 8	II Jn. 5
πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες	ἵνα ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους

Dependence cannot be argued here, unless through the relation this parallel sustains to the other Johannine Literature. Cf. Jn. 13; 34, 15; 12, I Jn. 3; 23.

III JOHN

D

I Pt. 3; 11	III Jn. 11
ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτην. ἀγαθοποιέω 2; 15, 20, 3; 6, 17.	μὴ μιμοῦ τὸ κακὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγαθόν. ὁ ἀγαθοποιῶν . . .

This parallel is quite suggestive, yet since it is the only real point of contact between these Epistles, and the reference in I Peter is a quotation from the O. T., III John can have no voice in determining the relation the Johannine Literature sustains to I Peter.

JOHN

B

b—c

	I Pt. 1; 3b	Jn. 3; 3
(1)	ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς. Cf. 1; 23.	γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν Cf. 3; 5

The idea of the "new birth" is found in the Pauline writings. Cf. I Cor. 4; 15, Gal. 4; 19, 6; 15, Tit. 3; 5. It is more clearly set forth in our Epistle. Cf. 1; 3, 23. It would seem that the author of the Fourth Gospel took up the idea as our author had developed it and incorporated it into a narrative.

	I Pt. 1; 8, 9	Jn. 20; 29, 31
(2)	ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες, πιστεύοντες δὲ	ὅτι ἑώρακάς με, [Θωμᾶ] πεπίστευκας· μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες, καὶ

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ἀγαλλιᾶτε χαρᾷ ἀνεκλαλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξαμένῃ, κομιζόμενοι τὸ τέλος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν	πιστεύσαντες . . . ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. Cf. 16 ; 16, 22.

The Pauline Epistles contain this thought in embryo. Cf. II Cor. 5 ; 7, I Cor. 13 ; 12, Rom. 8 ; 23, 24. This contrast of " faith and sight," to which Paul thus refers, I Peter applies to the Christians of Asia Minor in a commendatory fashion. Great joy accompanies belief in the unseen one. But in the Fourth Gospel, the blessing is because (ὅτι) " they have not seen and yet believed." Furthermore the teaching is again found in a narrative. That there is a connection here is made very probable by the further parallel in I Pt. 1 ; 9 and Jn. 20 ; 31b. Salvation or life is here set forth as the end of faith, which refers back to the preceding parallel verse in both instances. Paul's allusions to the subject are of a general and somewhat speculative character, while the author of the Fourth Gospel weaves it into a narrative in a most concrete fashion. I Peter forms a connection which bridges the chasm. The sequence of thought and the similar phraseology make a strong argument for dependence.

(3)

I Pt. 1 ; 18, 19	Jn. 1 ; 29
ἐλυτρώθητε . . . τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ (ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου) Χριστοῦ. Cf. 2 ; 24.	Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. Cf. 1 ; 36.

Acts 8 ; 32 employs ἀμνός, from Isa. 53 ; 7, otherwise it does not occur in the N. T. outside this parallel. This is significant, since in all three instances it is used as an epithet of Christ. Paul nowhere speaks of the "lamb" per sē, but he does speak of " Christ our passover " (I Cor. 5 ; 7), which implies what our author explicitly states in 1 ; 19. The author of the Fourth Gospel improves upon our author when he puts 1 ; 29b and 1 ; 36b into the mouth of John the Baptist. The Petrine development of Paul is again found in the form of a definite narrative. John the Baptist is made to enunciate the fully developed Pauline doctrine of the atonement, in Petrine terms. (Cf. Jn. 1 ; 29 b with I Pt. 2 ; 24.)

(4)

I Pt. 1 ; 22 a	Jn. 15 ; 3
Τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν ἡγνικότες ἐν τῇ ὑπακοῇ τῆς ἀληθείας	ἤδη ὑμεῖς καθαροί ἐστε διὰ τὸν λόγον

Purification comes in both cases through the word (truth). I Pt. 1 ; 22a probably depends upon Eph. 5 ; 26, but the parallel is much closer between I Peter and John than between Ephesians and John.

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There is nothing in Jn. 13 ; 3 to suggest " cleansing by the washing of water by the word," nor is there anything in the context of Ephesians which is suggestive of Jn. 15 ; 1 f. It is also to be noted that Jn. 15 ; 3 seems to be somewhat unnatural in the parable ; having been suggested apparently by something already written. Since I Pt. 1 ; 22a is the closest N. T. parallel, it is reasonable to suppose John depends upon I Peter at this point. Cf. also Jn. 17 ; 17, 19 which is an essential part of the " great high-priestly prayer."

(5)

I Pt. 1 ; 22 b	Jn. 13 ; 34
ἐκ καρδίας ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσατε ἐκτενῶς	ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους . . . ἐὰν ἀγάπην ἔχητε εν ἀλλήλοις

Though this is a common exhortation, dependence is made very probable because of other probable points of contact in the immediate context of I Peter (cf. 1 ; 19, 21, 22a and 23), also because the context of John suggests I Peter (cf. 13 ; 31—32), even mentioning Peter by name, v. 36.

(6)

I Pt. 1 ; 23	Jn. 1 ; 13
ἀναγεγεννημένοι οὐκ ἐκ σποράς φθαρτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀφθάρτου, διὰ λόγου ζῶντος Θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος . . .	οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν

Attention has been called in Ex. 1 to the idea of the " new birth," but in the above parallel we are also told how it was brought about. In both instances the negative aspect precedes the positive. Our author says that "we are born not of corruptible seed," whereas " John " puts it, " not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man," which is clearly an expansion of the thought of I Peter. "Virtually σπορὰ and λόγος (of I Peter) are the same thing seen in different lights. Λόγος is of course not used in the sense which it ultimately reaches in St. John." (Hort's First Epistle of James," p. 93.) I Peter seems again to form a connection between the " logos " idea of Paul and the complete expression of it in John. The phrase of John, "born of God," or of the " will of God," as the case may be, is suggestive of Jas. 1 ; 18, which indeed combines the ideas of Jn. 1 ; 13 and I Pt. 1 ; 23. We have found reason elsewhere to believe that this verse in James depends upon our Epistle. I Peter understood the " new birth " to have been effected " by the word of a living and abiding God. The λόγος is God Himself speaking, speaking not once only but with renewed utterance, kindling life not

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only by recollection but by a present power" (Hort p. 92). The tendency toward hypostatization is more marked here than in the implied λόγος doctrine of the Pauline Epistles. Nor does it seem to be a violation of the text to say Jas. 1 ; 18 shows a still greater tendency in this direction. That "John" was acquainted with I Peter is made very probable both by the structure and the sense of Jn. 1 ; 13a and I Pt. 1 ; 23a. The antithesis is significant, especially since it is followed by phrases similar in form and meaning. John 1 ; 14 takes up the word λόγος again, as if at the suggestion of another, which would come quite naturally from I Pt. 1 ; 23—25 or Jas. 1 ; 18. Hort thinks that "St. James is speaking here of the original creation of man." Granting the truth of his contention, the Epistle may still show an influence upon Jn. 1 ; 1—14. (Cf. Jn. 1 ; 3). I Pt. 1 ; 23b would have been a very suggestive text for the author who wrote Jn. 1 ; 4a, the content of which, significantly enough, is put into a discourse of Jesus (Jn. 5 ; 26). Compare I Pt. 2 ; 9b also with Jn. 1 ; 4b, which idea is also put into the mouth of Jesus (Jn. 8 ; 12, 9 ; 5, 12 ; 36, 37.

On the whole then this parallel seems to indicate that the implied "logos doctrine" of Paul was taken up. in connection with the idea of the "new birth," by our author, who put it in a suggestive fashion for "James," all of which—with the possible exception of James—paved the way for the fully developed form found in the Fourth Gospel.

(7)

I Pt. 2; 22	Jn. 8; 46
ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν	τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας

The doctrine of Christ's sinlessness is too common, in itself, to be certain that there is here any literary dependence. Cf. Isa. 53 ; 9, Lk. 23 ; 41, II Cor. 5 ; 21, Heb. 4 ; 15, etc. Yet the following context in both books makes dependence here very probable. Cf. Ex. 8.

(8)

I Pt. 2; 23	Jn. 8; 48—50
ὃς λοιδορούμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει	Σαμαρείτης εἶ σὺ καὶ δαιμόνιον ἔχεις (;) ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς Ἐγὼ δαιμόνιον οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλὰ τιμῶ τὸν πατέρα μοῦ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀτιμάζετέ με . . .
παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως	ἔστιν ὁ ζητῶν καὶ κρίνων

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Jn. 9 ; 48—49 gives a concrete case of what is mentioned in I Pt. 1 ; 23a. I Pt. 2 ; 23b is also parallel in 8 ; 50 by "Jesus' own" words. These close parallels in their sequence, with Ex. 7, can hardly be accidental.

(9)

I Pt. 3 ; 21	Jn. 3 ; 5, 6
ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου . . .	ἐάν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος . . . οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν

This very suggestive parallel is made even more significant by the probable reference in Jn. 3 ; 7 to I Pt. 1 ; 23. Apparently I Peter depends upon Paul in this section, but it seems quite as evident that the author of the Fourth Gospel took up the Pauline thought of I Peter and developed it into a narrative. See Note on Ex. 4.

(10)

I Pt. 4 ; 11	Jn. 14 ; 13
ἵνα ἐν πᾶσιν δοξάζηται ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ	ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ

Eph. 5 ; 20 probably furnished the suggestion for our author, but clearly the parallel is closer between John and I Peter than between John and Ephesians. "The glorification of God through Christ," as alluded to in I Peter, is a common doctrine in the Fourth Gospel (13 ; 31, 17 ; 1, 4, 5, 6, etc.), and is frequently found in "speeches of Jesus." It seems probable therefore that this too is a case of natural development.

(11)

I Pt. 5 ; 2	Jn. 21 ; 15, 16 f
ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ Θεοῦ	βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου. 16, 17 βόσκε τὰ πρόβατά μου

I Peter alludes to the general oversight and succor of the church, such as an elder could have and give, quite in harmony with what is taught in Jn. 21. Ποιμαίνειν is used of Christ (Mt. 2 ; 6, Rev. 2 ; 17, 7 ; 17, 12 ; 5, 19 ; 15) in the sense of "govern," and of Christian ministers (Jn. 21 ; 16, Acts 20 ; 28, I Pt. 5 ; 2, 3). Ποίμνη is used of the Christian flock, Mt. 26 ; 31, Jn. 10 ; 16 ; ποίμνιον, Lk. 12 ; 32, Acts 20 ; 28, I Pt. 5 ; 2, 3. See Bigg ad loc. Whatever view be taken of the alleged speech of Paul in Acts 20 ; 28, it shows a movement in the Johannine direction. Again the Fourth Gospel, even in its appendix, permits us to hear from the lips of Jesus himself ideas found in I Peter. This parallel is made more significant by the one following.

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(12)

I Pt. 5; 4	Jn. 10; 11 f.
τοῦ ποιμνίου· καὶ φανερωθέντος	Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός
τοῦ ἀρχιποίμενος. Cf. 2; 25.	

We are certain that the Fourth Gospel depends upon Mark, hence Mk. 6; 34 may have suggested this O. T. figure (Isa. 40; 11, 53; 6, Ezek. 34; 23, 37; 24, Ps. 23, Zech. 13; 7), which " John " elaborates. What Mark only implies our author explicitly states, whereas the author of the Fourth Gospel takes up the form given in I Peter and puts it in a teaching of Jesus concerning himself. In Heb. 13; 20 Jesus is spoken of as τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν. The context, however, has nothing to suggest John. On the other hand the " Parable of the Good Shepherd " contains much to suggest I Pt. 5; 2–4 and 2; 25. It would seem, therefore, that our Epistle served again as a connecting link between the earlier tradition and the later development.

c

(13)

I Pt. 1; 5	Jn. 10; 28 f.
τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει Θεοῦ φρουρουμένους . . .	. . . οὐχ ἁρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρός μου. Cf. 17; 11 f.

We have noted in Galatians (Ex. 5) the idea of " the believer's security," and have been led to believe that our Epistle depends there upon Paul. The Fourth Gospel has an extended discussion on the subject (e. g. 10; 28, 29, 17; 11, 12, 15) and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the development may have traveled by way of I Peter.

(14)

I Pt. 1; 25	Jn. 1; 1
τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. τοῦτο δὲ ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. Cf. v. 14.

The relationship between these citations has been touched upon in the note on Ex. 6. Dependence here seems probable.

(15)

I Pt. 2; 21	Jn. 13; 15
ἡμῖν ὑπολιμπάνων ὑπογραμμὸν, ἵνα ἐπακολουθήσητε τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτοῦ	ὑπόδειγμα γὰρ ἔδωκα ὑμῖν, ἵνα καθὼς ἐγὼ ἐποίησα ὑμῖν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιῆτε

This parallel is suggestive especially since the " example " occurs in a narrative in John. It is to be noted also that our Epistle has much to say about " humility."

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(16)

I Pt. 4; 5	Jn. 5; 22
τῷ ἑτοίμως κρίνοντι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς	τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ

It is not clear from this passage in I Peter which is to be understood, Christ or God. Judging from the Pauline literature upon which I Peter surely depends, it would seem necessary to conclude that the author had the former in mind. It would readily be interpreted as such by anyone in the latter part of the First Century. Apparently " John " so understood it. Reference in Jn. 5 ; 21 to quickening the dead, is very suggestive of the quick and the dead of I Pt. 4 ; 5. That it is found in a speech of Jesus is again indicative of a natural development. We cannot be certain, however, for " John " may draw from Paul directly, at this point, or even from some other source.

(17)

I Pt. 4; 8a	Jn. 15; 12
πρὸ πάντων τὴν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀγάπην ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες	αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐντολὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους καθὼς ἠγάπησα ὑμᾶς

It is to be noted again that the thought of I Peter is found in John as the subject matter of a discourse by Jesus, in which the atonement doctrine (15 ; 13) is set forth in harmony with I Pt. 2 ; 24. It is very significant that the general statement made in the O. T. quotation in I Pt. 4 ; 8b is paralleled in Jn. 15 ; 13a by a concrete example. Note also that Jn. 15 ; 16 may allude to the Petrine doctrine of election, which is again incorporated in a speech of Jesus.

d

(18)

I Pt. 1; 1	Jn. 7; 35 b
παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς . . .	εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . .

Probably accidental.

(19)

I Pt. 1; 11	Jn. 12; 41
ἐρευνῶντες εἰς τίνα . . . προμαρτυρόμενον τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν παθήματα καὶ τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα δόξας	ταῦτα εἶπε Ἡσαΐας, ὅτε εἶδε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐλάλησε περὶ αὐτοῦ

Again the Pauline thought occurs in John in a narrative, but the similarity is not close enough to indicate dependence. Cf. also Lk. 24 ; 25, 26, 44, 46 and Acts 26 ; 22, 23.

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(20)

I Pt. 1; 21	Jn. 12; 44
. . . δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεὸν . . . ὥστε τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι εἰς Θεόν	Ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ πιστεύει εἰς ἐμὲ ἀλλὰ εἰς τὸν πέμψαντά με

Though John very probably depends here upon Mk. 9 ; 37, it is suggestive in this connection.

(21)

I Pt. 3; 12	Jn. 9; 31
καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν· πρόσωπον δὲ Κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά	οἴδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἀκούει, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις θεοσεβὴς ᾖ καὶ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιῇ τούτου ἀκούει

There is here no necessary connection.

(22)

I Pt. 3; 14	Jn. 14; 27
τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε, μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε· (Cf. 3 ; 15) καρδίαις	μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία μηδὲ δειλιάτω

The phraseology is suggestive, yet the similarity is probably accidental.

(23)

I Pt. 5; 1	Jn. 15; 27 a
μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων	ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ· καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ μαρτυρεῖτε

Connection here is very doubtful.

Conclusion on the Johannine Literature.

Professor Cone notes that " distinct foreshadowings of the ideas of the Fourth Gospel and the epistles ascribed to John are indeed not wanting. The absence of the mystical profundity of Paul and the softening of some of the harsher lines of his teaching as well as several striking accords with Hebrews, shows the writer (of our Epistle) to have been in contact with the later Paulinism which marks the transision to the Johannine theology," (Encyc. Bib. p. 3680).

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We have noted at many points in the Gospels and the First Epistle of John where these "foreshadowings" have been developed into extended discourses and not unfrequently have we been permitted, in the former, to hear them from the mouth of Jesus, as a teaching of his own. Ideas of Paul have been taken up by our author and treated in a suggestive fashion for later writers. I Peter not only "marks the transition," but also plays no small part in making the later literature possible. From the parallels cited above it would seem that our Epistle formed a bridge, as it were, between the Pauline and the Johannine Literatures. Our study, therefore, seems to require us to conclude that the Johannine Literature (especially I John and the Gospel) depends directly upon the First Epistle of Peter.

TABLES OF RESULTS

TABLE I

APOSTOLIC FATHERS

	Classification	No. of References
Tertullian	A	1
Clement of Alex. . .	A	1
Irenaeus	A	3
II Clement	C	2
Papias	A	1
Justin Martyr	B	8
Test. XII Pat.	D	—
Barnabas	A*	13
Hermas	B	10
Didache	D	6
Polycarp	A*	13
Ignatius	B	5
Clement of Rome . .	A*	41
	Total	104

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TABLE II
CANONICAL BOOKS

	Classification	No. of References		
Galatians . . .	B	9		
I Thessalonians .	D	10		
II Thessalonians .	D	5		
I Corinthians . .	C	23		
II Corinthians .	C-D	13		
Romans	A*	63		
Ephesians . . .	A*	45		
Colossians . . .	D	14		
Philemon . . .	D	—		
Philippians . . .	D	9		
I Timothy ? . .	D	9		
II Timothy ? . .	D	5		
Titus ?	C-D	14	219	Total in Pauline Epistles
Hebrews . . .	B	49		
"Q" Source . .	D	9		
Markan Source .	D	12		
Matthew . . .	D	5		
Luke	D	8		
Acts	D	22		
James	A*	31		
Jude	D	4	140	
Revelation . . .	C	13		
I John	B	10		
II John	D	1		
III John	D	1		
John	B	23	48	Total in Joh. Lit.
II Peter	A	1	1	
	Total in Canonical Literature		408	
	Total in Apostolic Fathers .		104	
	Grand total . . .		512	

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TABLE III

The Literature Showing a Probable Connection with I Peter

	Classification					Place of		Date
	A	A*	B	C	C–D	Circulation	Writing	
Galatians . . .			B			Asia	Corinth	50
I Corinthians . .				C		Rome	Ephesus	54
II Corinthians .					C–D	Corinth	Ephesus	54
Romans		A*				Rome	Corinth	55
Ephesians . . .		A*				Asia, Rome	Rome	59
Titus				C		?	?	?
Hebrews . . .			B			Rome	Rome ?	? 85–90
						FIRST PETER		
James		A*					Rome ?	? 90–95
Revelation . . .				C			Ephesus	95
Clement of Rome		A*					Rome	95
I John			B				Ephesus	95–100
John			B				Ephesus	100
Ignatius			B				Smyrna	115
Polycarp . . .		A*					Smyrna	115
Hermas			B				Rome	140
Barnabas . . .		A*					Alexandria ?	130–160
Justin			B				Rome	155
Papias	A						Hierapolis	145–160
II Clement	A						Alexandria	170

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